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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY

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VOL. XXVII

1947-48

EDITED BY

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सत्यमेव जयते

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The names of the contributors are arranged alphabetically.

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LIST OF PLATES

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

———o———

Page 16, f. n. 2, line 1.—For *saraṇas* read *śaraṇas.*

„ 18, f. n. 4, line 1.—For *Rescarch* read *Research.*

„ 46, f. n. 3, line 1.—*For* Karpaṭivrata *read* Karpaṭīvrata.

„ 48, line 1.—[The name of the king seems to be *Kumāravīradatta* and not *Kumāravaradatta.* For this and some other differences of reading and interpretation, see JAS, Letters, Vol. XIX, pp. 59-61.—D.C.S.]

„ 48, para. 2, line 7.—For *Vāsiṭhiputa* read *Vāsiṭhīputa.*

„ 48, para. 2, line 8.—For *Vāsiṭhiputa* read *Vāsiṭhīputa.*

„ 48, para. 2, line 13.—Add after the end of the sentence in this line :—

[Pandit L. P. Pandeya informs me that the photograph of the Gunji rock inscription published in the Chhattisgarh Feudatory States Gazetteer (p. 193) was supplied by Babu C. S. Ishwar Sekhram, Diwan of Sakti.—V. V. M.].

„ 49, f. n. 3, line 1.—*For* Gantamīputra *read* Gautamīputra.

„ 50, f. n. 6, line 1.—For *Vāapēyam=* read *Vājapēyam=.*

„ 63, f. n. 8, line 1.—*For* Kālidasa *read* Kālidāsa.

„ 67, f. n. 3, line 6.—*For* Kōṇamaṇḍala *read* Kōnamaṇḍala.

„ 75, f. n. 4.—*Add* 79, f. n. 7.

„ 77, text line 8.—*For* **श्रि(श्री)द्रसेनस्य** *read* **श्रीरुद्रसेनस्य**

„ 82, para 2, line 2.—*For* Nāludikkumveṇṛān *read* Nāludikkumveṉṟāṉ.

„ 84, para. 2, line 3.—*For* A record of *read* A record at

„ 84, f. n. 11, line 1.—*For* Mēḷ-Śēvūr *read* Mēl-Śēvūr.

„ 91, f. n. 1, line 1.—For *Epigrapy* read *Epigraphy.*

„ 99, text line 2, line 6.—*For* Kāmakkōṭṭatta= *read* Kāmakkōṭṭatt=

„ 112, para. 3, line 7.—*For* Svētaka *read* Śvētaka.

„ 126, para. 5, line 5.—*For* Kīrttiverman *read* Kīrttivarman.

„ 189, text line 26.—*For* Si(d)dhalagrāmīya- *read* Si[d*]dhalagrāmīya-

„ 189, text line 26.—*For* Pā(ṁ)ḍukasya *read* Pā[ṁ*]ḍukasya.

„ 189, text line 28.—*For* Janō(1ō) *read* Janō(lō).

„ 191, line 4.—*For* Sid(d*)halagrāma *read* Si[d*]dhalagrāma.

„ 191, line 11.—*For* Kēśarakōna *read* Kēsarakōṇa.

„ 191, f. n. 1, line 4.—*For* Rāḍha *read* Rāḍhā.

Page 191, f. n. 2, line 2.—*For* Rāḍha *read* Rādhā.

,, 196, f. n. 4, line 1.—*For* Bhṛiṅgi *read* Bhṛiṅgī.

,, 196, line 9.—*For* Arusa- *read* Arasu-.

,, 200, f. n. 7.—For *ābhyuddharana* read *-abhyuddharaṇa.*

,, 202, last para. line 10.—*For* Paddōpa° *read* Paddōpā°.

,, 211, v. 2, text line 7.—[We may read-**न्भोमां(गां)स्तु** for **न्भो(न्भौ)माँस्तु**—B. C. C.]

,, 219, text line 1.—For **गुरोर** read **गुरोः**.

,, 225, line 3.—*For* south-west *read* south-east.

,, 225, para 2, line 1.—*For* Chilamakuru *read* Chilamakūru.

,, 227, line 1.—For *koṭṭam* read *kōṭṭam.*

,, 229, para. 4, line 5.—*For* [Rē*]vaśarmmārikin *read* [Rē*]vasarmmārikin.

,, 229, para. 5, line 1.—For *Rēvasarmmā* read *[Rē*]vaśarmmā.*

,, 230, para. 2, line 2.—*For* Kauśika-gotra *read* Kauśika-gōtra.

,, 232, para. 2, line 3.—*For* Kiḻevūru *read* Kiḻevuru.

,, 232, para. 3, line 3.—*For* Kiḻevuru or Ḻēvuru *read* Kiḻevūru or Ḻēvūru.

,, 235, f. n. 3, line 1.—*For* Arurornoi *read* Arouarnoi.

,, 237, para. 5, line 3.—*For* dynasty of *read* dynasty or.

,, 238, para. 4, line 4.—*For* Chamalūru *read* Chāmalūru.

,, 240, para. 8, line 5.—*For* Eyariakallu *read* Eyarikallu.

,, 240, para. 9, line 6.—*For* Uttamāditya I *read* Uttamāditya.

,, 242, para. 4, line 8.—*For* Indukuru *read* Indukūru.

,, 242, para. 6, line 8.—*For* Prithvīvallabha *read* Pṛithvīvallabha.

,, 243, para. 1, line 15.—*For* Rajolu *read* Rājōlu.

,, 243, para. 1, line 23.—*For* Prithvīvallabha *read* Pṛithvīvallabha.

,, 246, text line 2.—*For* -Boḷa *read* -Bōḷa.

,, 251, f. n. 4, line 8.—*For* Chōla *read* Chōḷa.

,, 253, para. 2, line 3.—*For* recordr *read* records.

,, 269, f. n. 1, third line of the verse.—*For* mātalingam *read* mātuliṅgam.

,, 290, f. n. 5, line 6.—For *prāvēśyāa* read *prāvēśya.*

,, 296, f. n. 4, line 4.—For *sunyāgara* read *śūnyāgāra.*

,, 312. text line 9.—*For* Kul *read* Kula.

,, 312, Translation line 7.—*For* Vīradhavaḷaram *read* Vīradhavaḷāram.

,, 316, para. 2, line 10.—*For* Mallakhēṭa *read* Malakhēṭa.

,, 318, f. n. 2, .—For *Anushtubh* read *Anushṭubh.*

,, 328, text line 4.—*For* °n[ṛi]ṇām *read* °n[ṛī]ṇām.

Page 328, text line 7.—*For* 13 *read* 3.

,, 328, footnote 6.—*For* Gōndramaḥ *read* Gondramaḥ |

,, 329, text line 8.—*For* [|| 14 ||*] *read* |[| 4 ||*]

,, 329, text line 11.—*For* 15 *read* | 5

,, 329, text line 13.—*For* [|| 16 ||*] *read* |[| 6 ||*]

,, 329, text line 16.—*For* 17 *read* 7.

,, 329, text line 18.—*For* 18 *read* 8.

,, 330, text line 30.—*For* =cha- *read* =cha.

,, 332, line 35.—*For* Śihara *read* Sihara.

,, 334, text line 16.—*For* °nuss=tra(=ta) *read* °nus=tra(s=ta).

,, 334, text line 21.—*For* Vi *read* Vi-

,, 334, text line 23.—*For* triṇōka-pāñchapala *read* triṇō[da*]ka-pā(pa)ñchapala(laṁ).

,, 334, footnote 15.—*Add* See *IHQ*, Vol XXIX, p. 300.

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RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., F.R.A.S.,
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1932.
BORN: 21ST, OCTOBER 1889. DIED: 12TH, AUGUST 1946.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

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(17)

RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT.

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., F. R. A. S. B., the late Director General of Archaeology in India, passed away at Poona on the 12th of August 1946. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar and a versatile archaeologist conversant with many a branch of archaeology including epigraphy and numismatics.

Born at Pandharpur in the Sholapur District of the Bombay State on the 21st October 1889, the late Rao Bahadur had a distinguished educational career from his High School days. He won laurels in the B. A. and M. A. examinations of the Bombay University in the years 1909 and 1911 respectively. Entertained as a scholar by the Archaeological Department in 1912, he received training in field archaeology under Sir John Marshall and later worked under the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. D. B. Spooner. He worked for some time as Assistant Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and as Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. In 1918 the late Rao Bahadur started his official career as Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey of India and held the office for many years in the Eastern and Western Circles. He took a leading part in the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro during 1923-25. Subsequently he conducted the excavations at various sites, viz., Paharpur in Northern Bengal, Ramnagar in Uttar Pradesh, etc. He was appointed as one of the Deputy Directors General of Archaeology in 1930 and worked as Government Epigraphist for India for some time in 1932. In 1933 he went abroad and enriched his knowledge by direct contact with renowned archaeologists and institutions in the Western countries. He was appointed Director General of Archaeology in India in 1937 and held that post till his retirement in 1944. The late Rao Bahadur was President of the Indian History Congress, Sixth Session, in 1943, and President of the Numismatic Society of India in 1938, 1939 and 1946.

A large number of learned contributions on archaeological and other subjects made to the Departmental publications and other journals stand to his credit. Besides the Annual Reports of the circles under his charge and of the Archaeological Survey of India after he became its head, two monographs (*Mem. A.S.I.*, Nos. 8 and 55), one dealing with six sculptures from Mahoba and another on the excavations at Paharpur were written by him. The late Rao Bahadur delivered a series of lectures on the prehistoric civilization of the Indus Valley in the Sir William Meyer Lectures Series at the Madras University in 1935. By his death India has lost a great archaeologist and scholar. He edited parts of Volume XXI of this journal. The following is a list of his contributions to the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* :—

1. Sangoli Plates of Harivarman : the 8th year (Vol. XIV).
2. Poona Plates of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī-Guptā : the 13th year (Vol. XV).
3. Garra Plates of the Chandella Trailokyavarman : [Vikrama]-Samvat 1261 (Vol. XVI).
4. A Note on the dates of the Gupta copper-plates from Damodarpur (Vol. XVII).
5. A Note on the Vākāṭaka Inscription from Ganj (Vol. XVII).
6. Inscriptions on a Vishṇu image from Deopāṇi (Vol. XVIII).
7. Two Harsola copper-plate grants of the Paramāra Sīyaka of V. S. 1005 (Vol. XIX).
8. Paharpur copper-plate grant of the [Gupta] Year 159 (Vol XX).
9. Navagrāma grant of the Mahārāja Hastin ; G. E. [1]98 (Vol. XXI).
10. The Palanpur Plates of Chaulukya Bhīmadēva ; V. S. 1120 (Vol. XXI).
11. A Note on the Bhor State Museum copper-plate of Khambha II (Vol. XXIII).
12. Three copper-plate inscriptions from Gaonri (Ibid.).

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXVII 1947-1948

No. 1.—PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM GHANTASALA

(*1 Plate*)

J. PH. VOGEL, LEIDEN

At the request of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, I am editing five Prakrit inscriptions which he copied on the 1st January 1945 at **Ghaṇṭasāla**, a small village in the Kistna District, 13 miles west of Masulipatam. He kindly supplied me with excellent estampages of these inscriptions. According to the information which I received from Dr. Chhabra, Ghaṇṭasāla is a Buddhist site, containing ruined *stūpas* and other remains, but not yet properly explored. It has already yielded some inscriptions of a much later date.[1] The villagers of Ghaṇṭasāla are said to have been secretly trading in the antiquities of the place and, according to the information gathered by Dr. Chhabra, cart-loads of marble sculptures found on the spot have been removed. It need hardly be emphasised that such practices are extremely detrimental to the interests of archæology. Much useful evidence is irreparably lost in the diggings by irresponsible persons, and the dispersion of sculptured and inscribed stones belonging to the same building or to the same site must unavoidably hinder their study. It is therefore devoutly to be wished that the Archæological Department will soon take the necessary measures for the preservation and systematic exploration of this Buddhist site.

The **five inscriptions**[2] here edited are of some historical interest, although they contain no dates, nor names of kings or dynasties. In the first place, they confirm the prevalence and flourishing state of Buddhism in the delta of the Krishṇā river during the first centuries of the Christian era, testified by the famous sanctuaries of Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapēṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The inscribed relic-caskets of Bhaṭṭiprōlu belong to a considerably earlier date, approximately 200 B.C. according to Bühler.

Moreover, the Ghaṇṭasāla inscriptions supply some valuable data for the ancient geography of South India. Two of them (*A* and *B*), incised in remarkably decorative writing on sculptured pillars, mention as their donor a *gahapati* **Bu[d]dhisiri** who was a resident of **Kaṇṭakasōla**. A votive inscription from Amarāvatī, deciphered by Dr. Hultzsch,[3] refers to an *upāsaka* U[t]tara who hailed from the same locality. The place-name occurs also in a long inscription incised on the floor of an apsidal temple (*chetiyaghara*) at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Among the pious foundations due to the *upāsikā* Bōdhisiri, this record mentions *Kaṁṭakasōlē mahāchētiyasa puvadārē sēla-maṁḍavō*,[4] 'at Kaṇṭakasōla a stone pavilion at the eastern gate of the Great Chētiya (Skt *chaitya*)'. When editing the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, I have pointed out that Kaṇṭakasōla must be identical with 'the emporium Kantakossyla', which Ptolemy (VII, 1, 15) mentions immediately after the mouths of the Maisōlos, *i.e.*, the Krishṇā river.[5]

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[1] *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, for 1917, Nos. 846-53 ; for 1925, No. 523.

[2] [It may be recorded here that the credit of the discovery goes to my friend, Sri K. Sankaran, the then District Health Officer of the Kistna District. Once, in the course of his official tour, he happened to visit Ghaṇṭasāla and stay at the *choultry* where he chanced to see the sculptured and inscribed marble pillar, lying in the compound. Of the inscription (*B* below), he sent me a paper rubbing, the best he could prepare himself with the help of some powdered charcoal and other improvised means. This prompted me to survey the site and my visit was rewarded with the discovery of four additional inscriptions.—B. Ch. Chhabra.]

[3] Jas. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta* (*A.S.S.I.*, Vol. I), p. 106, pl. LXI, No. 54. Luders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1303.

[4] Above, Vol. XX, p. 22, text l. 3.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 9, and Vol. XXI, p. 68 where my initial reading *Kaṁtakasēla* was corrected into *Kaṁṭakasōla*. In the Amarāvatī inscription referred to above, the vowel-mark of the fourth syllable is distinct.

In the two pillar inscriptions, the name *Kaṃṭakasōla* is preceded by the word *ukhasirivadhamānē*, but in both cases the vowel-marks of the last two syllables are conjectural. There is, however, a third inscription in which the word occurs, and here the stroke indicating the vowel *ē* in the final syllable is perfectly clear. It must therefore be a noun in the locative case, and we are perhaps justified in assuming that it indicates the locality where the monuments to which the inscriptions refer were erected. In other words, **Ukhasirivadhamāna** appears to be the ancient name of Ghaṇṭasāla. The occurrence of Vardhamāna[1] as a place-name in ancient India is testified by inscriptions, the best known examples being the town of Bardwān in Bengal and Vaḍhvān, the chief town of a state of the same name in North-East Kathiawar. Ptolemy (VII. 1, 93) mentions Bardamána among the inland towns of the Maisōloi, and as in his days the *b* had assumed the sound value of *v* which it has in modern Greek, the name is an exact rendering of Vardhamāna. The position assigned by the Greek geographer to Bardamána is 136° 15′ E 15° 15′ N, whilst he locates Kantakossyla at 134° 30′ E 11° 30′ N. This renders it difficult to identify his Bardamána with Ukhasirivaddhamāna.

Another alternative would be to connect the last-mentioned place with Kaṇṭakasōla and to explain it as a territorial division in which this emporium was situated. In support of such an explanation one might quote the topographical designation "*kammākara[ṭ]thē gāmē Naḍatūrē*" (Jaggayyapēṭa inscription No. 2. l. 2),[2] meaning 'in the village of Naḍatūra in the province (*raṭṭha*) of Kammāka'. But the third inscription which opens with *Ukhasirivadhamānē* without further mention of a town or village prevents us from accepting such an interpretation.

A point of some interest to which Dr. Chhabra draws my attention is the mention of a *mahānāvika* named **Sivaka** in one (*E*) of the Ghaṇṭasāla inscriptions. We are reminded of another *mahānāvika*,[3] named Buddhagupta, who is mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription discovered in 1834 by Captain James Low near a ruined Buddhist temple in the province Wellesley of Malaya. The inscribed slab was presented by him to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and must still be preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In both cases the expression reminds us of the seaborne trade between Coromandel and Further India carried on under the direction of Buddhist master mariners.

The inscriptions *A* and *B* are written in **a very ornamental kind of writing** very similar to the script employed in the epigraphic documents of the Ikshvāku dynasty from Jaggayapēṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The Jaggayyapēṭa inscriptions were assigned by Dr. Bühler to the third century A.D. The long-drawn vertical strokes of *ka*, *ra* and *la* and of the vowel-marks for *i* and *u* are among the most obvious characteristics of this writing. The bulging base-strokes of *ṇa*, *na*, *ma* and *va*, which are also found in the Pallava inscriptions, as well as the shape of *ya*, seem to point to a somewhat later development. It will, however, be seen that these bulging base-strokes do not occur in inscription *C* which must be contemporaneous with *A* and *B*, as the three inscriptions refer to the same monument, *viz.*, a *maṇḍapa* erected by the householder Buddhisiri. The two pillars on which *A* and *B* are incised must have served the purpose of supporting the roof of this pavilion. Above the inscription there are in each case two figures of animals running from right to left. The lions of the first pillar are similar in style to those found on some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa sculptures.

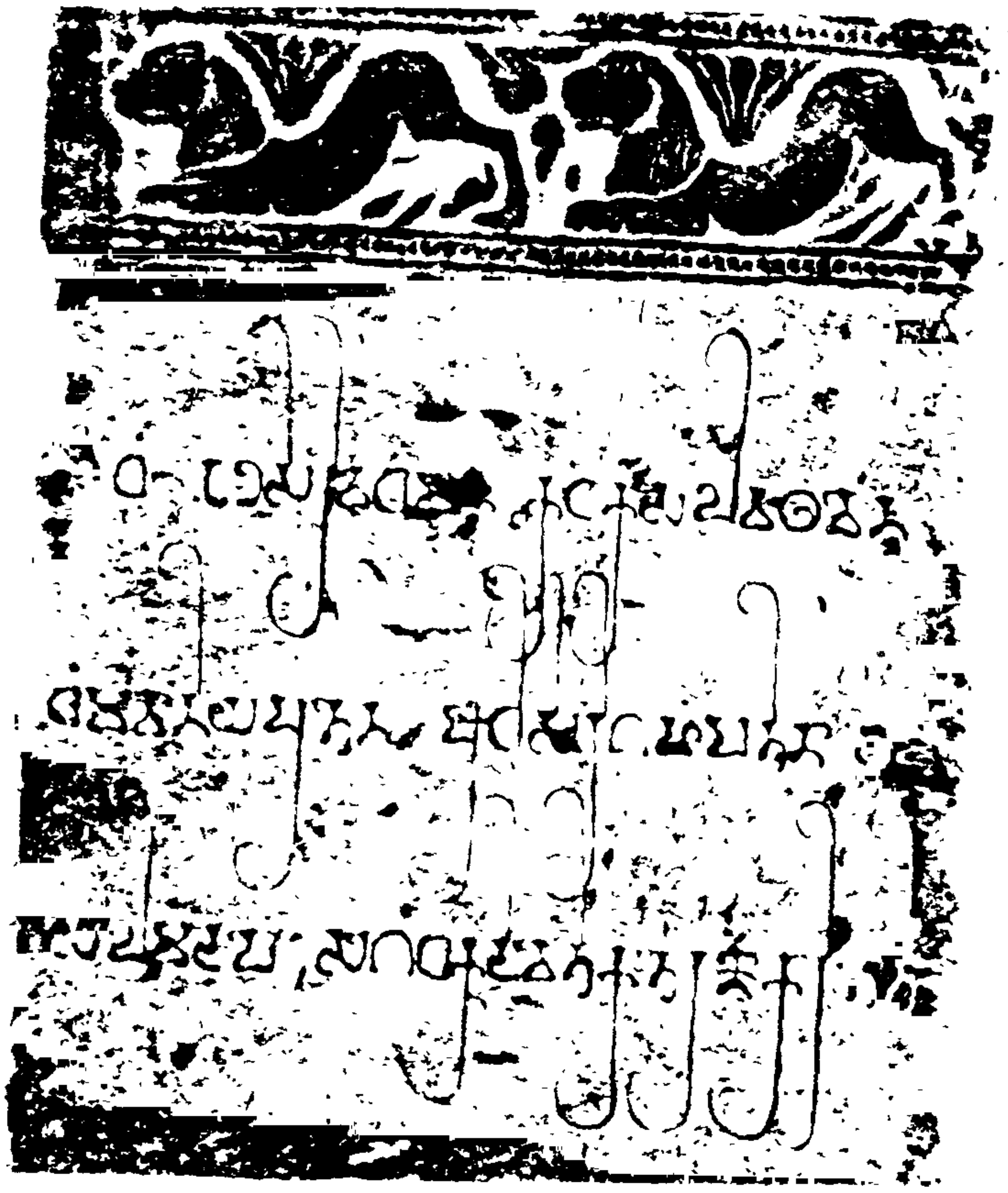
Whereas the inscriptions on these two pillars are excellent specimens of epigraphic art, it is curious that the third inscription, consisting of a single line of writing, has been done in such a careless manner. Apparently this short epigraph was not intended for permanent record, but was meant only as a notice, indicating for what edifice the piece of sculpture on which it is cut was intended.

[1] Place-names, ending in *vardhana*, like Kōśavardhana and Dharmavardhana, are fairly common.

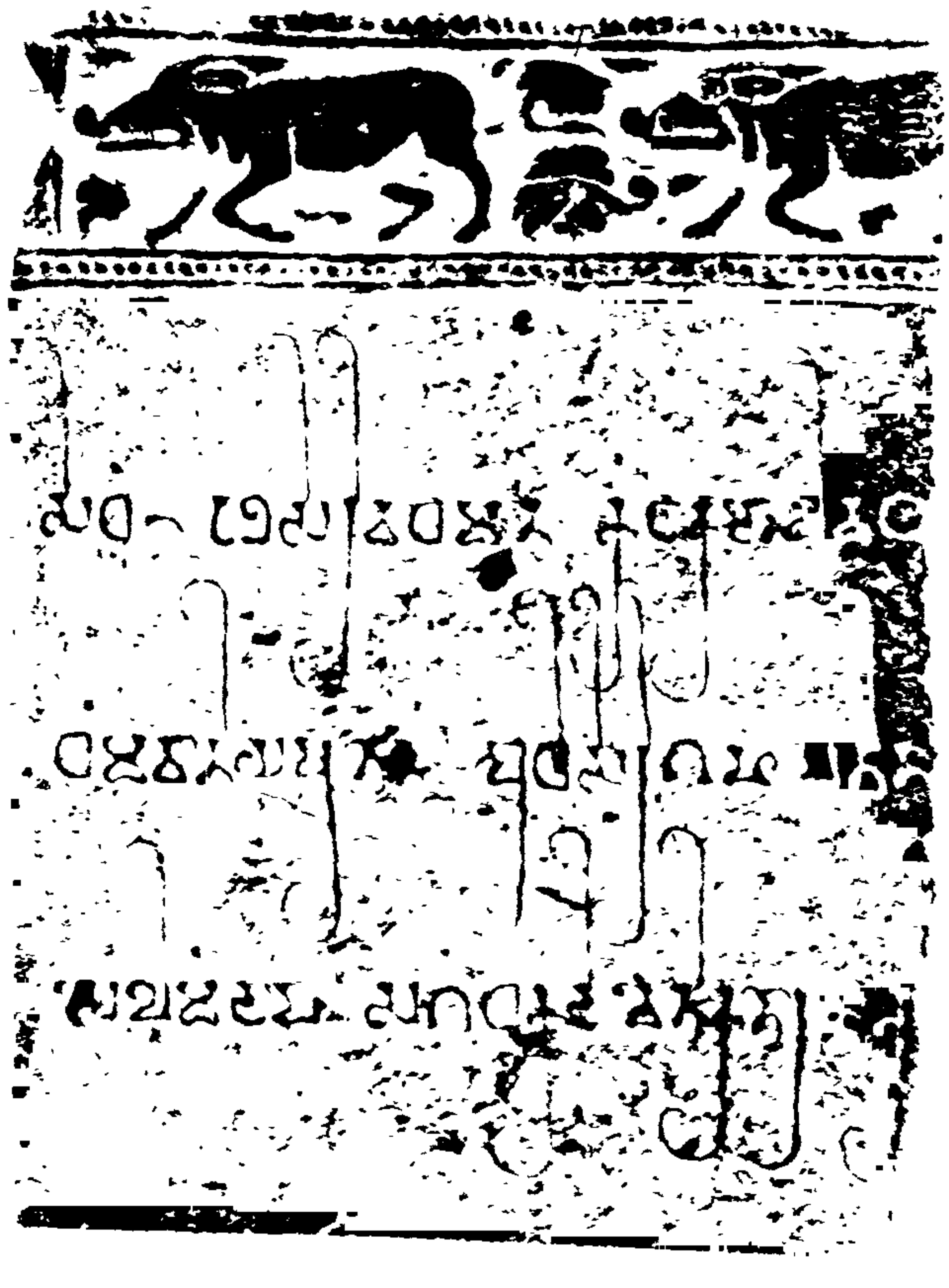
[2] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 110, pl. LXII, No. 2.

[3] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), Vol. I (1935), p. 17. The father of Kaṇṇaki, the heroine of the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* (circa 200 A.D.) was a *mānāikan*. The translator, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, has translated the term as 'sea-captain', though he has equated it with Skt. *mahānāyaka* (p. 88, n.2), whereas it can very well be *mahānāvika*. For this information I am indebted to Mr. M. Venkataramayya, Assistant to the Government Epigraphist.

A.



B.



B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

D.



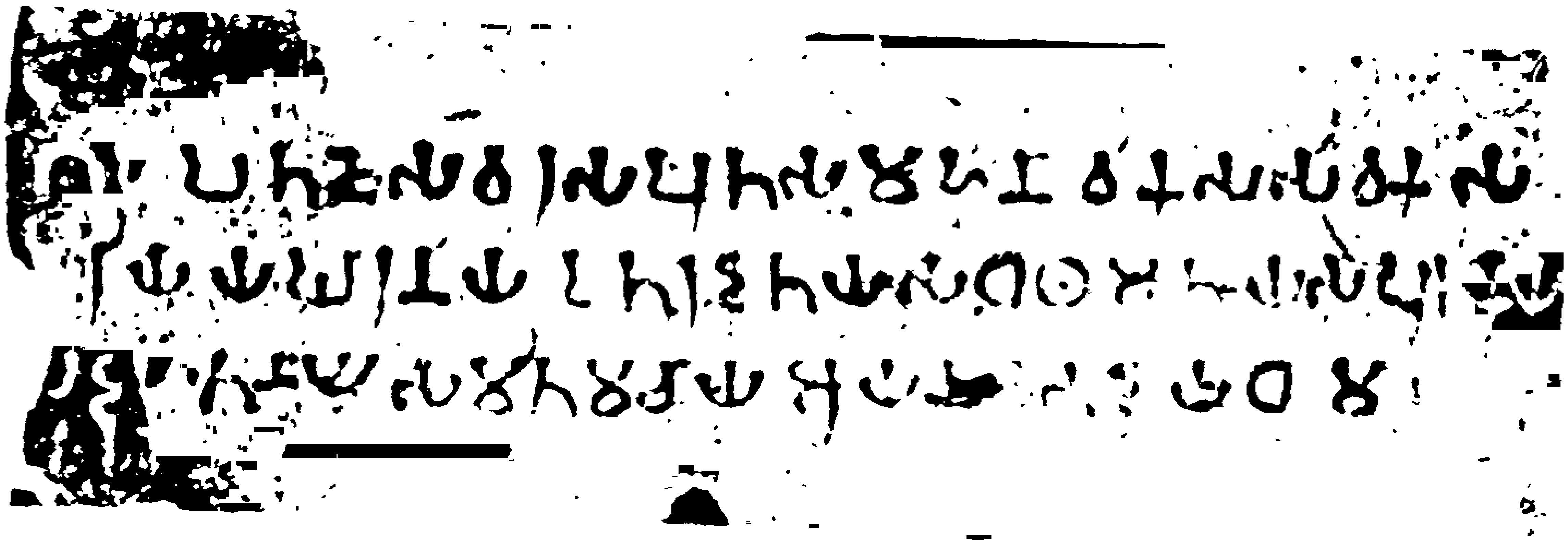
SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

C



SCALE. ONE-THIRD

E.



SCALE. ONE-THIRD

This sculpture is a recumbent lion figure, alas sadly mutilated, the head and forelegs having vanished. We may imagine that ornamental sculptures of this kind were carved by the sculptors in their workshop and that, when several orders had to be carried out, a notice like the present was not superfluous.

The fourth inscription (*D*) is found on a stone slab which must also have belonged to a pillar, as part of the decorative carving in the shape of a lotus-rosette is visible over the writing. The pillar is split from top to bottom with the result that of the six lines of writing only the initial five, six or seven *aksharas* have been preserved. The fragmentary state of the epigraph renders it impossible to state its exact purport. The opening word *sidhaṁ* is followed by the locative *Paṭanē* which probably indicates the locality where the monument of which the pillar formed part was erected. We may safely assume that the first line ended with the syllables *apa-*, so that, when combining them with the beginning of the second line we have [*Apa*]*rasēliyānaṁ*. The Pāli chronicles of Ceylon (*Mahāvaṁsa*, v.12, and *Dīpavaṁsa*, v. 54) mention the Pubba-and Aparasēlikas as two subdivisions of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The Aparasēlikas are presumably the same as the Aparamahāvinasēliyas, mentioned three times in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.

The fifth inscription (*E*), which is cut on a stone slab, consists of three lines. The *aksharas* *ta*, *ya* and *ha* show a different and perhaps earlier type, when compared with the inscriptions *A*-*D*. The writing is plain and irregular. The inscription is well preserved with the exception of a portion of the third line where a few letters have become effaced. Evidently, the inscription records the pious gift, by a lady, of an *āyaka* pillar. Such pillars existed also at Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapēṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The term met with in the Jaggayyapēṭa inscriptions is *āyaka-khaṁbha*, which I have discussed in my edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.[1]

We now proceed to give transcripts and translations of the five inscriptions.

TEXTS	TRANSLATIONS
A[2]	*A*
1 [Si]dhaṁ | Ukhasirivadha[mānē] Kaṁṭakasōla-vathavēna 2 Dhaṁmavāniya-putēna Budhisirigahapatinā imaṁ 3 sēla-maṁḍapō sa-gaṁdhakuḍi-vētika-tōraṇō kāritō ti	Success ! At Ukhasiriva[d]dhamāna this stone *maṇḍapa* with a *gandhakuṭī*, a railing (*vēdikā*)[3] and a *tōraṇa* was caused to be made by the householder Bu[d]dhisiri, the son of Dhammavāniya a resident of Kaṇṭakasōla.
B[4]	*B*
1 Sidhaṁ | Ukhasirivadham[ā]nē Kaṁṭakasōla-vatha[vēna] 2 Dhaṁmavāniya-putēna Budhisirigahapatinā [imaṁ] 3 sēla-maṁḍapō sa-gaṁdhakuḍi-vētika-tōraṇō k[āritō ti]	Ditto.[5]
C	*C*
Ukhasirivadham[ā]nē Budhisirigahapati-maṁḍavasa |·	Of the *maṇḍapa* of the householder Bu[d]dhisiri at Ukhasiriva[d]dhamāna.

[1] Above, Vol. XX, p. 2. Cf. S Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon* (Memoirs Arch. Survey of Ceylon, Vol. V), 1947, pp. 59 f.

[2] The inscribed pillar was found by Dr. Chhabra near the Ramaṇamma tank at Ghaṇṭasāla.

[3] The form *vētikā* occurs in Amarāvatī inscriptions (*cf.* Luders, *List*, Nos. 1216 and 1269). With the personal name Dhammavāniya we may compare Budhi[vā]niya in inscription *F*, l. 2, from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (above, Vol. XX, p. 22).

[4] The inscribed pillar, about 5 ft. long and 1 ft. wide, is square below and octagonal above. It is now in the compound of the *choultry*.

[5] The text of *B* is identical with that of *A* from which the missing syllables have been restored.

D[1]

1 Sidhaṁ Paṭanē pu........[Apa-]
2 rasēliyānaṁ ma ....
3 naṁ bhadaṁta-Naṁda cha............
4 budhi upajhāyasa ....
5 vaṁdhāya pavajiti[ka] ....
6 kayaṁ ayaṁ cha ....

D

The text is too fragmentary to allow of being translated. The term *pavajitikā*, meaning 'a female ascetic', occurs twice in a votive inscription from Amarāvatī published by Dr. Hultzsch (Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 90, Plate LX, No. 50).

E[2]

1 Gahapat[i]nō Savarasa putasa mahānāvikasa Sivakasa
2 [bha]riyaya gharaniya Utaradataya S[i]dhatham[i]taya sa-patikāya
3 sa-duhutakāya sa-mit[ā]machāya ayaka-[3] [tha]bha [dē]yadhama

E

[*This*] *āyaka* pillar is the pious gift of the house-wife U[t]tarada[t]tā Si[d]dha[t]thami[t]tā, the wife of the master mariner Sivaka, the son of the householder Savara, together with her husband, her daughter(s) and her friends and companions.

The vowel-marks in this inscription are indistinct. *Utaradataya* should possibly be restored to *Utara-duhutaya* 'the daughter of U[t]tara'. Cf. *duhutāya*, *duhutuya*, *sa-duhutakasa* in Amarāvatī inscriptions. The *dvandva mittāmachcha* (Skt. *mitrāmātya*) is usual in Pāli. In the Amarāvatī inscriptions we usually find *sa-mita-nāti-baṁdhava*.

No. 2.—BADAMI INSCRIPTION OF CHALIKYA VALLABHESVARA : SAKA 465

(*1 Plate*)

R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, DHARWAR

The inscription edited below is engraved in an inaccessible part of a big cliff about 250 feet high, in the northern fort at the back of the Battērappa temple at **Bādāmi** in the Bijāpur District. The spot where the inscription is found is not approachable either from the bottom or from the top, being situated approximately 120 feet high from the bottom of the cliff. The hill-rock appears to have been cut through, east to west, forming a narrow path-way and the eastern outlet towards Taṭṭukōṭe and other gorges are closed by artificial brick walls rendering the fort impenetrable to the enemies. The record is incised on the northern face of this rock.

During my visit to Bādāmi in the last week of February, 1941, I discovered this inscription but no estampage of it could be taken then, on account of the difficulty of approach and for want of suitable assistance to devise means to reach the spot. I had to return disappointed, but in June 1941 I gathered assistance from the local bee-scarers who are expert scalers of hill-rocks for collecting honey, and managed to have a beautiful estampage of the epigraph taken by a mechanic of my office. In the meanwhile, however, the discovery of the inscription had been announced in a press *communiqué* about the middle of June, 1941, by the Director General of Archæology in India New Delhi, who had been furnished with a photograph of the same by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, Poona. On an enquiry, the late Rao Bāhadur K. N. Dikshit, the Director General of Archæology, informed me that "Mr. Joglekar who was deputed to photograph some conservation work, also took a photograph of the inscription, the existence of which he knew from the Public Works Department Karkun, Mr. M. S. Sankannavar. There is,

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[1] The inscribed fragment is now in the house of Sri Vemuri Venkayya, ex-President of the local Panchāyat Board.

[2] The inscribed slab is now in the house of Sri Gorripāṭi Venkatasubbayya.

[3] Read *āyaka*.

therefore, no question of Mr. Joglekar being aware of your discovery of the same in February last, when he went to Bādāmi on 18th April ". The discovery of the inscription was made independently both by me and by the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, Poona. The inscription is edited below at the desire of the Director General of Archæology, from the impression taken under my supervision.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets prevalent in the Dekkan in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. and resemble the script of the early Kadamba copper-plate grants of Harivarman[1] and Krishṇavarman II[2] and more closely that of the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I, dated Śaka 500.[3] The writing covers an area 3′ 4″ by 3′ 1″ and the height of the biggest letter is approximately 7″ and the smallest 3″. The letters are well-formed and boldly executed and the whole inscription is well preserved. In respect of **palæography** the following points may be noted : Among the vowels, only the initial *a* is used twice in *Aśvamēdh-ā°* (l. 2) and *adhastād* (l. 5). The medial sign for *ā* is formed by the addition of a downward bend on the right side at the top of the letter, as for example, *Aśvamēdh-ādi* (l. 2), *Vātāpim* (l. 4), except in the case of *j* where the middle horizontal arm is taken up and curved to the left as in *yajñānāṁ yajvā* (l. 2). The long *ī* is distinguished from the short one by a curve inside at the top, *e. g. vidhānataḥ* (l. 2) and *achīkarat* (l. 5). The *u*-sign is marked in two ways : (i) by a hook at the bottom turned to the left as in *varshēshu* (l. 1), *durgga* (l. 5), etc.[4] and (ii) by a tube-like bend shooting from the bottom to the right side of the letter, see : *e.g. chatuś-* (l. 1), *bhuvaḥ* (l. 4). The long *ū* is shown by an ordinary *u* mark with a downward curve added to the right side of it. The signs for *ē*, *ō* and *au* are of the usual archaic type : see *e. g. Aśvamēdh-ā°*(l. 2), *Chalikyō* (l. 3) and *śrauta* (l. 2). **Orthography** is free from errors. The **language** is Sanskrit.

The record consists of five lines of writing, of which the first line is in prose and the remaining four are the four feet of two *Anushṭubh* verses forming a *yugma*. It states that in **Śaka year 465** the **Chalikya king**, who is described as a performer of sacrifices such as *Aśvamēdha* according to the *śrauta* rites, as born of Hiraṇyagarbha[5] and as Vallabhēśvara, made the great hill of **Vātāpi** into an invincible citadel unapproachable from the top as well as from the bottom, for the prosperity (*i.e.* security) of the earth. In fact the hill-rock is cut across to make a narrow pass about 250 feet deep which event is commemorated by the present inscription engraved on one-half of the rock. [There is no reference in the inscription to the construction of a pass.—C. R. K.]

The record is of historical importance in more than one way. Firstly, it furnishes **the earliest authentic instance of the use of the Śaka era in inscriptions.** The pillar inscription of Kīrtivarman I in the Vaishṇava cave at Bādāmi bearing the Śaka date 500 was considered so far, as the earliest lithic document mentioning the Śaka era by name.[6] An earlier instance of this era is cited in the *Lōkavibhāga* of Siṁhasūri, a Digambara Jaina work in Sanskrit, which is stated to have been completed in 80 beyond 300, (*i.e.*, 380) of the Śaka years.[7]

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[1] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 163.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 18. The characters of this grant (Bannahaḷḷi plates) betray a strong influence of the early Pallava script, in the box-head and the formation of the looped *l*, etc.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 58.

[4] [The consonant following *r* is doubled in one instance and not in others : see *durgga* (l. 5) and *varshēshu* (l. 1) and *garbha* (l. 3).—C. R. K.]

[5] See foot-note to Translation below on p. 9.

[6] *Ind., Ant.* Vol. III, p. 305 and Vol. X, p. 58.

[7] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 334. *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1922, p. 23. The relevant verse is extracted in the *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1910, p. 46, thus :—

Saṁvatsarē tu dvāviṁśē Kāñchīśaḥ Siṁhavarmmaṇaḥ | *aśīty-agrē Śak-āhvānām* (*bdānaṁ* in the Mūḍabidare manuscript) *siddham = ētach=chhata-trayē*

Secondly, it is interesting to note that the name Vātāpi was associated with " the best mountain " (*dharādharēndra*) only, before the *durgga* (fortress) had been built there, by the Chalikya king, which perhaps shows that prior to this event, the place was not used as a stronghold of political power.[1] From tradition and the local chronicle, the *Mahākūṭamāhātmya*, it is, however, well known that the hill-region round about Vātāpi had been occupied by the two demons, Vātāpi and Ilvala, who are said to have been killed by the mystic power of the sage Agastya who is credited with the first colonization of the Dakshiṇāpatha (Dekkan), south of the Vindhyas. No historical remains assignable to the pre-Chalukyan date are however forthcoming in the area, except the dolmens at Rāmatīrtha in the same range of hills, about two miles from the present village of Bādāmi. These dolmens, situated as they are on the top of the hill, were perhaps used as shelters in times of war by the inhabitants of the plains during the pre-historic period.[2] The next certain event connected with the place is the construction of the Fort in Śaka 465 as recorded in the inscription under publication.

It is not difficult to find out the name of the **Chalukya king** who constructed the Fort. From the date and the distinguishing epithet 'performer of a horse-sacrifice', it may be concluded that he must be, **Pulikēśin I,** father of Kīrtivarman I, who was the first member of the family to celebrate a horse-sacrifice and founded the capital of Vātāpi as recorded in the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulikēśin II [3] The performance of a horse-sacrifice is indicative of his independent position[4] which he must have achieved after defeating and ousting the early Kadambas of Vaijayantī who were in possession of the Bādāmi tract. This is **the first authentic document of Pulikēśin I.** The two sets of copper-plates, namely the Pimpaḷnēr plates[5] and the Aḷtēm plates,[6] purporting to belong to Mahārājādhirāja Satyāśraya Pulakēśin are proved to be palpable forgeries of 10th-11th century A.D. on account of the developed alphabet and language employed in them.

From the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī grant of Avidhēya[7] which, on account of the mention of the Bhādrapada year according to the Bārhaspatya cycle, and other historical synchronisms, has been assigned to A.D. 516, it may be gathered that the country up to the Bhīmā at least, in the north, was subject to the rule of Avidhēya, son of Dēvarāja. And the country south of the Bhīmā appears to have belonged to the Kadambas whose territory embraced an extensive area up to the sea in the west.

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[1] The expression *dharādharēndra-Vātāpim=ajēyam*, etc., means " the unconquerable mountain of Vātāpi " showing thereby that the hill was also called after the demon Vātāpi like the village Vātāpi [*per contra* see Translation below.—N.L.R.]. The latter is mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) under the name Badiamaioi (Bādāmi). See McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 171.

[2] See Rev. Anglade and Rev. Newton, *The Dolmens on the Pulney Hills* (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey, No. 36), where certain groups of dolmens are similarly surmised to be places of shelter in times of war (p. 9).

[3] Pulikēśin I is described thus :—*Śrit-ēndukāntir=api Śrī-Vallabhō=py=ayāsīd=Vātāpipurī-vadhū-varatām* [l.7*] . . *bhūś=cha yēna hayamēdha-yājinā prāpit-āvabhritha-majjanā babhau* [l.8*] (Above, Vol. VI, p. 4).

[4] Usually, only imperial monarchs are empowered to perform a horse-sacrifice in cognisance of their unchallenged sway over the land. Thus, the famous Gupta king Samudragupta celebrated it after his *digvijaya* campaign. In the *Āpastamba-Śrauta-sūtra* (chapter XX), however, the *Sārvabhauma* as well as the *a-sārvabhauma* kings are allowed to perform the Aśvamēdha sacrifice, *cf. Rājā Sārvabhaumō=śvamēdhēna yajēta apy=asārvabhaumaḥ*. The Kadamba king Krishṇavarman I who was not an imperial monarch celebrated it and was known by the distinctive epithet *Aśvamēdhayājin*. Apparently, he must have performed the sacrifice in token of his significant victories over the Pallavas (See the *Ruling dynasties* of *Karnātak, the Kadambas*, in Kannaḍa, by Messrs. N. L. Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi, in the *Prabuddha Karnāṭaka* Vol. XX, part II, p. 114). Pulikēśin I who had just carved out a separate kingdom could never lay claim to any imperial position. Still, even as a chief, he had subdued the enemies and established himself almost independently at Vātāpi.

[5] *Ind. Ant*, Vol. IX, p. 294. See also *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 216, No. 25.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 211 and *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218, No. 35.

[7] *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1929, pp. 197. f. Here the country round about Pāṇḍarangapalli (Pandharpur) has been connected with the early Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānānka.

For, the Birūr plates of Kadamba Vishṇuvarman[1] (A.D. 495-520) inform us that the Sindhuthaya-rāshṭra (perhaps modern Sindagi taluk in the Bijāpur District) and the Karṇṇēsaka river (probably the Kṛishṇā) were included in the Kadamba territory. The Sangoḷḷi plates of Harivarman (A.D. 538-570) which, according to the calculation of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, are dated in A.D. 545, September 21, Thursday, were issued by the king from his capital Vaijayantī,[2] whereas the Beṇṇūr plates of Kṛishṇavarman II (A.D. 545-570)[3] of the collateral branch which ruled from Triparvata, record a gift when the king had started on an expedition against Vaijayantī.[4] This would clearly show that, at this period, the Kadamba power was undermined by internecine wars. This apparently afforded an excellent opportunity for a strong person to spring on the scene and establish an independent kingdom. It is possible to surmise that Pulikēśin I availed himself of this opportunity and established himself at Vātāpi prior to A.D. 543, the date of the present inscription, and, in token of his unchallenged position, performed a horse-sacrifice.[5] There is, however, no definite evidence forthcoming to postulate that Pulikēśin I or his father was subordinate to the Kadambas. The Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu,[6] on the other hand, mentions a certain Jayasiṁgha as the commander of Harivatsakōṭṭa and if Avidhēya, son of Dēvarāja and grandson of Mānāṅka, who was the donor of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant, could be connected with Abhimanyu, son of Bhavishya, who was one of the three sons of Dēvarāja, son of Mānāṅka, it may plausibly be suggested that Jayasiṁha, the grandfather of Pulikēśin I, was identical with his namesake mentioned above and that in the course of time, Pulikēśin I seized the territory round about Bādāmi from a successor of Avidhēya. But this surmise is based on the assumption that the latter wielded political administration south of the Bhīmā up to the confines of the Kadamba territory including Bādāmi, which is not likely, in view of the statements contained in the Birūr plates mentioned above. Further, Jayasiṅgha of Harivatsakōṭṭa belonged to the Rewa State in Central India, whereas the grandfather of Pulikēśin I is not known to have any political connection with that part of the country.[7] It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Pulikēśin seized the northern part of the Kadamba kingdom from Harivarman or his successor, sometime before A. D. 543.

Harivatsakōṭṭa has not been identified yet. Since the grant recorded in the plates refers to a temple of Dakshiṇa-Śiva at Pētha-Paṅgaraka, identified with Pagara about 4 miles north of Pachmarhi[8] and the village granted, namely, Uṇḍikavāṭikā is surmised to be one of the two

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kadur No. 162, with plate. The plates are considered to be spurious on account of the orthographical errors and a slightly irregular alphabet. But the geographical details and the events attributed to Vishṇuvarman may be relied upon.

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 163. Rao Bahadur Dikshit informs me on the date of the Sangoḷḷi plates as follows :— "I have given both 526 A.D. and 545 A.D. as likely dates of this phenomenon (*i.e.* Vishuva). It now appears to me that 526 A.D. is the more probable date. This would bring Harivarman's accession to 519 A.D. up to which the reign of Ravivarman is likely to have extended". This change in the date of Harivarman does not affect the statement that there was internal trouble in the Kadamba house-hold at the time of Kṛishṇavarman, which is evident from his attack on Vaijayantī.

[3] It is clear from a synchronistic study of the Kadamba history at this period, that Harivarman of the main branch was a contemporary of Kṛishṇavarman II of the Triparvata branch as both were removed from the common ancestor Kākusthavarman by five generations. Further, from the contemporaneity of Kṛishṇavarman I with the Gaṅga king Mādhava II whose date is arrived at to fall between 470-495 A.D. by calculating backwards from certain definite landmarks in the Gaṅga chronology, *viz.*, the Halkūr stone inscription of Śrīpurusha and the Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhava III assigned to A.D. 475, etc., the date of Kṛishṇavarman II is fixed between 545 and 570, which is approximately the period of Harivarman.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Bl. 245. The king is described in the plates by the expression *Vaijayantī-vijaya-yātram=abhiprasthitaḥ.*

[5] See p. 6 n. 4 above.

[6] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 163.

[7] See the *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1929, p. 208, where a possible suggestion of their indentity has been made.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 511 and note 16.

villages named "Oontiya" in the same neighbourhood, it is not unlikely that the fort of Harivatsakōṭṭa, whose commander Jayasiṅgha was a witness to the grant, was situated somewhere in the same province. It is, however, possible to think that the expression *Harivatsakōṭṭanigraha* means "the reducer (*nigraha*) of the fort of Harivatsakōṭṭa" and that, wherever the fort might have been situated, the person who reduced it, namely Jayasiṅgha, might have belonged to the region near about Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli, *i.e.*, to the kingdom of Avidhēya, which closely adjoined the Kadamba territory. On this supposition, the two homonymous persons might be identical with each other. This is also in agreement with the description of Jayasiṁha given in the Aihoḷe inscription[1] of Pulikēśin II in the words :—

.....*raṇē Lakshmīr=bhāvita-chāpal=api cha kṛitā śauryyēṇa yēn=ātmasāt(d)=rāj=āsīj=Jayasiṁha-vallabha iti khyātaś=Chaluky-ānvayaḥ.* ("There was, of the Chalukya lineage, the king named Jayasiṁha-vallabha who in battle......by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness".)

If this identification is correct, it would follow that the Chālukyas of Bādāmi held a subordinate position under an earlier branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and when a suitable opportunity offered itself, they carved out an independent principality on the wreck of the kingdom of their overlords and of the Kadambas of Vaijayantī.

Fleet assigns the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant to "approximately the seventh century A. D." (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 386). In the matter of assigning dates to records merely on grounds of palæography, the approximation has been often too wide of the mark. For example, the Tālagunda pillar inscription[2] has been placed by Kielhorn in the 6th century A.D., whereas the latest researches have proved an earlier date, *i.e.*, 5th century A. D., for it. Similarly, the Mālepāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra which are considered to belong to *circa* A.D. 800 have to be relegated to an earlier period. Accordingly, the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant, whose alphabet resembles closely the characters of the charters of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman II, the Polamūru plates of Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman Janāśraya, and the Rāmatīrtham plates of Vishṇukuṇḍin Indravarman, may reasonably be pushed back to the 6th century A.D. which agrees with the period of Abhimanyu, the grandson of Dēvarāja, father of Avidhēya (516 A.D.) of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant.

Thus, Jayasiṁha could possibly have waged war with the Kadambas in the first half of the 6th century A.D. and with the decline of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the north of the Bhīmā and the defeat and destruction of the Kadambas in the South, he himself or Pulikēśin I, in all probability the latter,[3] might have occupied the Kadamba territory making Bādāmi his capital. Bādāmi, as already observed, was a place of some importance in the period before Jayasiṁha, since it finds mention by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) under the name Badiamaioi.[4]

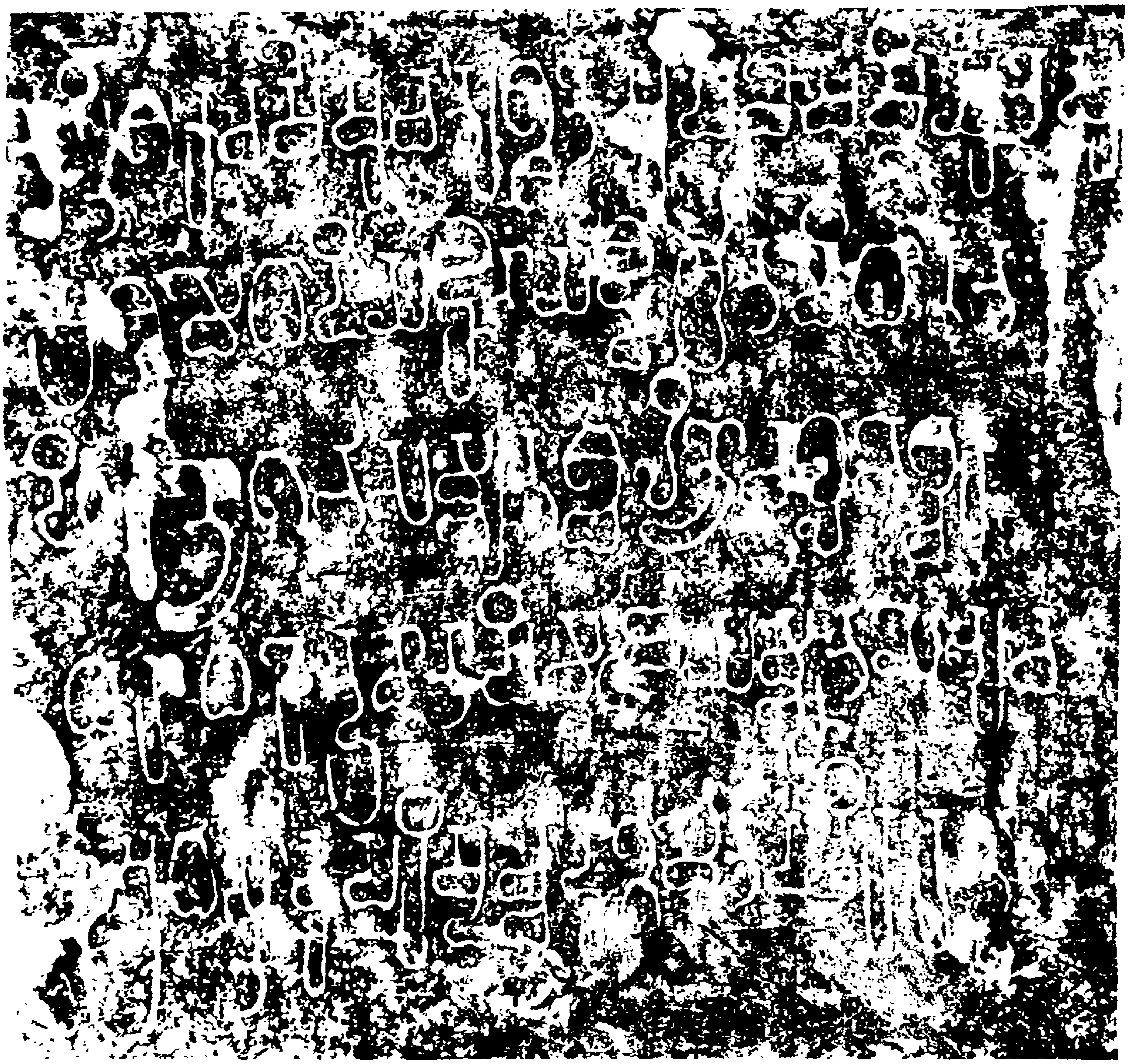
TEXT[5]

1 Svasti [||*] **Śaka-varshēshu chatuś-śatēshu pañcha-shashṭi-yutēshu**
2 Aśvamēdh-ādi-yajñānāṁ yajvā śrauta-vidhānataḥ [|*]
3 Hiraṇyagarbha-sambhūtaś=**Chalikyō Vallabhēśvaraḥ** [||1||*]
4 Dharādharēndra[6]-Vātāpim=ajēyam=bhūtayē bhuvaḥ [|*]
5 adhastād=uparishṭāch=cha durggam=ētad=achīkarat [||2||*]

[1] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 31.
[3] See foot-note 1 on page 5 above.
[4] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 171.
[5] From the ink impression and photograph.
[6] [The reading *Dharādharēndraṁ* is also possible.—C.R.K.]

2 2

4 4



(From a photograph).

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. NO. 3977 E'36-475'49.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Hail! **In the Śaka years four hundred and sixty-five,**

(Lines 2—5) **the Chalikya (king), Vallabhēśvara,** performer of the Aśvamēdha and other sacrifices according to the *śrauta* rites (and one), born of Hiraṇyagarbha[1] made the best hill of Vātāpi (or Vātāpi in the best hill) into a fortress unconquerable from the top as well as from the bottom, for the prosperity of the earth.

No. 3.—NANDGAON INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KRISHNA : SAKA 1177

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

This inscription was first brought to notice in the second edition[2] (published in 1931) of the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, p. 140, where a short description of its contents is given. It is edited here from a good estampage which I owe to the kindness of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

The inscription is incised on an outside wall of the temple[3] of Khaṇḍēśvara on a hillock on the outskirts of **Nāndgaon,** a village about 20 miles north by east of Amraoti in the Amraoti District of Berar. The record covers a space 2′ 5″ broad and 9″ high and consists of six lines. The stone on which it was incised was not originally made quite smooth and the technical execution also was not good. Besides, being exposed to the inclemency of weather for several centuries, the record has suffered considerably, especially in the last line. The reading of a few *aksharas* here and there is therefore not free from doubt.

The **language** is a mixture of Sanskrit and Marāṭhī. The opening formula which mentions the date and the reigning king's name is in Sanskrit,[4] but the subsequent portion which states the object of the record is in old Marāṭhī, as in several other inscriptions of the period.[5] The **orthography** shows the substitution of the lingual *sh* for *kh* in *lāshauli,* a peculiarity which the present inscription shares with several other records of the Yādavas.[6] Of lexicographical interest is the Marāṭhī word *Vaḍavā*. In the form *Baḍavā*, it denotes, in modern Marāṭhī, a 'temple-priest', but in the age to which the present record belongs, it had the wider sense of a 'royal functionary.'[7]

The inscription refers itself to the 'victorious reign' of the illustrious **Prauḍhapratāpa Chakravartin Kānhiradēva.** The title borne by the king indicates that he must have belonged to the **Yādava dynasty** of **Dēvagiri.** He can therefore be none other than **Kṛishṇa,** the grand-

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[1] The epithet *Hiraṇyagarbha-sambhūta* occurs in the Mahākūta pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa also (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 9ff.). It refers to the celebration of the great gift of *Hiraṇyagarbha* (golden womb), one of the sixteen *mahādānas* enumerated in Hēmādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*, chapter 5, and the *Matsyapurāṇa*, chap. 249. While editing the Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman (above, Vol. XVII, p. 328), Hultzsch first suggested its correct meaning as referring to a *Mahādāna* and not to the four-faced god Brahmā. See also D. C. Sircar's *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 50ff. where relevant details from the *Matsyapurāṇa* are given.

[2] The inscription is not listed in the first edition of the work published in 1916.

[3] It is a combined temple of Khaṇḍēśvara, Dēvī and Narasiṁha, with a common *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. The temple is said to be *Hēmādapantī*, *i.e.*, constructed by Hēmāḍapant or Hēmādri, a minister of the Yādava kings Mahādēva and Rāmachandra. The writer in the *Amraoti District Gazetteer* doubts this and expresses his opinion that it is probably not more than 200 years old, but as the present inscription shows, it is somewhat earlier than even the time of Hēmādri.

[4] Even in this portion, there is *Saku* for *Śākē*.

[5] See, *e g.*, the inscriptions of the time of Rāmachandra. G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 79 ff. and Vol. II, pp. 7 ff.

[6] See, *e.g.*, above, Vol. XXV, p. 8.

[7] See, *e.g.*, *Phulabaḍuē*, above, Vol. XXV, p. 200.

son of Siṅghaṇa, who succeeded the latter in A. D. 1247 and ruled up to A. D. 1260. *Kānhira* is evidently a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit name Kṛishṇa. Other forms of the same name occurring in inscriptions and contemporary literature of the Mahānubhāvas are *Kānhara*, *Kānha*, *Kanhāra* and *Kandhāra*.[1] The present inscription is **dated** in the year 1177 of the Śaka era, the cyclic year being Ānanda. As no further details such as month, fortnight, *tithi*, week-day or *nakshatra* are given, the date does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that the cyclic year Ānanda corresponded to Śaka 1177, current. Dates of epigraphic records are generally given in expired Śaka years, the cyclic years quoted with them being of course current. The date of the present record is noteworthy as it cites a current Śaka year. The corresponding year of the Christian era was A. D. 1254-55.

This is the **only record** of Kṛishṇa's reign found so far in Berar. Another record of the same king's reign has been discovered at Mārkaṇḍi in the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces,[2] but it is not dated. Even before Kṛishṇa's reign, Berar was occupied by the Yādavas, for an inscription discovered at Amrāpur in the Buldāṇā District, bearing the date Śaka 1133, belongs to the reign of Kṛishṇa's grandfather Siṅghaṇa,[3] and Khōlēśvara, Siṅghaṇa's General, records, in his Ambā inscriptions, several religious and charitable works which he constructed in Berar.[4] From the Purshōttampurī plates recently published in this journal,[5] we learn that Kṛishṇa terrified the king of Kōsala, *i. e.*, Dakshiṇa-Kōsala or modern Chhattīsgarh. It is not therefore surprising that records of his reign should be found as far east as the Amraoti District in Berar and the Chāndā District in C. P. It may be noted in this connection that according to the *Līlā-charitra*, an old Marāṭhī biography of Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, Kṛishṇa had gone as far as Loṇār in the Buldāṇā District of Berar to meet Chakradhara in the Śaka year 1178, *i. e.*, only two years after the date of the present record.[6]

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the donations of a *gadyāṇa*[7] each by some persons for the (perpetual) offerings of flowers evidently at the temple of Khaṇḍēśvara. The inscription names ten persons, the first nine of whom provided for the offering of one *lākhaulī*[8] or a lakh of flowers and the tenth, for two *lākhaulīs*.

The *gadyāṇa* or *gadiyāṇa* was a coin of gold. The Khārepāṭan plates[9] dated Śaka 930 mention the customs duty of one *suvarṇa-gadiyāṇa* (gold *gadyāṇa*) levied on every sea-going vessel coming from foreign lands which the Śilāhāra king Raṭṭarāja assigned to some Śaiva ascetics. Kittel found at Bellary and occasionally in Mysore small gold coins called *gadyāṇas* of the weight of *ruvvi* or a farthing.[10] The custom of making provision for the perpetual offerings of flowers at temples is also known from some other records of that age. A stone inscription at Paṇḍharpur, popularly known as the inscription of Chauryāsi,[11] which belongs to the reign of the Yādava king

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[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 526 ; *Līlācharitra*, ed. by Mr. H. N. Nene, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 46.

[2] *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, pp. 85 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 127.

[4] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 64 ff. [See also *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 240, 242, etc.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 210.

[6] *Līlācharitra*, Vol 1, pp. 30 ff. The interval is taken to be two years, because the present inscription was put up in Śaka 1177 current or 1176 expired.

[7] The present inscription uses throughout the abbreviation *ga* for *gadyāṇa* as in some other inscriptions of the time.

[8] *Lākhaulī* or *lākhoḷi* (Sanskrit, *laksh-āvali*) is a Marāṭhī word meaning a 'lakh', *i. e.* a hundred thousand.

[9] Above, Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 296, n. 7.

[11] This inscription was first referred to by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Sholāpur District Gazetteer*. It has been fully edited by the late Mr. V. K. Rajawade in the Marāṭhī Magazine *Granthamālā* (now defunct).

Rāmachandra, records similar donations of *gadyāṇas* and *dāmas* (*drammas*) for the offerings of flowers and *tulasī* leaves to the deity Viṭṭhal of Paṇḍharpur. The inscription indicates that the sums were invested with some merchants of the place and the interest on them was utilised to provide for the daily offerings of flowers, etc., to the deity.

TEXT[1]

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीस[कु][3] ११७७ आनंदसंवत्स[रे] अद्येह श्रीमत्प्रौढप्रतापचक्र-
वर्तिश्रीका-

2 [न्हि]रदेवविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीवी सम[स्त]भरभा[र]निरूपित श्रीपांचो-

3 लिनि[4] . . . तनि(न्नि)रूपिवित[5]द्रवीडी वड[वो][6] श्रीसोमदेवदत्त लाषौलीए[7] ग[8] १ ॥
[वडउ][9] पं-

4 डितें दत्त ला[षौं]ए[7] ग १ [।*] दे[सै]नायकं दत्त ला[षौं]ए[7] ग १ [।*] आसु-
गिनायकें दत्त लाषौलीए[7] ग १ [।*] ढों-

5 ढिएं दत्त लाषौलिए[7] ग १ [।*] भोपतिनायकें दत्त लाषौए[7] ग १[।*] धनैएं
दत्त लाषौलिए[7] ग १ [।*]

6 [ना]गैएं [द]त्त लाषोए[7] ग १ [।*] [प्रति ?] [श्री]ठाकुरें[10] दत्त लाषौलिए[7]
ग १ [।*] [ढोढडदाउं][11] [दत्त] दिलाषौ[एं][12] [।*]

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1 From an inked estampage.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read *Śrī-Śākē.*

4 The three *aksharas* that follow are uncertain.

5 Read *tan-nirūpita.* [Better reading should be तन्निरूपि[त] विसलवाडी वंडाके. The length of डा is inked over in the impression. What follows this letter is a clear *ka*. The purport would then be that (the officer) Visalavāḍī-Vaṁḍāka Śrī-Sōmadēva and others gave what is stated in the sequel. '*Vaṇḍāka*' is probably connected with the Skt. word *vaṇṭaka* = distributor, apportioner. He may be a local officer corresponding to the Telugu '*Oṇṭudāru*' = 'local revenue officer' in the Zamindari tracts. Compare the term *vaṭṭa* in *vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIV, p. 297.—C. R. K.]

6 *Vaḍavō* and *Vaḍaü* further on in the same line are nominative singular forms of the old Marāṭhī word *Vaḍavā*.

7 Read *lākhaulie* or *lākholie.* This is a form of the dative singular in old Marāṭhī, meaning 'for a *lākholi*' (here, a lakh of flowers).

8 The abbreviated form *ga* is used here throughout for *gadyāṇa*. The Paṇḍharpur stone inscription, mentioned above, also has *ga* in all places except one where the full form *gadyāṇa* is used.

9 [The original reads ठंवुर.—C. R. K.]

10 [Better reading would be प्रति श्राढ उड्डारें.—C. R. K.]

11 [The original seems to read ढोड्लदाऊ'—C. R. K.]

12 The *aksharas* stating the number of *gadyāṇas* are lost.

No. 4.—MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF MALAVA SAMVAT 524

(1 Plate)

M. B. GARDE, GWALIOR

I discovered the subjoined inscription in the summer of the year 1923 at **Mandasor**, while I encamped there for excavating ancient sites. A short note on the record contributed by me has been published on page 187 of the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* for 1922-23. But for one reason or another I was not able to edit the epigraph with facsimile, full text and translation till now.

Mandasor is the headquarters of a district of the same name in Gwalior State. It is a place of antiquarian interest, identified with the ancient town Daśapura which is mentioned in two inscriptions[1] in the Buddhist caves at Nasik (2nd century A. D.), in the *Mēghadūta*[2] of Kālidāsa (5th century A. D.), in *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[3] (6th century A. D.) and in another inscription[4] found at Mandasor (5th century A. D.).

The stone on which the inscription is engraved was found stuck up in the inner face of the east wall of the Fort[5] at Mandasor. It is now preserved in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior.

The stone, characters and style of engraving of our inscription are strikingly similar to those of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman[4] which was recorded only five years later than our inscription. The inscription is on the whole well preserved with the exception of a letter here and a letter there, and it has been possible to decipher the whole text with certainty. The inscribed surface measures sixteen and a half inches broad by eight and a half inches high. There are fifteen lines of writing in Gupta **characters** of the Southern variety, the average size of letters being $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch. The **language** is Sanskrit, free from any grammatical solecisms. But there are a few mistakes of copying or engraving, *e.g.*, the letter *ta* is omitted in *ūrjjita-nāmadhēyam* l. 3 and *t* in *mā bhūt=kshayī* l. 14; an unnecessary *anusvāra* is added to *vya* in *vyavasāya* l. 6 and to *ja* in *janayāṁbabhūva* l. 7; *t* is substituted for *n* in *svanēshu* l. 12 and in *iv=āmbunō* l. 14. In cases where *ślōkas* or their halves end in a *visarga* or a final *m*, the sign of punctuation (*virāma-chihna*) is taken to be understood. In other places it is expressed by a horizontal stroke. But there are some exceptions to this rule in lines 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13 and 15.

With the exception of a word at the beginning and two words at the end, the whole text is in verse consisting of eighteen stanzas. The metre is *Upajāti* except in verses 1, 17 and 18 which are *Vasantatilakā*, *Pṛithvī* and *Anushṭubh* respectively.

As regards **orthography,** consonants are invariably doubled after *r*, except in *chikīrshuṇā* l. 9; while occasionally a consonant is reduplicated also before *r*, as in *-vikkrama-* l. 3, *kkramēṇa* l. 11, and *abbhra-* l. 13, in this last instance the first aspirant being correctly changed to its corresponding sonant. The reduplication is carried to consonants preceding *y* as well, in

[1] Nos. 1131 and 1148 of Luders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, above, Vol. X, Appendix.

[2] Hultzsch's edition, verse 47.

[3] Chapter XIV, verse 12.

[4] No. 18 of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III), pp. 79 ff. and pl. XI.

[5] This fort is said to have been founded by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī' of Delhi (A. D. 1296-1316) and considerably e tended by Hoshang Shāh of Malwa (A.D. 1405-1434) (*Gwalior Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 266). A number of mutilated sculptures, carvings and other stones taken from the ruins of old temples have been used promiscuously in the construction of the fort.

patthyaṁ l. 10 and *vikkhyāpakē* l. 11. Here the first aspirants are likewise changed to their corresponding surds. In places, a final *m*, instead of being turned to *anusvāra*, is changed to the nasal of the class the following consonant belongs to, as in *-ādiṅ=guṇa-* l. 6, *svēshām=balānāṁ* l. 8 and *śītalañ=cha* l. 10. In *-vaṅśa-* l. 11, *anusvāra* is wrongly represented by *ṅ*. The sign of *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in *-duḥkha-* l. 1.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a *stūpa*, a *kūpa* (well), a *prapā* (charitable water-stall), and an *ārāma* (garden or monastery) by Dattabhaṭa, the Commander of the forces of King **Prabhākara.** Dattabhaṭa was a son of Vāyurakshita who was the General of the armies of **Gōvindagupta,** a son of the Gupta Emperor **Chandragupta** II. The year of the **date** is specified in words as **524 (expired) of Mālava Saṁvat** (literally the era which proclaims the fame of the race of the Mālavas), the season of the year (*viz.*, the spring) is expressed by a poetic description, while the month and day are not mentioned at all. The Mālava year 524 (expired) corresponds to A. D. 467-68. There is no reference to any place name.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *siddham*. Verse 1 is a *maṅgalācharaṇa* expressing adoration to Sugata (the Buddha). Verse 2 introduces King **Chandragupta** who is eulogised as the moon in the sky of the Gupta dynasty. He forcibly deprived kings of their lordship over the earth which he bound over with the ties of his own family from which " it is not liberated yet " (verse 3). He had a son having the noble appellation **Gōvindagupta** (verse 4). While kings deprived of their prowess, touched his (Gōvindagupta's) feet with their heads (in token of submission), even the lord of gods (Indra) was filled with fear and anxiety for the safety of his own throne (verse 5). Gōvindagupta had a General (*sēnāpati*) named Vāyurakshita who possessed many good qualities (verses 6-7). The latter's son, by a northern princess, was Dattabhaṭa who like his father was an abode of fame and virtues and who resembled Kubēra in munificence, Bṛihaspati in intellect, Smara in the art of love, and Yama in fight or destruction (verses 8-9). King **Prabhākara,** who was a menace to the enemies of the Guptas, appointed him as the Commander-in-chief of his armies (verse 10). As an humble mark of his desire to requite the obligations of his parents, Dattabhaṭa excavated a well and constructed a *stūpa*, a *prapā* and an *ārāma* (verse 11). Verse 13 specifies the date of the inscription in the words ' when five hundred, and eight multiplied by three, autumns proclaiming the spotless fame of the Mālava race had expired '. Verses 14 and 15 contain a poetic description of the spring, implying thereby that the works were accomplished in that season of the year. Verse 18 states that the objects referred to in verse 11 were situated within the limits of Lōkōttara-Vihāra which was possibly the proper name of some local Buddhist monastery probably named after the Lōkōttaravādin sect of the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism. The Buddhist institutions alluded to in this inscription were evidently situated at or in the neighbourhood of Mandasor where the inscription was found, although no place name is mentioned in the record. The sculptures and inscriptions (5th and 6th centuries A. D.) found at Mandasor (Daśapura) so far are all Brahmanical. Our inscription is thus the first Buddhist record hailing from Mandasor.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. In the genealogical portion two scions of the Gupta dynasty are eulogised, namely Chandragupta and his son Gōvindagupta. These are obviously none other than Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and his son Gōvindagupta.

Chandragupta had been dead long before the date of our inscription. Though our inscription is the only stone inscription so far known, which mentions Gōvindagupta, he is already known

from a clay seal[1] of his mother Mahādēvī Dhruvasvāminī (better known as Dhruvadēvī), found in the excavations at Basarh (Vaiśālī). From this seal[2] as well as from some other official seals found along with it, it would appear that Gōvindagupta was perhaps the eldest[3] son of Chandragupta II and was the Governor of the District Tīrabhukti with its capital at Vaiśālī (Basarh), in his capacity as the *Yuvarāja* (heir-apparent). during a part of the reign of his father. In the seal of Dhruvasvāminī, Gōvindagupta is styled *Mahārāja* which according to Mr. Allan[4] probably means no more than prince. But verse 4 of the present inscription, which describes Gōvindagupta as a (paramount) sovereign to whose feet homage was paid by feudatory princes, further shows that he must have occupied the imperial throne *afterwards*, even though it might have been for a short time. No conclusive evidence has become available so far to show as to when exactly he ruled as emperor. Our inscription concludes the Gupta genealogy with his name, but does not state whether he was the contemporary ruling emperor. It tells us that Dattabhaṭa, whose charities are recorded in the inscription, was the son of Vāyurakshita who was the General of Emperor Gōvindagupta. Gōvindagupta's reign may thus have preceded the date of our inscription by two generations. This would support Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view that Gōvindagupta probably ruled as emperor between (his father) Chandragupta II and (his younger brother) Kumāragupta I. His reign can not have exceeded three years—the interval between the last known date of Chandragupta II (G. E. 93) and the earliest known date of Kumāragupta I (G. E. 96). That Gōvindagupta must have ruled as emperor for a very short period is also evident from the fact that he has left no coins. Being a collateral, Gōvindagupta does not appear in the genealogy of the inscriptions of Kumāragupta and his successors.

According to the Gupta chronology generally accepted, the year in which our inscription is dated (M. E. 524 =A. D. 467-68) is the closing year of the reign of Skandagupta and the opening year of that of Purugupta. At this time the disintegration of the Gupta Empire had already set in, in consequence of the invasions by the Hūṇas; but verse 3 of the inscription states that the earth (meaning Malwa and other western provinces of the Gupta Empire) which had been subjugated by Chandragupta II was still under the sway of the Guptas. This being so, the reason why our inscription did not continue the Gupta chronology down to the contemporary Gupta Emperor requires an explanation. A possible explanation is that Dattabhaṭa, the donor of the inscription, who was a son of a devoted servant of Gōvindagupta, did not like to refer to the names of his (*i.e.*, Gōvindagupta's) collaterals. Or else, the two Gupta Emperors, Chandragupta and Gōvindagupta, were casually mentioned simply to introduce Vāyurakshita, the father of Dattabhaṭa, and that there was no intention to record the full genealogy of the Gupta dynasty. This would explain the omission of the names of the predecessors of Chandragupta II and also of the successors of Gōvindagupta.

So much about Gōvindagupta and the Gupta dynasty. Another person of historical interest referred to in our inscription is Prabhākara, the master of Dattabhaṭa. He is not known from any other source. In our inscription he is described as a king (*bhūmipati*) and a destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta dynasty (verse 10). The name of his capital or territory, however, is not mentioned. Probably he was the contemporary local chief of Daśapura and feudatory ally of the Guptas in their struggle against the Hūṇas.[5] It is rather strange that Dattabhaṭa should not have included in the inscription the genealogy of his master. It is just possible that Prabhākara was a self-made

[1] *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 102 and 107.

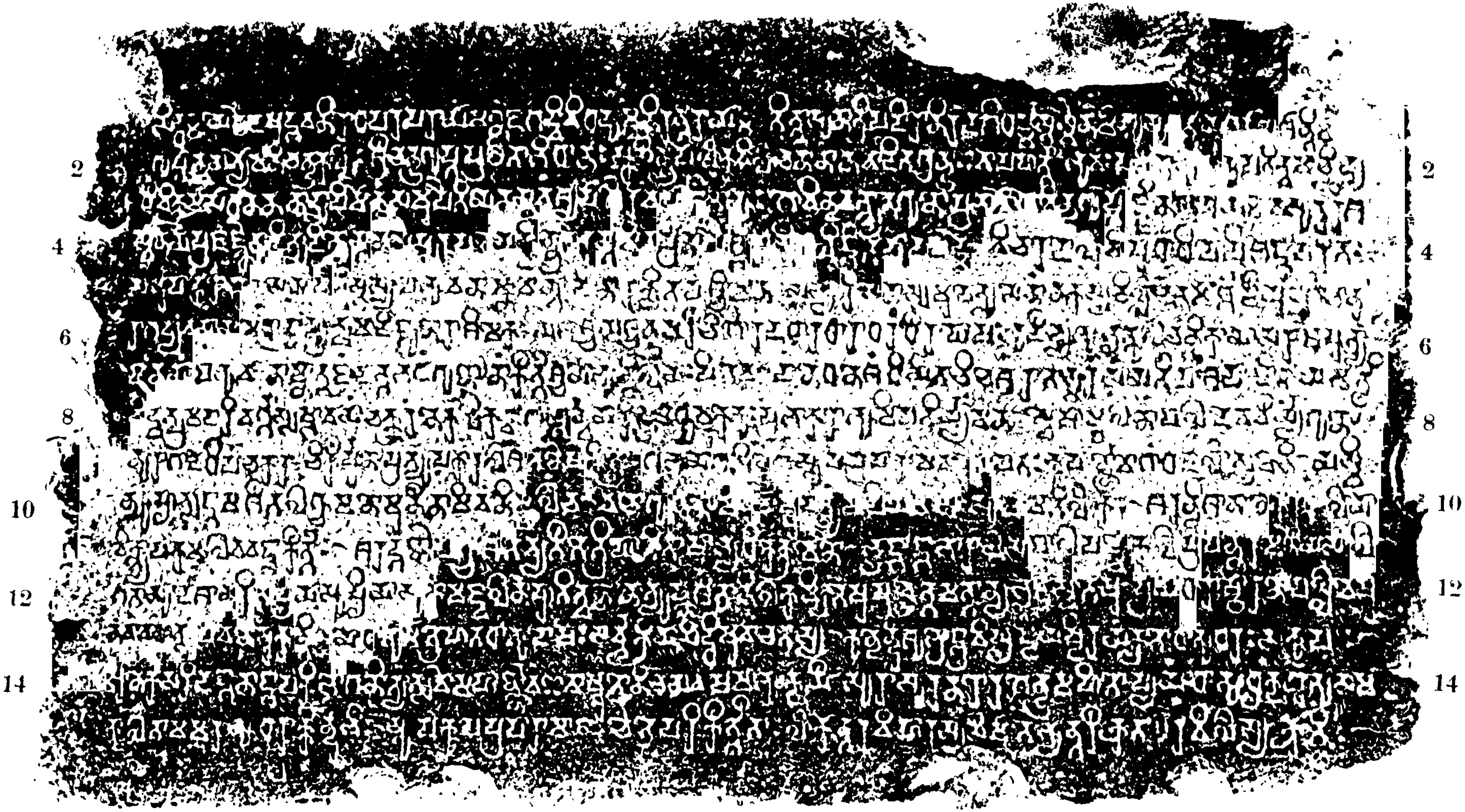
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI (1912), p. 3.

[3] Dr. Bloch (*A. R. A. S. I.* for 1903-04, p. 102) and Allan (*Cat. of Gupta Coins*, Introduction p. cxxvi, genealogical table), however, take him to be a younger son.

[4] *Cat. of Gupta Coins*, Introduction p. xi.

[5] We know that the Hūṇas were threatening to invade the western portion of the Gupta Empire about this time.

Mandasor Inscription of Malava Samvat 524.



SCALE: ONE-HALF

B. Ch. Chhabra.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36.– 475' 49.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

person who had no distinguished ancestors worthy of record. He may have been appointed to the kingship of Daśapura by the paramount power, after the extinction of the Varman dynasty to which Naravarman of the Mandasor inscription[1] of M. E. 461, Viśvavarman of the Gaṅgdhār inscription[2] of (M. E.) 480 and Bandhuvarman of the Mandasor inscription[3] of M. E. 493 belonged. That Prabhākara was not a scion of the Varman dynasty is also corroborated by his name which, unlike those of all the known members of that dynasty, does not end in *varman*. He, however, seems to have continued his predecessors' policy of alliance with the Gupta Empire.

TEXT

1 सिद्धम् [।*] ये[नि]दमुद्भवनिरोधपरंपरायां मग्नं जगद्विविधदुःखनिरन्तरायाम् [।*]
तित्त्रासुना त्रिपदिरो[4] निरदेशि धर्म्मस्तस्मै नमोस्तु सुगताय [ग]ताय शान्तिम् [॥१*]

2 गुप्तान्वयव्योमनि चन्द्रकल्पः[5] श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तप्रथिताभिधानः [।*] आसीन्नृपो लोकवि[लो]-
चनानां नवोदितश्चन्द्र इवापहर्त्ता [॥२*] भुवःपती[नां] भुवि भूपतित्वमाच्छिद्य

3 धीविक्क्रमसाधनेन [।*] नाद्यापि मोक्षं समुपैति येन स्ववंश्यपाशैरवपाशिता भूः
[॥३*] गोविन्दवत्ख्यातगुणप्रभावो गोविन्दगुप्तोर्ज्जि[त*]ना[मधे]यम् [।*] वसुन्धरेश-

4 स्तनयं प्रजज्ञे[6] स दित्यदि[त्यो]स्तनयैस्सरूपम् [॥४*] य[स्मि]न्नृपैरस्तमितप्रतापै-
श्शिरोभिरालिङ्गितपादपद्मे । विचारदो[लां] विबुधाधिपोपि शङ्कापरीतः

5 समुपा[रु]रोह [॥५*] सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना वायुरक्षितपश्चिमेन [।*]
यस्यारिसेनास्समुपेत्य सेनां न कस्यचिल्लोचनमार्ग्गमीयुः [॥६*] शौचानु-

6 रागव्यं(व्य)वसायमेधादाक्ष्यक्षमादिङ्गुणराशिमेकः [।*] यशश्च यश्चन्द्रमरोचिगौरं दधार
धाराधरधीरघोषः [॥७*] उदीच्यभूभृत्कुलचन्द्रिकायां[7] स रा[ज]पुत्र्यां

7 जं(ज)नयांबभूव । नाम्नात्मजं दत्तभटं गुणानां कीर्त्तेश्च योभून्निलयः पि[तृ]व ।[।८*]
दाने धनेशं धियि वाचि चेशं[8] रतौ स्मरं संयति पाशपाणिम् [।*]
यमर्त्थि-

8 विद्वत्प्रमदारिवर्ग्गास्सम्भावयांचक्रुरनेकधैकम् [॥९*] गुप्तान्वयारिद्रुमधूमकेतुः प्रभाकरो
भूमिपतिर्य्यमेनम् [।*] स्वेषाम्बलानां बलदेववीर्य्यं गुणा-

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1 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 315 ff.

2 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 17.

3 *Ibid.*, No. 18.

4 The word त्रिपदिर is an unfamiliar one in Sanskrit. Compare कुद्दालुरो in *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Sūtra* 140.

5 Compare गुप्तकुलव्योमशशी on coins of Kumāragupta, and भूभृत्कुलचन्द्रिकायां in l. 6 below.

6 [This ought to be जनयामास.—Ed.]

7 Compare गुप्तान्वयव्योमनि चन्द्रकल्पः in l. 2 above.

8 The expression वाचि ईश equal to वाचः ईश and synonymous with वाचस्पति is correct according to Pāṇini. [The correct form ought to be वागीश.—Ed.]
II.3.39.

9 नुरागादधिपं चकार ॥[१०*] चिकीर्षुणा प्रत्युपकारलेशं तेनैष पित्रोः शुभयोग-
सिद्ध्यै । स्तूप[प्र]पारामवरैरुपेतः कूपोर्ण्णवागाधजलो व्यखानि ।[११*] यस्मि-

10 न्मुहृत्सङ्गमशीतलञ्च मनो मुनीशामिव निर्म्मलं च । वचो गुरूणामिव चाम्बु
पथ्यं पेपीयमानः सुखमेति लोकः ।[।१२*] शरन्निशानाथकरामलायाः

11 विख्यापके मालववङ्ग(वंश)कीर्त्तेः[1] । शरद्गणे पञ्चशते व्यतीते त्रिघातिताष्टाभ्यधिके
क्रमेण ।[।१३*] भृङ्गाङ्गभारालसबालपद्मे काले प्रपन्ने रमणीयसाले ।

12 गतासु देशान्तरितप्रियासु प्रियासु कामज्वलनाहुतित्वम् [॥१४*] नात्युष्णशीतानिल-
कम्पितेषु प्रवृत्तमत्तान्यभृतस्वते(ने)षु । प्रियाधरोष्ठारुणपल्लवेषु

13 नवां व[ह]त्सूपवनेषु कान्तिम् [१५*] यो धातुमात्रे हृतधातुदोषः सर्व्वक्रियासिद्धि-
मुवाच तस्य । कुन्देन्दुशुभ्रोऽभ्रविघट्टयष्टिरयं कृतो धातुधरः सकूपः ।[१६*]

14 अनेकसरिदङ्गनाङ्गपरिभोगनित्योत्सवो महार्ण्णव इवाम्बुतो(नो) निचय एष मा
भूत्त(त्क्ष)यी । सुरासुरनरोरगेन्द्रमहितोप्ययं धातुधृक्परैतु सम-

15 कालताममरभूधरार्क्केन्दुभिः ।[।१७*] स्तूपकूपप्रपारामा ये चैते परिकीर्त्तिताः [।*]
लोकोन्त(त्त)रविहारस्य सीम्नि तेभ्यन्तरीकृता[:*] ॥[१८*] रविलस्य कृतिः ।

TRANSLATION

Success attained!

(V. 1.) Obeisance to Sugata who, wishing to save the world (*which is*) plunged in the uninterrupted series of births and deaths closely associated with misery in various forms, enjoined a religion consisting of three steps[2] (stages), and who attained peace!

(V. 2.) Like a moon in the sky (*in the form*) of the Gupta dynasty there was a king whose well-known appellation was *śrī* Chandragupta, and who fascinated the eyes of the people as does the newly risen moon.

(V. 3.) Who on (*this*) earth having (*formerly*) snatched away the kingship of (*many*) kings by dint of his intellect and valour, ensnared the earth with the bonds of his dynasts, from which she (*i.e.*, the earth) has not yet been able to release herself.

(V. 4.) The lord of the earth (*i.e.*, king Chandragupta) who was as famous as Gōvinda (Vishṇu) for the glory of his virtues, produced a son whose exalted name was Gōvindagupta and who resembled the sons of Diti and Aditi (*i.e.*, demons and gods).[3]

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[1] Compare मालवानां गणस्थित्या and मालवगणस्थितिवशात् in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 18 and 35.

[2] The three *padas* may either refer to the three *śaraṇas* of the Buddhists, namely Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha, or to the three stages *sōtāpatti*, *sakadāgāmi* and *anāgāmi* on the path of Nibbāna or else to the three principles *anitya*, *duḥkha* and *anātma*.

[3] The poet means that Gōvindagupta resembled demons in physical strength and valour, and gods in spiritual virtues.

(V. 5.) When kings deprived of their prowess embraced with their heads (*i.e.*, bowed down to) his (*i.e.*, Gōvindagupta's) lotus-like feet, even the lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra), being frightened, mounted the swing of (*anxious*) thought (*i.e.*, was upset with the fear, lest he should be dethroned from his position by the powerful king).

(V. 6.) The commander of his armies was named Vāyurakshita. The forces of his enemies disappeared as soon as they approached his army.

(V. 7.) The peerless (*general*) whose voice was resonant like the thunder of a cloud, possessed the multitude of qualities such as purity, love, industry, intelligence, skill in action and forgiveness, as also fame white like the rays of the moon.

(V. 8.) He begot on a princess who was the very moon-light to the family of a northern king, a son, Dattabhata by name, who, like his father, was an abode of virtues and fame.

(V. 9.) Who, though one, was fancied variously as the lord of wealth (*i.e.*, Kubēra) in munificence, as the lord of speech (*i.e.*, Brihaspati) in talent, as the god of love (*i.e.*, Smara) in enjoyment and as the god of death (*i.e.*, Yama) in battle, by supphants, learned men, young women and enemies (*respectively*).

(V. 10.) King Prabhākara who was the fire to the trees in the form of the enemies of the race of the Guptas, appointed him (*i.e.*, Dattabhata), who was endowed with the prowess of Baladēva, as the general of his armies, in appreciation of his merits.

(V. 11.) Wishing to requite, however inadequately, the obligations of his parents, and for the attainment of good luck (*i.e.*, heavenly bliss) by them, he dug a well full of waters as deep as those of the ocean, accompanied by a *stūpa*, a *prapā*[1] and an *ārāma*[2] *par excellence*.

(V. 12.) People derive comfort by frequently drinking its water, cool (refreshing) as the meeting of dear friends, pure as the mind of sages and wholesome as the words of elders.

(V. 13.) When five hundred and twenty-four years, announcing the fame of the race of the Mālavas, as pure as the rays of autumnal moon, had elapsed one after another ;

(V. 14.) When the season, in which the young lotus is fatigued with the load of the bodies of bees, and the *sāl* tree looks charming, had come, when wives were being tormented by the fire of love, their dear husbands having been away from home ;

(V. 15.) When groves were assuming fresh splendour (*with their trees*) being waved by the breezes, neither very hot nor very cold, with intoxicated cuckoos just commencing their sweet notes, and with the young leaves looking reddish like the lips of charming women ;[3]

(V. 16.) This *stūpa*,[4] accompanied by a well, has been constructed (*in commemoration*) of Him (the Buddha) who, having overcome the evil influences of all the elements (*dhātu*), explained (preached) the accomplishment of all actions[5], the *stūpa*—the structure of which was as white as the *kunda* flower and the moon, and the pinnacle of which touched the clouds.

(V. 17.) May this store of water (*i.e.*, the well), that constantly enjoys the festivity of union with the bodies of many women (*who go to bathe there*) always be full[6] like the ocean that (*also*)

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[1] *Prapā* is a place or a shed where drinking water is supplied free to passers-by.

[2] *Ārāma* may mean either a monastery or a garden.

[3] The description of nature given in verses 14 and 15 is indicative of the spring season.

[4] This verse emphasises the construction of the *stūpa* just as verse 11 lays stress on the construction of the well

[5] [The reference is to the *Nidānasūtra* in which He explained the theory of cause and effect.—Ed.]

[6] Literally 'may never be exhausted !' [The word *kshayī* is used here in a double sense (*ślēsha*) : (1) exhaustible and (2) consumptive. The reference here is to the fate of a man who indulges too much in sexual pleasure, the well-known exception being the ocean.—Ed.]

enjoys the constant festivity of union with many rivers (*who are, as it were,*) his wives ! May this *stūpa* worshipped by gods, demons, mortals and serpent-divinities, also last as long as the heavenly mountain Mēru, the sun and the moon !

(V. 18.) The *stūpa*, *kūpa*, *prapā* and *ārāma*, which are alluded to above, are included within the limits of the Lōkōttara Monastery (*vihāra*).[1]

(*This*) is the composition of Ravila.

No. 5.—BADAGANGA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF BHUTIVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)[2]

The late Dr. N. K. BHATTASALI, DACCA[3]

In Vol. V (1937-38) of the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, on pp. 14-57, Mr. R. M. Nath, B. E., of the Assam Engineering Service (P. W. D.), described some ancient ruins of the Kapilī and the Yamunā Valleys, in the Nowgong District of Assam. Professor P. C. Sen[4] was the first to point out that the existence of a well-known place called Ḍabokā on the Yamunā river in the Nowgong District situated midway between Samataṭa (identified with Tipperā and Noākhālī Districts of Bengal)[5] and Kāmarūpa (the well-known ancient kingdom round modern Gauhāṭi in Assam) made the identification of the region round Ḍabokā with the ancient kingdom of Ḍavāka almost certain. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua in his *Early History of Kāmarūpa* supported the identification. Mr. Nath in his article under reference described some antiquities found at Ḍabokā and he also supported the identification of Ḍabokā with Ḍavāka.

In his article, Mr. Nath described the ruins of a temple on a small rivulet called **Baḍagaṅgā** about 14 miles to the north-east of Ḍabokā. The following is a quotation from that description :—

" By the south of the Mahāmāyā Hill flows the river Harkāṭi. To the south of this river, running almost parallel to this, is a small stream known as Baḍagaṅgā, written as Barkhugā in the map. About 1½ miles to the south-west of the Mahāmāyā temple, there is a small lake formed in this Baḍagaṅgā river. On the left bank of this lake, there is a slightly elevated big plot of land now covered with thick jungles, which contains ruins of a very big temple. The whole structure, 86′ long by 30′ wide, consisted of three parts, the *Maṇikūṭa* built with hard sand-stone, and the *Deoṛighar* and the *Nāṭ-mandir* built with bricks.

" On the left bank of the Baḍagaṅgā stream, where the stream has abruptly widened into lake, there are two huge blocks of natural rock standing side by side with a small gap in between. The rocks are about 22′ long, 12′ high and 7′ to 12′ wide. Each rock has got a *dvārapāla* 4′ high with a spear in his hand engraved on the rock at the entrance. The left rock has got a figure of Hanumān engraved on it. On the inside face of the left rock and facing the passage, there are 3¼ lines of writing in an embossed block, 2′×2′. The writing has been partly damaged by the continued effect of rain, sun and wild fire of the jungle for years together. The figure of the *dvārapāla* looks like the figure of an up-country man."

Sometime in June, 1939, Mr. Nath sent to me a small photograph of an inscription inside a rectangular panel, consisting of three and a quarter lines of writing and I had no difficulty in

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[1] This was probably the proper name of a local monastery of the Lōkōttaravādin sect of the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism.

[2] [The impression reproduced here is very much 'doctored'. An attempt is being made to procure a more faithful impression which will be published when available.—Ed.]

[3] [It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away while the article was still in the press.—Ed.]

[4] *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. I, 1933, pp. 14-15 and 124.

[5] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 353 ff.

recognising it as the Baḍagaṅgā inscription, the site of which he had previously described. I realised at the first sight that this must be regarded as the earliest inscription hitherto discovered within the bounds of the present province of Assam, as the script of the inscription was undoubtedly Gupta. I immediately wrote to Mr. Nath, stating that the script of the inscription was Gupta and the inscription contained the name of some *Mahārājādhirāja*. I requested him to send me better photographs and estampages, if taken. Mr. Nath, thereupon, sent me some estampages, very imperfect and blurred, and with their help I ascertained that it was an inscription of **Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarman** dated in the Gupta year 2..4. The second digit was subsequently read with some hesitation as 30. Thus the inscription was ascertained to be of the Gupta year 234, equivalent to A. D. 553-54. I sent my reading with the estampage and the photograph to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, who pointed out that the text contained a word indicating that **Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarman** had performed an **Aśvamēdha** sacrifice.

Some words still remained undeciphered, and I therefore paid a visit to the site of the inscription and took some estampages and photographs. Thus with the help of the materials previously supplied by Mr. Nath, and the new materials obtained by myself, I succeeded in deciphering the inscription completely.

Bhāskaravarman was fifth in descent from Bhūtivarman. Their names became familiar to the learned world from the enumeration of the dynastic list in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, by Haṁsavēga, envoy of Bhāskara to Harsha, in which all the kings from Bhūtivarman to Bhāskaravarman are named. The next mention of Bhūtivarman was met with in the famous Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskara, by which the joint right of about 300 Brahmins of many different *gōtras* to a vast plot of land measuring about 5 miles by 2¾ miles, represented by the present *parganā* of Pañchakhaṇḍa, of the Sylhet District, was re-confirmed.[1] This document reveals the startling fact that the grant was originally made by king Bhūtivarman. The present dated inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarman turning up from the Yamunā valley in the Nowgong District is another indication of the might of this great king of Eastern India. From the fact that the Surmā and the Kuśiārā Valleys, *i.e.*, the present district of Sylhet, were included in the kingdom of Bhūtivarman, we get a fairly good idea of the extent of his kingdom.

The Varmans of Prāgjyōtisha were originally masters of the Brahmaputra Valley only, with their headquarters somewhere on that river. There are at least two pieces of evidence to show that Ḍavāka, the present Nowgong District. was originally a separate kingdom and in no way dependent on Kāmarūpa. The first evidence is the separate mention of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka and Kāmarūpa in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta. It is only common sense to hold that these three formed separate and contiguous kingdoms on the eastern frontier of the great North Indian empire of Samudragupta. Samataṭa is described by Hiuen Tsang as lying south of Kāmarūpa and bordering on the sea. This indication fixes its position on the map fairly accurately, when we remember that it was a *pratyanta* kingdom, outside the regular boundary of Samudragupta's empire, and no part of Bengal to the west of the Meghnā and the Brahmaputra could be regarded as included in a *pratyanta* kingdom. It would thus appear that the region east of the mighty Brahmaputra, which flowed through the eastern part of the modern district of Dacca in ancient times, formed the kingdom of Samataṭa.

Some scholars are inclined to include the northern shore of the Bay of Bengal or the greater part of it included in the Twenty-four Parganas, Jessore and Bakarganj Districts of Bengal within Samataṭa, following Hiuen Tsang's mention of the distance of 1200 or 1300 *li* from Kāmarūpa, quite forgetting that these regions from remote antiquity formed regular parts of Vaṅga, and along with Northern and Western Bengal, must have been included in Samudragupta's empire, and it is absurd to take these regions as included in the *pratyanta* kingdom of Samataṭa. The Bāghāurā

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1935, pp. 419-27.

Nārāyaṇa image inscription[1] in the district of Tippera, and mentioning the village of Bilakinda modern Bilkendūā close by, 'as included in Samataṭa', finally settles the question. With this point inside Samataṭa we can clearly see that the region north of the sea-shore in Noākhāli District, bounded by the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra river on the west and the hills of Tippera and Sylhet on the east was the ancient *pratyanta* kingdom of Samataṭa. Hiuen Tsang gives the circuit of the country as 3000 *li*, equivalent to about 600 miles. If the Chinese traveller was even approximately correct in his measurements, we can easily visualise the extent of the kingdom of Samataṭa. A look at the map will show that the strip of land between the Brahmaputra and the hills of Tippera is nowhere more than about 40 miles broad. But we have to accommodate here a kingdom 600 miles in circuit. If the sum-total of the sides of a rectangle is 600 miles, and one of the sides is only 40 miles, the other side must be about 250 miles. We thus see that to accommodate a kingdom of the circuit of about 600 miles, we have to include within it the entire plain area, bounded by the Garo, the Khāsi and the Jaintiā Hills on the north, the hills of Kachar and Tippera on the east, the sea on the south, and the mighty river Brahmaputra on the west. That is to say, the ancient kingdom of Samataṭa comprised the modern districts of Sylhet, Tippera and Noākhāli, as well as the eastern half of the Mymensingh District, and a narrow strip from the eastern side of the present Dacca District —an area, the circuit of which is approximately 600 miles.

The kingdom of Samataṭa thus marked off, we can easily locate Ḍavāka on the other side of the hills bordering Samataṭa on the north, in the Kapilī, the Yamunā and the Kullong valleys, *i.e.*, the present Nowgong District. Beyond this region, to its north-west, lay the kingdom of Kāmarūpa.

The western boundary of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa is marked by the river Karatōyā from time immemorial. Not only is this boundary recognised in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and the *Yōginītantra*, but the more authentic Chinese sources also confirm it, where the river Ka-lo-tu, *i.e.*, Karatōyā, is placed as boundary between Puṇḍravardhana and Kāmarūpa[2]. In the east, the boundary of Kāmarūpa reached the frontiers of China, but was never very well defined. What separated Ḍavāka from Kāmarūpa is also not very clear.

As already stated, the separate naming of these three kingdoms as *pratyanta* kingdoms, whose kings paid Samudragupta all manner of tributes and sought his pleasure by obedience, obeisance and personal attendance (*-ādi-pratyanta-nṛipatibhiḥ=....... sarva-karadān-ājñākaraṇa-praṇām-āgamana-paritōshita*) would indicate the separate existence of these three kingdoms during this period, *i.e.*, towards the end of the reign of Samudragupta by about 380 A. D.[3] In 428 A. D., a king named 'Moon-loved' (Chandragupta ?), king of the Kapilī country, sent an embassy to China. The capital of the country is described as situated by the side of a lake to the east of a river and surrounded on all sides by dark purplish rocks.[4] This Kapilī country has been sought to be identified with the kingdom of Ḍavāka of the Kapilī valley, though it is difficult to understand why the proper name of the country should not be mentioned, and the country should be made known by the name of the river.[5]

It should be noted, however, that the Ḍabokā region is to the east of the river Kapilī, and is practically surrounded on all sides by dark hills, and as such, corresponds very closely to the Chinese description of the country of Kapilī. The hills of Kachar are to the south of this region, while the south and the south-west are covered by the Khāsi and the Jaintiā Hills. To the east and the north-east are the hills of Ḍabokā (the Mahāmāyā Hills) and the Mikir Hills. The direct

[1] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 355.

[2] Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, page 186.

[3] Above, Vol. XXI, page 3.

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, page 540.

[5] Barua : *Early History of Kamarupa*, page 47.

north and the north-west, however, are open up to the Brahmaputra river. Bearing these points in mind, the following description of the ruins at a place called Jugijān, about eight miles south-west of Ḍabokā, midway between the Yamunāmukh and the Hojāi Railway stations on the Lumding-Gauhati section of the Assam-Bengal Railway, about a mile west of the railway line, from Mr. R. M. Nath's article referred to in the beginning of this paper will be found apposite :—

"At a distance of about six miles from either Yamunāmukh or Hojāi railway stations, at a distance of about a mile from the Assam-Bengal Railway line, opposite mile 400, lie the ruins of the Jugijān temples. The stream Jugijān has a peculiarity. It is very narrow on the up-stream side and also on the down-stream side, but at the particular place where the shrines stand, it is about 150′ wide and about a mile long. It is fordable in other places, but here it is very deep. On the north bank of this *lake*, about half a furlong off, there are three little mounds, each about 300′ apart. Each contains the ruins of a stone temple.. ....These three temples serve as the gateway to the main shrines which are situated at a distance of about a quarter mile from them. Here there are ruins of two huge temples ....About half a furlong to the north of the shrines, is a big area, bounded on all sides by high earthen walls. There is also a big tank inside, now reduced to a quagmire. This is locally known as the Rāj-bāḍi (royal palace)."[1] * * * "To a cursory observer who travels in the interior of Hojāi, it will easily appear that this area was once really thickly populated and highly civilised. Wherever you go, you notice huge tanks, some of them having *pucca* ghats with stone and brick walls".[2] * * * "All about the place, there are innumerable big tanks and hundreds of ruins of old stone structures."[3] * * * "It is no exaggeration to state in the Hojāi area in the Yamunā valley, wherever you cast your eyes, you come upon some old ruins. It is here only that ruins of hundreds of old stone temples and images have been found."[4] * * * "In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Burmese entered Nowgong ; ....they pillaged all the surrounding country and committed appalling atrocities on the helpless inhabitants............The depopulation of the region round Ḍabokā and the Kapilī valley dates from these disastrous times. The final dose was given by the horrifying Kala-azar epidemic, during which people died quietly in thousands. So, what was once a thickly populated and highly civilised country, relapsed mostly into thick forests."[5]

The situation of the Jugijān ruins by the side of a lake, with the Kapilī river on the west and surrounded by dark hills practically on all sides, answers remarkably well to the description of the Kapilī country and its capital found in the Chinese sources, which can thus be identified with the capital of Ḍavāka. This would make it probable that the kingdom continued independent up to about the middle of the 5th century A.D., when the rising power of the Varmans of Kāmarūpa must have put an end to its separate existence.

In the *Harshacharita*, the genealogy of the Varmans of Kāmarūpa begins from Bhūtivarman, fifth in ascent from Bhāskaravarman, though it is generally the custom to name only three generations. This probably indicates that he was the person with whom the dynasty began to rise into importance. The remarkable attempt at Aryanising this frontier land by the settlement of about three hundred Brahmins of different *gōtras* in what is at present known as the *parganā* of Pañcha-khaṇḍa in the Sylhet District, gives us a glimpse into the activities of this man of zeal ; and when we find his *Vishayāmātya* Āryyaguṇa founding an *āśrama* on the Baḍagaṅgā rivulet in the Gupta year 234=554 A.D., almost under the shadow of the Mahāmāyā Hill and the Mahāmāyā temple in the Nowgong District, we at once realise that this intrepid king had taken advantage of the

[1] *J. A. R. S.*, Vol. V, 1937-38, page 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 51.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

decline of the Guptas and had made himself emperor of Eastern India by welding together Kāmarūpa, Ḍavāka and Samataṭa into one empire and had declared his overlordship over them by the performance of an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.

The Topography of the Inscription.—An excellent description of the topography of the place has already been quoted from Mr. Nath's article. It is only necessary to add a few comments. The rivulet Baḍagaṅgā was barely five yards in width in January, when I visited the place. The lake into which Baḍagaṅgā is described by Mr. Nath to have widened at the site of the inscription, is nothing more than a pool, barely twenty feet in diameter. The figures of a *dvārapāla* with a spear and a Hanumān on the left rock spoken of by Mr. Nath appeared to me to be rude representations of a tall female figure stooping and thrusting forward something like a spear, and a half-kneeling man in a fighting attitude, a little below.

The second and the longest line of the inscription is 24″ long. The fourth and the shortest is only 7″.

The **characters** belong to the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. Single letters are generally about an inch high, but some of the conjunct letters are more than 2″ in height. The script is similar to that noticed in the copper plates of the same period found in Bengal. There is little distinction between *s* and *sh*, excepting that the former appears to have the right perpendicular stroke a little longer. *Ya* is replaced by *yā* (ll. 2 and 3) and once compounded in *ryya*. In all these places, it has the picturesque form with a wavy tail on the left, represented so well in the first plate of Dharmāditya published by Mr. Pargiter in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1910. Much discussion has centred round the different forms of *y* of this period. As a recently discovered plate of Samāchāradēva unexpectedly and uniformly shows only old forms of this letter, the whole question will have to be considered again, when I shall be editing that plate for this journal in the near future. The form of *ya* in this new rock inscription of Bhūtivarman will be duly considered in that connection. The superscript *r* occurs twice, doubling the consonants *m* and *y*. *Ha* appears as a single stroke bent to the left as in the Baigram plate of the time of Kumāragupta.[1]

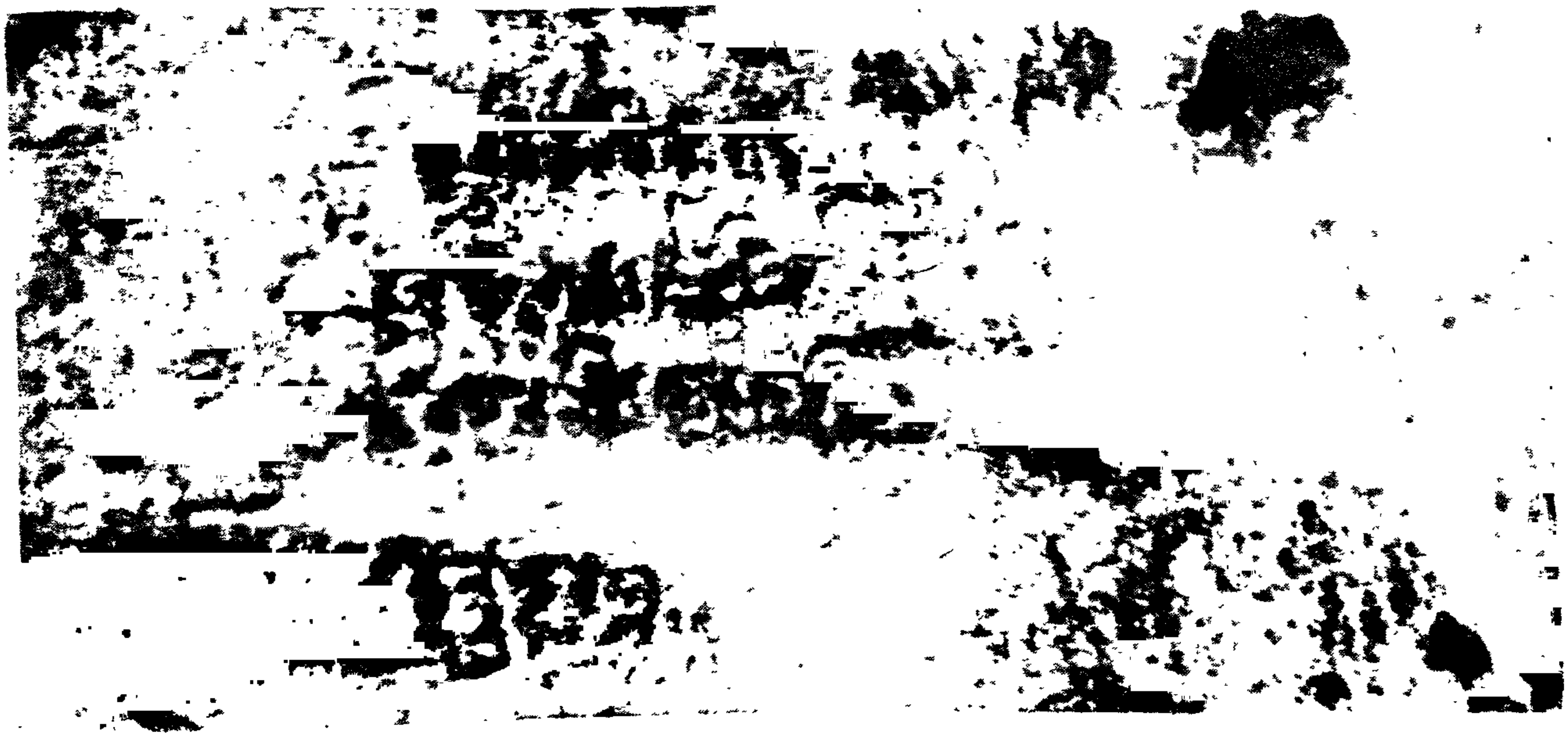
The **language** of the record is correct Sanskrit. The inscription, as it stands, appears rather incomplete. It is hardly a sentence, and in place of the declaratory label—' This is the Āśrama of Āryyaguṇa ', we would have expected the inscription to say that it was Āryyaguṇa who *built* the Āśrama, in that particular month. The word *āśrama*, it should be noted, is used both in masculine and in neuter genders.

The **date** of the inscription is very important. In discussing the date of Bhūtivarman, we should remember that the following is the genealogy from Bhāskaravarman upwards :—

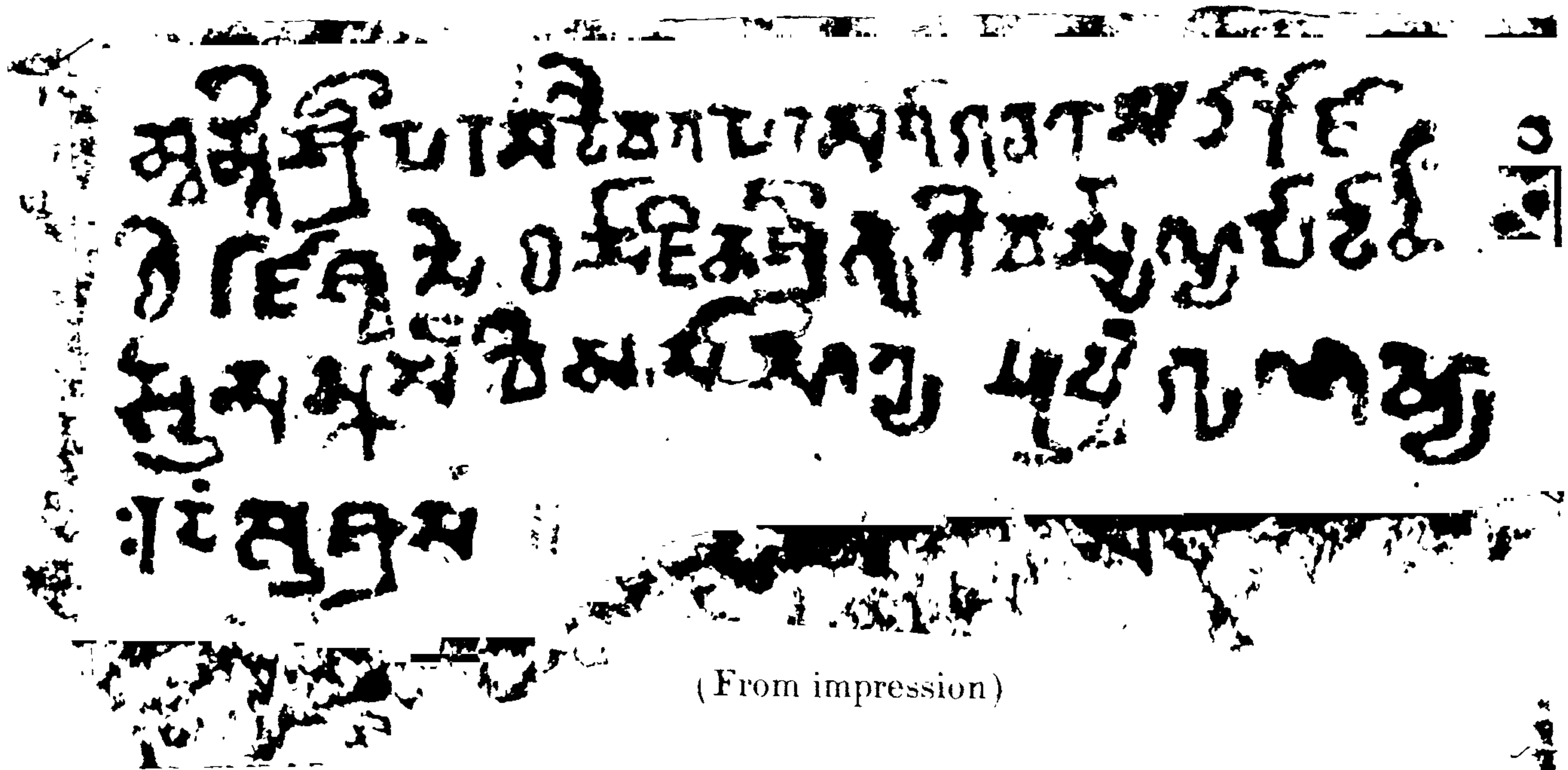
Bhūtivarman——Vijñānavatī
Chandramukhavarman——Bhōgavatī
Sthitavarman———Nayanaśōbhā
Susthitavarman——Śyāmādēvī
Bhāskaravarman (approx. A. D. 590-650).

Let us assume that the kings were all the eldest sons of their parents, born about their 20th year, and assume further that Bhāskara was nearly of the same age as Harsha. Mr. Vaidya calculated the date of Harsha's birth as the 4th June, A. D. 590 from the data available in the *Harshacharita*.[2] Professor Yogesh Chandra Roy of Bankura, a reputed astronomer, calculated the date independently for me and he also arrived at the same conclusion. So, if Bhāskara was born about A. D. 590, Susthita was born about A. D. 570, Sthita about A. D. 550, Chandramukha about A. D. 530 and Bhūti about A. D. 510 equivalent to 190 G. E. If Bhūti lived for sixty years and came to the throne at about the thirtieth year of his age, he may be assumed to have ascended

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 78 ff.
[2] *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, page 8.



(From photograph)



(From impression)

B. CH. CHHABRA

Reg. No. 3977 E 36 475'48

SCALE ONE-FOURTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

the throne in 220 G. E. With these plausible surmises, let us now approach the figures indicating the date on the Baḍagaṅgā inscription, which cannot but be in the Gupta era. Fortunately, these figures are still very clear on the rock and came out perfectly on all the estampages. The unit is easily recognised as 4. Of the figure for 200, we have only one instance in the Bengal plates, *viz.*, the one in the fifth plate from Damodarpur. Our figure resembles this figure for 200, as well as other figures for this number culled from inscriptions on Bühler's Chart IX, but does not exactly tally. But the figure for 200 on the same chart culled from the Cambridge University Manuscript No. 1049, dated 857 A. D., tallies almost exactly with our figure for 200 and thus lands us on sure ground. Thus we can read the date as 200..4.

In reading the middle figure, we have to choose from the figures for 10, 20, 30, or latest 40. The East Indian figures for 10 and 20 are very distinctive and uniform, and have no resemblance to our figure. Our choice lies, therefore, between 30 and 40. Unfortunately very few instances of 30 or 40 have hitherto been met with in East Indian inscriptions, and Bühler's and Bendall's charts are our main guides for these two figures. It will be seen that a letter resembling modern *la* is the basis of the figure for 30, and a letter resembling modern *pa* is the basis of the figure for 40. We can thus decide that our figure is 30 and not 40. Thus the reading 234 G. E. is complete.

Below are given the text and translation of the inscription.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī-paramadaivata-paramabhāgavata-mahārājā-
2 dhirāj-āśvamēdhayājin[āṁ] Śrī-**Bhūtivarmma**[**dēva**]-**pādānāṁ** [Saṁ]
3 200 30 4 mā vishayāmātya-[Āryya]guṇasya
4 idaṁ āśramaṁ

TRANSLATION

Peace! The (*month of*) Mā[*gha*]; the year 200 and 30 and 4 of the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja **Bhūtivarmmadēva,** the devout worshipper of the Dēvas, the devout worshipper of the Lord (Vishṇu), the performer of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. This is the religious retreat of Āryyaguṇa, Minister for State.

Note on the reading :—The proper left portion of the inscription has been worn rather smooth by heat, moisture and rain of about fourteen centuries, and, in the matter of decipherment, even a personal examination improved the reading very little.

In the second line, of the word *yājināṁ*, the long vowel and the *anusvāra* at the end are hardly distinguishable. The expression *Bhūtivarmmadēvapādānāṁ* reads like *Bhūtivarmmaṇyapādānāṁ*. Probably, the abrasions in the stone are responsible for this curious misguidance. The last letter *saṁ* in this line has also to be put in practically conjecturally.

In the third line, the figures for the date are absolutely clear. I have already given my reasons for reading the middle digit as 30. But it is only fair to record here that Dr. D. C. Sircar of Calcutta, as well as Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, are inclined to take the figure as *40*. I, however, still think that a *la* is the basis for the present figure, which should therefore be read *30*. This should be regarded as conclusive in view of the fact that the figure of *30* in the expression *Kārtti di 30*, occurring at the end of the Soro Plate A (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 202 and plate), where it cannot be regarded as *40*, is very similar to the one found in the present inscription.

The name of the *vishayāmātya* may be Ādyaguṇa and not Āryyaguṇa. Dr. D. C. Sircar of Calcutta suggests Śarmmaguṇa, but the first letter is clearly *ā*. Fortunately, there is no doubt about the name of the emperor, the mention of his having performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice and the date. Everything else is of minor importance.

No. 6.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GOVINDACHANDRA, KING OF VANGA

(2 *Plates*)

The late Dr. N. K. BHATTASALI, DACCA

The Vaṅgāla king Gōvindachandra was so long known to us from the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājēndra Chōḷa.[1] Tirumalai is a hill in the North Arcot District, about 96 miles south-west of Madras. "The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill" and it is in the Tamil language. It is dated in the 13th regnal year of the king, which extended from the middle of A.D. 1024 to the middle of A.D. 1025. In this inscription the conquests of Rājēndra Chōḷa are recorded. Among these conquests, we are concerned here with his conquest of East India. As another inscription, of the 9th regnal year, of the king is silent about his expedition to East India, it is generally assumed that this expedition should be dated between his 9th and 13th years, probably immediately before his 13th year. As expeditions are generally undertaken after the cessation of the rains, in October, this expedition is likely to have been undertaken towards the end of A.D. 1023 and extended into A.D. 1024.

The Tirumalai inscription of Rājēndra Chōḷa throws interesting light on the political condition of Bengal during the period of the invasion by the Chōḷa emperor. The invader found one Dharmapāla ruling over Daṇḍabhukti, roughly the present district of Midnapur. Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, *i.e.*, the districts of Howrah and Hooghly, was then ruled by a king of the Śūra family, named Raṇaśūra. After having destroyed the first and defeated the second, the invader appears to have crossed the Bhāgīrathī and entered the Vaṅgāla *dēśa* ruled over by king Gōvindachandra. The Vaṅgāla king boldly met the invader. The weather appears to have fought in his favour by some heavy showers, as they find particular mention in the Tirumalai inscription. But nothing availed, and Gōvindachandra had ultimately to get down from his royal elephant and flee, when the day went against him. The invader then appears to have turned his arms against Mahīpāla I, lord of Varēndrī, north of the Ganges. The Pāla army, led by Mahīpāla in person, met the Chōla army, and a hot engagement ensued. The Pāla king had slippers on and was bedecked with earrings and bracelets, and as these are specifically mentioned, they must have caught the eyes of the southerners. Mahīpāla also shared the same fate as the Vaṅgāla king Gōvindachandra, and the invader captured a number of women and elephants. He then recrossed the Padmā (Ganges) and entered Uttara-Rāḍhā, present Murshidābād and Bīrbhūm Districts[2], and again reached the banks of the Bhāgīrathī and returned home by the very route through which he had advanced.

This was so long our main[3] source of information regarding the existence of a king of Vaṅga, called Gōvindachandra. Fortunately, two inscribed images came to light in 1941, one of the 12th year and the other of the 23rd year of Gōvindachandra. These two inscriptions, discovered from within the limits of ancient Vaṅga, have at last lent welcome confirmation to the Tirumalai inscription and definitely located the region where Gōvindachandra reigned at least for twenty-three years.

A. Kulkuḍi sun-god image inscription of the 12th year of the reign of Govindachandra

On the 2nd May, 1941, Sj. Mukundabihari Das, Travelling Agent to the Committee for collection of manuscripts, University of Dacca, sent me information about the existence of an inscribed image of the sun-god at the village of **Kulkuḍi,** P. S. Gosāṅīhāt, Dt. Faridpur. The image was

[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

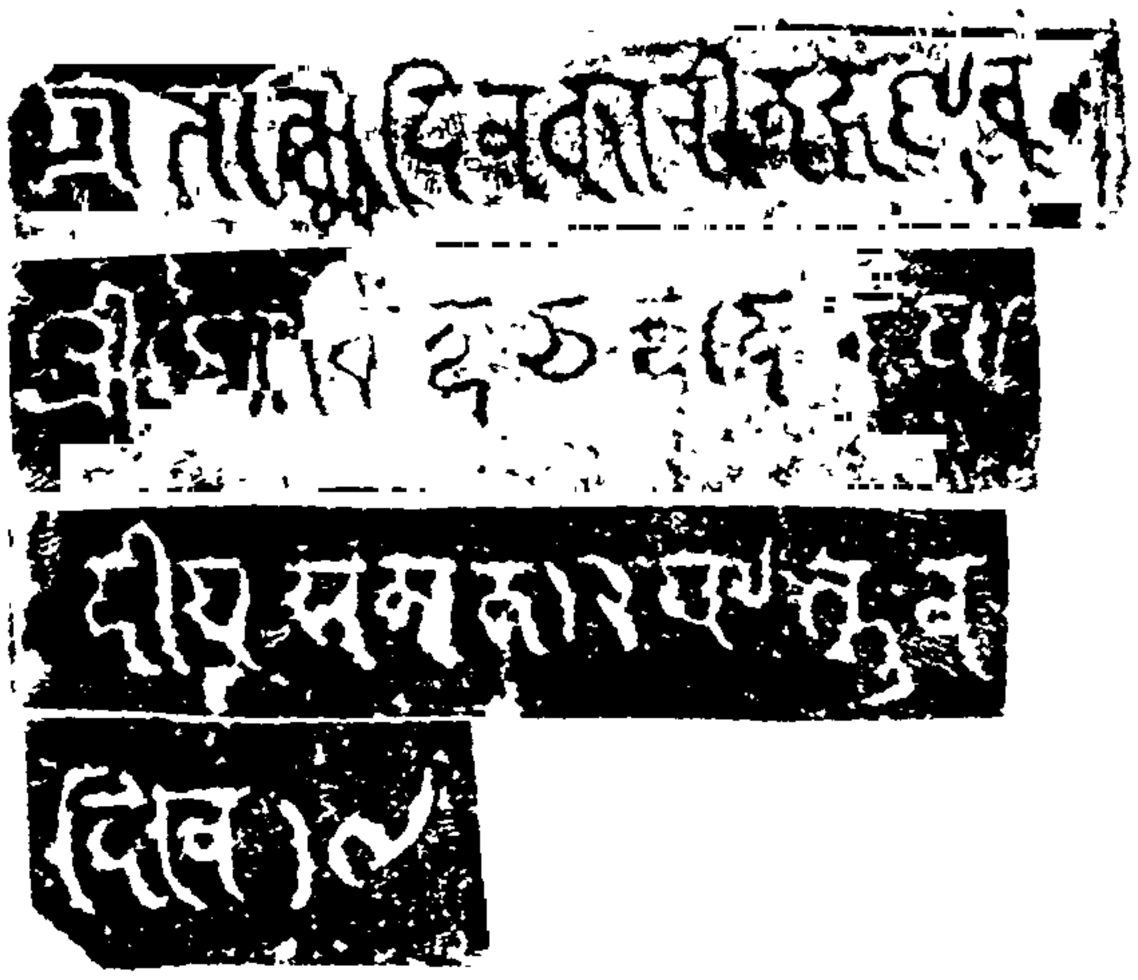
[2] For exact location of these geographical units, reference may be made to Bhattasali: Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal, *J.R.A.S.*, 1935, pp. 73 ff.

[3] There is a reference to king Gōvindachandra, probably identical with the king of our inscriptions, in a manuscript of the *Śabdapradīpa* : Eggeling: *India Office Catalogue*, Vol. V, pp 974 ff.

A.—KULKUDI SUN-GOD IMAGE INSCRIPTION



(From a photograph).



ACTUAL SIZE

B. CH. CHHABRA.

Reg. No. 3977 E 36.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

secured about seventy years ago by the progenitor of the Guha family of Kulkuḍi, from a house that was being eroded away on the island of Hātiyā in the mouth of the Meghnā river on the northern coast of the Bay of Bengal. From that time, the image remained with the Guhas of Kulkuḍi, receiving occasional homely worship. On my representation, the present descendants of the finder of the image, *viz.* the brothers Sj. Durgamohan Guha, Sj. Harendra Chandra Guha, Sj. Nibaran Chandra Guha and Sj Nagendra Chandra Guha, presented the image some time ago to the Dacca Museum, where it is housed now.

The image is in black stone and is an excellent specimen of East Indian sculpture of about 1000 A.D. It is an ordinary image of the sun-god. The eleven other Ādityas are represented in miniature on either side within circles of foliage. Six of them are placed on the proper left and five of them on the right, the sixth circle on the right being occupied by a pot-bellied standing figure, holding a lotus by its stalk in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left. Most remarkable are the representations of two horse-women below the sixth circle on either side, shooting sun's rays in the form of shafts to the farthest regions of the universe. Two more standing females are similarly engaged on either side of the pedestal. For an explanation of the other figures in the sculpture, reference may be made to the present writer's *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 148 ff.

The inscription is in a single line in four sections on the pedestal, just above the seven horses of the sun-god. As the date of Gōvindachandra is known, the **characters** may confidently be stated to belong to the proto-Bengali type of the early part of the 11th century A.D. The letters are generally 3/10ths of an inch high. Numerals for *1*, *2* and *9* occur in the inscription. The **language** is Sanskrit, so often found in inscribed labels of images.

TEXT

Sec. 1 Śrī-takmi[1] dinakārīn[2] Bhaṭṭāraka[ḥ*][3]

Sec. 2 Srī-Gōvindachandradēva-pā-

Sec. 3 dīya samvat 12 Phālguna

Sec. 4 dinē 19

[1] The word *takmi* is a rather curious one. A disease called *takman* is often found referred to in the Atharvavēda (Books 1, 4-6, 9, 11 and 19) where hymns against *takman* are given. The sun-god is the reputed healer of leprosy and other skin diseases, including probably the *takman* of the *Atharvavēda*. This image was meant to be the special object of worship of the sufferers from *takman*, *i.e.*, of the *takmis* and is therefore called the sun-god of the *takmis*.

[2] Read *dinakāri*. It is idle to expect correct grammar in these image-labels, drafted probably by the masons themselves. Prof. Dr. D. C. Sircar of the Calcutta University is inclined to read this line as follows (*Bhāratavarsha*, Chaitra, 1348 B.S., p 397) :—

Srī-lakshmidina-kārīta-Bhattāraka and correct it to :—

Srī-Lakshmīdīna-kārita-Bhattārakaḥ

holding that the deity is not named in the label but is called simply *Bhaṭṭāraka*, *i.e.*, the Lord who is stated to have been made or installed by one Lakshmīdīna. Dr. Sircar points to the shape of *l* in the ligature *lgu* in the word *Phālguna* and argues that the first letter must be read *la*. I can only say in reply that whatever shape *l* may have taken in a ligature, an independent *l* of the period is too distinctive with a wavy left projection to allow any other shape to act for it.

I have to admit, however, that the word *dinakārīn* has to be corrected as *dinakāri* and even then the word is not a happy word as a name of the sun-god, the usual word being *dinakara*. But the verbal form of *kri* is even now often used as *nijanta* in Bengal, and as already stated, it is idle to expect correct Sanskrit in these masons' labels. [Dr. Sircar's reading and rendering appear to be more accurate. It may be added that in the present instance possibly the term *bhaṭṭāraka* itself denotes 'the sun-god'. This is supported by lexicons. The name of the donor *Lakshmīdīna* is equal to *Lakshmīdatta* : *dīna* = Pāli *dinna* = Skt. *datta*.—Ed.]

[3] There was no space for a *visarga* after the word *Bhaṭṭāraka*, which is probably the reason for the omission. [It may, however, be observed that the same word in the other inscription has no *visarga* either.—Ed.]

TRANSLATION

The (*image of*) the maker of the day, the God of the persons afflicted with the (*skin disease*) *takman*. The year 12 is of the exalted Gōvindachandradēva. The 19th day of Phālguna.[1]

B. Betkā Vāsudēva image inscription of the 23rd year of Govindachandra

In the village of Pāikpāra and in the adjacent village of **Betkā**, P S Taṅgīvāḍī, Dt. Dacca, there live from time immemorial, flourishing families of the betel-leaf cultivators, the class being generally known as the Bārai or the Bārujīvī. They form a distinct class throughout Bengal and the lucrative profession of cultivating and selling betel leaves has made the class well-to-do, industrious, united, self-respecting, religious and peaceful. They are mostly worshippers of Vishṇu.

A beautiful image of Vishṇu or Vāsudēva in black stone came out about three years ago, when re-excavating an old tank on the northern extremity of the village of Betkā, just on the border of Pāikpāra. On all sides of the tank are the habitations of the Bārais. The finders presented the image to an establishment in the village of Āutśāhī, three miles south, called *Pallī-Kalyāṇa-Āśrama*, manufacturing *khādi* and hand-made paper, and affiliated to the All-India Spinners' Association. The image has been established there as the presiding deity of the *Āśrama*, but it is not worshipped.

The image is about 4' in height and must be pronounced to be a very pleasing piece of sculpture and a fine specimen of the art of the Bengal sculptor. It is just an ordinary image of Vishṇu with conical tiara adorned by the *kīrttimukha*, and it has little to distinguish it from countless such images found throughout Bengal and dating from A.D. 1000 to 1200. Only the miniature figures of *Śaṅkhapurusha* and *Chakrapurusha* at either end of the pedestal are indications that the image is a fairly early piece of sculpture. The fact that the style represented by these conical-crowned profusely decorated soft-featured sculptures in black stone of the Rājmahal Hills began even earlier than the period of Gōvindachandra is amply demonstrated by these two inscribed images of the reign of Gōvindachandra, king of Vaṅga.

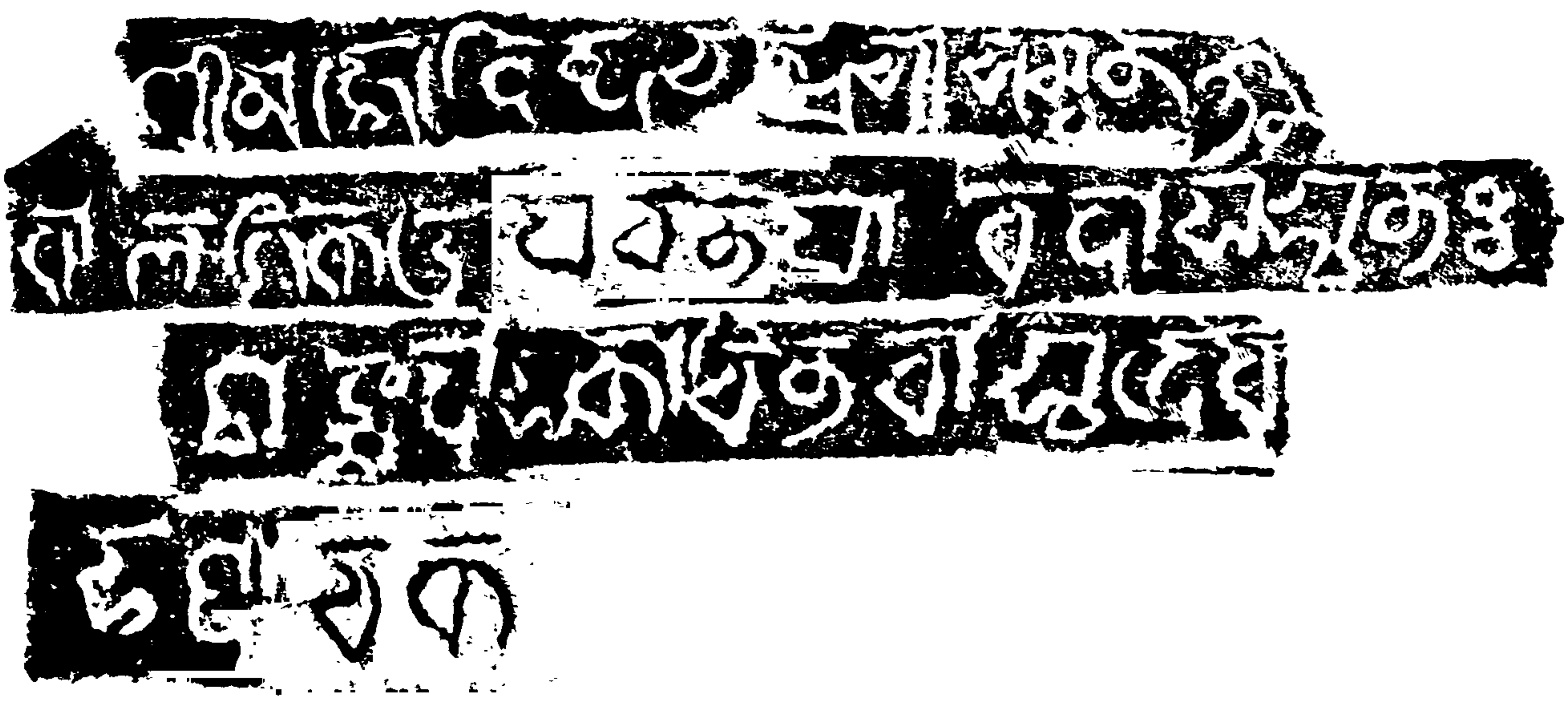
The inscription is in four lines, each line being made up of three sections, with the exception of the fourth line, which is finished in a single section. The letters are half-an-inch high and look like the hand-writing of a man who could boast of nothing more than literacy. The Kulkudi inscription shows a better hand. The two inscriptions hailing from the same kingdom and belonging to the reign of the same king and only eleven years apart in point of time offer, however, very marked contrast in the shape of the letters. How unsafe a guide paleography may become, if one has to depend on casual inscriptions like the present ones, is fully demonstrated by these two inscriptions. Particular attention may be drawn to the shape of *t* in the two inscriptions, which would appear to be wide apart in point of age.

The **language** of the inscription is incorrect Sanskrit. As already remarked in the case of the Kulkudi inscription, it is idle to expect correct grammar in these masons' and half-literate donors' labels.

The **purport** of the inscription is to record the installation of an image of the Lord Vāsudēva by one *Gaṅgadāsa*, son of the deceased Pātadāsa, Bālajika (*i.e.*, Bārajika) by caste, in the 23rd year of *Gōvindachandra*. The mention of the caste of the donor as Bālajika shows that the present-day nomenclature of the class as *Bārai* is derived from the word Bārajika ; and the word *Barujīvī*, by which name the more educated among the class like to call themselves, is a modern

[1] [The alternative translation of the first line would be :' (*This is the image of*) the sun-god, caused to be made by the illustrious Lakshmīdīna.—Ed.]

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GOVINDACHANDRA, KING OF VANGA
B.—BETKA VASUDEVA IMAGE INSCRIPTION





(From a photograph)

and incorrect innovation. As already mentioned, the tank from which the image was recovered, is surrounded on all sides by the habitations of the Bāraīs or betel-leaf planters. In all probability the image was installed by a remote ancestor of one of these families : but no memory or tradition of the event has survived.

Numerals 2 and 3 occur in the inscription. 2 is formed by two loops and an intervening angle. 3 is formed by three loops and two intervening angles. The figure for 2 in this inscription is in marked contrast to the same figure in the previous inscription

The inscription and the image were first brought to the notice of the learned world by Mr. Jogendra Nath Gupta, editor of the *Śiśubhāratī* and author of the *History of Vikrampur.* Dr. D. C. Sircar* of the Calcutta University published the inscription in a long article in the Bengali Journal—*Bhāratavarsha* for Jyaishtha. 1348 B.S., pp. 769 ff., from estampages and photographs supplied by Mr. Gupta. Dr Sircar read the important word *Bālajika* as *Rālajika* and thus missed a thousand years old important reference to this interesting caste of Bengal.

I edit the inscription from estampages and photographs taken by myself.

TEXT

1 Śrīmad-Gō॥ vindacha॥ ndrasya saṁvat 23
2 Bālajika-u॥ parata-Pā॥ radāsa-sutaḥ[1]
3 Gaṅgadā॥ sa-kārita-Vā॥ sudēva-
4 Bhaṭṭārakaḥ[h*]

TRANSLATION

The 23rd year of the illustrious **Gōvindachandra.** (*This image of*) the **Lord Vāsudēva** was caused to be made by **Gaṅgadāsa,** the Bālajika, son of the deceased Pāradāsa.

No. 7.—SAKRAI STONE INSCRIPTION ; V. S. 699

(*1 Plate*)

B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND

Sakrāī is a village in the Śēkhāvāṭi province of the Jaipur State in Rājputāna, fourteen miles north-west of Khaṇḍēlā. This latter place, in its turn, is twelve miles north-west of Sri Madhopur, a railway station on the Rewari-Phulera section of the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway. Sakrāī is a sacred place for the Hindus, reputed for its temple of the goddess Śākambharī on the bank of the rivulet called Śarkarā, which is supposed to be the origin of the name of the village. The stone, bearing the inscription edited here, is said to be stuck in a corridor wall of the front entrance to the temple The inscription was noticed as early as 1909 by Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, the then Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona.[2]

The inscribed surface of the stone measures 3′ 1″ broad by 6¼″ high. The **inscription** consists of seven lines. The engraving has been very well executed. The letters have been treated ornamentally. The graceful flourishes of the *śirōmātrās* are conspicuous to the eye throughout.

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[1] Read *Bālajik-ōparata* and *suta.*

[2] Inscription No. 2517, *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle,* for the year ending 31st March 1910, pp. 12, 28 and 56-7. Again, it is No. 23 of Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India.* The date given by him is V.S. 879 ; but more probably it is V.S. 699, as is sought to be made out in the present paper. See below, pp. 29-31.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They bear a striking resemblance to those of the Madhuban plate of Harsha[1] and, in a lesser degree, also to those of the Kudārkot stone inscription.[2] This resemblance is a significant point inasmuch as it has a great bearing on the question of the date of the present inscription to be discussed below. Prof. Kielhorn's remarks regarding the palaeography of the Madhuban plate generally hold good in the case of our record as well. Still it may not be out of place here to draw attention to some of the out-standing characteristics of the script. The form of *ṇ*, for instance, may easily be confused with that of *l*, as may be illustrated by *vidalita-dvēshiṇaś=Chaṇḍikāyāḥ* and *-nīl-ōtpal-ābhō mukuṭa-maṇi-*, l. 2. A medial *ā* is usually expressed by a *pṛishṭhamātrā*. In a few instances, however, it is denoted by a *śirōmātrā*, which, like medial *i*, *ī*, *ē*, etc., is ornamentally treated, as may be seen in *-chāp-ānaddhō*, l. 2. A superscript *r* occasionally occurs *on* the line, while generally it is placed *above* the line. The two varieties are typified in *Garggō dharmma-*, l. 4. The sign for *jh*, which is of rare occurrence, is met with in *-jhaṅkāritaṁ*, l. 1. The forms of *jā* in *pūjā*, l. 2; of *jñ* in *saṁjñakē*, l. 3; of *rtha* in *atyartham*, l. 5; and of *stha* in *-sthalaṁ*, l. 1, are equally noteworthy.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. Its composition is in verse, except for a few words expressing the date, at the end. As regards **orthography**, the following points deserve notice. A *b* is expressed throughout by the sign for *v*, except in *Maṇḍubākō*, l. 6. An *anusvāra* occasionally takes the place of a class nasal, as in *raṁjitaḥ*, l. 2. Conversely, it is substituted by *ṅ* in the word *vaṅśa*, ll. 3, 4 and 5. A consonant after *r* is usually 'lengthened' or reduplicated, as in *Mahāgaṇapatēr=mmukhaṁ*, l. 1. *Visarga* is changed to *upadhmānīya* in *-talāyāḥ prabhrēshṭ-*, l. 1. An *anusvāra* at the end of a verse or a half-verse is retained as such, and not reverted as *m* as it should. In *vaṇik=Chhivaś=*, l. 6, we have a wrong *sandhi*, and in *mahad-dyutiḥ*, l. 6, an irregular *samāsa*. Phonetically, the syncopated forms *ujvalē*, l. 3, *satv-*, l. 5, *-ōdyōta-*, l. 1, and *-Ōdyō[tana?]*, l. 6, are worthy of note. Such forms, with one of the twin consonants omitted, are recognized by certain lexicographers as correct. The forms *udyōta* and *Udyōtana* can, in fact, be justified by supposing a different derivation.[3] The syncopation of one *t* in *prāpnōtvatyarthaṁ*, l. 5 is, on the other hand, very misleading. It may *prima facie* be taken for *prāpnōtu* + *atyarthaṁ*, whereas in reality it is to be construed as *prāpnōt* + *tu* + *atyarthaṁ*, as required by the context. *Anaṁditaṁ* for *anindita*, l. 6, is obviously a slip on the part of the scribe.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the goddess Śaṅkarā by an association or a committee, composed of eleven members, all of whom were bankers. Their names, parentage, etc., are given in the inscription and appear below, arranged in a tabular form.

The expression *surāṇāṁ maṇḍap-ōttamaḥ*, 'excellent pavilion of gods', leads one to think that the pavilion was intended to receive images of various secondary deities by the side of the principal divinity that was Śaṅkarādēvī. And the fact that eleven different members of a wealthy community jointly put up that structure warrants, as it were, that it was not a mean addition to the temple of Śaṅkarādēvī. Possibly what was dedicated by the *Śrēshṭhins* was not a bare pavilion, but a pavilion *cum* images of various gods, each properly installed in its respective niche. However, such details as these can no longer be verified: for, according to Dr. Bhandarkar's report on the temple in question, very little of the original structures now survives.[4]

In his report just referred to, Dr. Bhandarkar has expressed the opinion that the village of Sakrāī is named after the rivulet called Śarkarā. And this view has been cited in the opening paragraph of this essay, too. Dr Bhandarkar, who personally inspected the site, must have good

[1] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 155 ff. and plate.

[2] Above, Vol. I, pp. 179 ff. and plate.

[3] See below, p. 31, n. 9.

[4] *PRASIWC* for the year ending 31st March 1910, p. 56.

reason for such a belief. Nevertheless, considering the similarity in sound, one is tempted to ask oneself if both the rivulet and the village are not named after the goddess Śaṅkarā, mentioned in the present inscription. Dr. Bhandarkar has rightly pointed out that Śaṅkarā 'no doubt, appears to be the correct and original name of the goddess, and not Śākambharī by which she is at present known.'[1]

Dr. Bhandarkar's observations with regard to the caste of some of the members of the bankers' association as well as to the invocatory stanzas of the inscription are based on the information locally gathered and are hence very valuable. They are, therefore, quoted here in full. "One of the *gōshṭhikas, i.e.*, members of the temple supervision committee, was the *Śrēshṭhī* Maṇḍana of the Dhūsara family. The surname Dhūsara is still well-known in the Jaipur State, but persons bearing this surname call themselves Bhārgava Brāhmaṇas, though they are suspected by the people to have been originally banias. But the popular suspicion, I think, is shewn to be a fact by our inscription, for Maṇḍana Dhūsara is called a *Śrēshṭhī, i.e.*, Sēṭ or Sēṭh, which title is borne by none but the bania class. Another *gōshṭhika* of the temple was the *Śrēshṭhī* Garga of the Dharkkaṭa family. I have shewn elsewhere that the name Dharkkaṭa has survived in the slightly altered form Dhākaḍ, a sub-division of the Osvāls. Curiously enough, the initial portion of this inscription is also worth pondering over. It invokes the blessings of three deities, first of Gaṇapati, next of Chaṇḍikā, and lastly of Dhanada, *i.e.*, Kubēra. It is worthy of note that here Chaṇḍikā is placed between Gaṇapati and Kubēra, and no doubt reminds one of the figures on the pedestal of the shrine of Piplād *mātā* in Osiā. Of these last the central figure is that of Mahishāsuramardinī, a form of Chaṇḍikā, and she is flanked by Kubēra and Gaṇapati on the right and left respectively. When I was at the temple in Sakrāī, I was not allowed to go into the shrine and inspect the images, which are well-nigh concealed under garments, but I was simply told that the goddess was Mahishāsuramardinī, and had none by her sides."[2]

The following is the table, showing the donors' names, parentage, etc. :—

No.	Donor	Donor's Father	Donor's Grandfather	Donor's Family
1	Maṇḍana	Rāma	Yaśōvardhana	Dhūsara
2	Garga	Madvana	Maṇḍana	Dharkkaṭa
3	Gaṇāditya	Vardhana	Bhaṭṭiyaka	Do.
4	Dēvalla	Do.	Do.	Do.
5	Śiva	Tatta		
6	Śankara	Vishṇuvāka		
7	Maṇḍubāka	Ādityavardhana		
8	Ādityanāga	Vōdda		
9	Bhadra	Naddhaka		
10	Udyōtana	Jēulla		
11	Śaṅkara	Sōndhaka		

The record is dated. However, in the absence of full details, the given **date** cannot be verified. The year is expressed only by numerical symbols, which Dr. Bhandarkar has read as *879*.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

He is, however, not sure of this reading, for he adds : "The reading of the first cipher of the date, *viz.*, 8, is certain, but I am by no means sure regarding the two following ciphers, as they are entirely new and not known to us from previous records."[1] The reading of the year as *879* is thus only tentative. The mention of the month as *dvir-Āshāḍha* indeed provides a very helpful clue, which, though does not finally decide the issue, at least minimises the guesswork in interpreting the ciphers concerned for the simple reason that the occurrence of a particular month as intercalary in a certain year is extremely restricted. We have thus to see that the year of the inscription must have Āshāḍha as an intercalary month. Dr. Bhandarkar has no doubt considered this point, for, the year 879, as tentatively read by him, does fulfil the condition. It goes without saying that the year in question, be it read as *879* or differently, refers itself to the Vikrama era.

There is thus apparently nothing inconsistent with the reading *879*. Nevertheless, there is one glaring discrepancy which would compel its rejection. We have already noticed how the script of the present epigraph bears a close resemblance to that of the Madhuban plate on the one hand and to that of the Kudārkoṭ stone inscription on the other. The date of the first of these two records is the year 25 of the Harsha era, equal to A. D. 630-1, while the second has been assigned, on more or less equally sure grounds, ' to about the latter half of the seventh century A. D. ' Now, if the similarity of script is not to be taken lightly, we cannot afford to assign our record to the first half of the ninth century, or to A. D. 822 to be precise, which would be equivalent to V. S. 879. That would remove it from the other two by close on two hundred years in point of time. And, palaeographically speaking, that is an impossibility.

To reconcile this discrepancy, we have to see if a different reading of the date is possible. According to Dr. Bhandarkar, the first of the three symbols definitely stands for 8, whereas a comparison of various numerical signs occurring in some of the early inscriptions will show that the one in question represents *6* rather than *8*. It may readily be recognised that the disputed symbol, in its formation, approximates to the sign for the letter *hrā* or simply *hā*. One of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions illustrates the fact that there is very little difference between the forms of the signs for *6* and *8*. It shows that if the sign for *6* resembled *hā*, that for *8* was similar to mere *ha*. Both the signs occur there side by side and the value of each is indicated in words as well. The relevant passage reads : *saṁvachharaṁ aṭhāra saṁ 10 8 hemaṁta-pakhaṁ chhaṭhaṁ 6*.[2] A more developed form of the symbol for *6*, clearly to be read as *hā*, is met with in the Kōmarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman.[3] The symbol in question thus undoubtedly stands for *6* and not for 8.

The last or the third symbol, which in shape resembles the peculiar sign for the mute *t*, occurring in the very word *saṁvat*, no doubt denotes *9*, as read by Dr. Bhandarkar. This form of the integer ***9*** is indeed rare, but instances of its use in early inscriptions are not wanting.[4]

The middle or the second symbol, read by Dr. Bhandarkar as *7*, curiously enough also stands for *9*. It appears strange indeed that two dissimilar signs should have been used for one and the same integer, *9*. We may, however, recall that even to this day the Nāgarī script has two different symbols for *9*, which are used indiscriminately. Our inscription thus provides perhaps the earliest instance of the precursors of the present-day two dissimilar signs for that integer, used side by side. The sign for *9* used in the Kāritalāī stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja[5] is essentially the same as found in our inscription, the central of the three figures in both the cases. Another instance where

[1] *PRASIWC*, for the year ending 31st March 1910, p. 56.

[2] Above, Vol. XX, p. 21 and plate, text l. 2.

[3] Above, Vol IV, plate facing p. 145, text l. 20 ; *saṁvatsaraḥ shashṭhaḥ 6*.

[4] For example, see above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 334, text l. 22 ; Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 96, text l. 21 ; Vol. I, plate facing p. 160, text l. 1 ; etc.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 260, text l. 14.

the two dissimilar signs for *9* are likewise used is afforded by the Kāman stone inscription.[1] Prof. V. V. Mirashi, the editor of this last record, has noticed the peculiarity and cited some more analogous instances.[2]

In this way, we now arrive at the reading : *Saṁvat 699 dvir-Āshāḍha śu di...* **V. S. 699** is equal to A. D. 642-3, and that would be quite compatible with the palaeographical data. Our inscription would thus be later by about a decade than the Madhuban plate and earlier by about a decade than the Kudārkoṭ inscription.[3]

Now, what remains to be verified is whether there was an intercalary Āshāḍha in V. S. 699. A reference to the tables given for such verifications in Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*[4] will show that A. D. 643 did have an intercalary Āshāḍha. A slight hitch may be felt inasmuch as A. D. 643 works out to be V. S. 700, whereas our inscription has V. S. 699. This can be overcome by the assumption, a very natural one in the present case, that the year referred to in the inscription is Kārttikādi. This means that the Āshāḍha of the Kārttikādi V. S. 699 is the same as the Āshāḍha of the Chaitrādi V. S. 700. And that squares with the given date.

It may now be said that our inscription furnishes instances of the numerals *6* and *9*, and that for the latter it gives two dissimilar signs. It may further be pointed out that our inscription is among the earliest to adopt the more advanced system of decimal notation. The older inscriptions, it is well known, have the primitive mode of employing distinct symbols for units, tens, hundreds, etc.

TEXT[5]

[Metres : v. 1 *Prithvī* : v. 2 *Sragdharā* : v. 3 *Mālinī* : vv. 4, 5 *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* : vv. 6, 8-11 *Anushṭubh* : v. 7 *Upajāti* of *Śālinī* & *Vaiśvadēvī*.]

1 Ōm[6] Raṇad-radana[7]-dāraṇa-druta-Sumē[8]ru-rēṇ-ūdbhaṭaṁ sugandhi-madirā-mada-pramudit-āli-jhaṅkāritaṁ(tam) | anēka-raṇa-dundubhi-dhvani-vibhinna-gaṇḍa-sthalaṁ **Mahā**-gaṇapatēr=mmukhaṁ diśatu bhūri-bhadrāṇi vaḥ || [1 ||*] Nṛityantyās=s-āṅgahāraṁ charaṇa-bhara-parikshōbhita-kshmā-talāyāḥ prabhrasht-ēndu-prabhāyāṁ niśi **visṛita**-nakh-ōdyōta-[9]

2 bhinn-āndhakārāḥ | yē līl-ōdvēllit-āgrā vidadhati vitat-āmbhōja-pūjā iv=āśās=tē **hastās**= saṁpadaṁ vō dadatu vidalita-dvēshiṇaś=Chaṇḍikāyāḥ || [2 ||*] Madhu-mada-jaṇu-dṛishṭiḥ spashṭa-nīl-ōtpal-ābhō mukuṭa-maṇi-mayūkhai raṁji(rañji)taḥ pīta-**vāsā**[ḥ*] | jaladhara iva vidyuch-chhākra-chāp-ānuviddhō bhavatu Dhanada-

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[1] Above, Vol. **XXIV**, plate facing p. 334, text l. 22. Another date, namely the year 229, given in l. **13** of this inscription, provides a clearer instance of the sign for *9* under discussion.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 331, n. 2.

[3] The conclusion arrived at here is corroborated by the two inscriptions from Jhālrāpātan (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 180-3, with plate), one of which is dated Samvat 746. Their characters are more ornamental than those of our inscription (which circumstance is explained by their being later by half a century), but are essentially of the same type. Another record, exhibiting this ornamental variety of alphabet (though somewhat earlier in date as warranted by the tripartite form of *y*), is the Benares inscription of Pantha (above, Vol. **IX**, pp. 59-62, with plate).

[4] *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 30 and 238.

[5] From an inked estampage

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] This *da* cannot readily be recognised on account of a superfluous stroke attached to the upper left side of the letter.

[8] The *ē*-stroke of this *mē*, which is of the *śirōmātrā* type, has not come out clearly on the impression.

[9] The *ō*-stroke of this *dyō* is likewise not visible on the estampage. The correct form of the word should be *uddyōta*. The form *udyōta* can also be right, but in that case the root would be *yuti* and not *ayuta*, unless it be assumed that, on the analogy of such forms as *ujvala* and *satva*, which occur in the present inscription itself, l. 3 and l. 5 respectively, one of the two *d*'s has been omitted in *udyōta*. These remarks apply also to the name *Udyōtana*, that occurs below, ll. 6-7

3 nāmā vṛiddhidō vaḥ suyakshaḥ [3 || *] Āsīd=dharmma-parāyaṇē=timahati prōddāma-kīrtty-ujva(jjva)lē vaṅśē(vaṁśē) Dhūsara-saṁjñakē guṇavati khyātō Yaśōvarddhanaḥ | yasy=āst-ākhila-dōsha unnata-bhujaḥ putrō=bhavat=satya-vāg=Rāmaḥ śrēshṭhi-varō va(ba)bhūva cha yataḥ śrēshṭhī sutō Maṇḍanaḥ || [4 || *] Āsīch=ch=āmalini[1] prakāśa-yaśasi śrīma-

4 ty=udārē śuchau vaṅśē(vaṁśē) Dharkkaṭa-nāmani prati-dinaṁ Śakr-arddhi-vispardddhini uchchair=mmaṇḍitam=ādarān=nija-kulaṁ yēn=ōdayaṁ gachchhatā śrēshṭhī Maṇḍana-nāmakas=samabhavach=chhrēshṭhī yatō Madvanaḥ || [5 || *] Tasy=āpy=abhūt=sutaḥ śrēshṭhī Garggō dharmma-parāyaṇaḥ | kulīnaḥ śīla-sampannas= satataṁ priya-darśanaḥ || [6 || *] Śrēshṭhaḥ śrēshṭhī Maṇḍa-

5 [n]-ākhyaḥ prabhūtāṁ prāpnōtv[2]=atyarthaṁ Gargga-nāmā cha lakshmīṁ(kshmīm) | yau śrēshṭhitvaṁ sarvva-satvā(ttv-ā)nukampāṁ samyak=kurvvāṇau nītavantau samāptiṁ(ptim) || [7 || *] Tathā Bhaṭṭiyakaś=ch=āsīd=[3] vaṇig=Dharkkaṭa-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)jaḥ | sūnus=tasy=āpy=abhūd=dhīmān=Varddhanaḥ khyāta-sad-guṇaḥ || [8 || *] Tasya putrau mahātmānau satya-śauch-ārjjav-ānvitau | va(ba)bhūvatur=gGaṇā-

6 ditya-Dēvall-ākhyāv=ana(ni)nditau [9 || *] Tathā vaṇikchhi(k=Śi)vaś=ch=āsīt=Tatta-putrō jit-ēndriyaḥ | Śaṅkarō Vishṇuvākasya tath=āsīt-tanayaḥ śuchiḥ || [10 || *] Ādityavarddhana-sutō Maṇḍubākō=bhavat=sudhīḥ | Vōddasy=Ādityanāg-ākhyaḥ putra āsīn=mahad(hā)dyutiḥ || [11 || *] Bhadr-ākhyō Naddhakasy=ābhūt=putrō matimatāṁ varaḥ | tath=Ōdyō-[4]

7 [tana?]-saṁjñaś=cha Jēullasy=ābhavat=sutaḥ || [12 || *] Śaṅkara[ḥ*] Śōndhak-ākhyasya sūnur=āsīd=akalmashaḥ | śuśrūsh=ānanya-manasā pitrōr=yēn=āsakṛit=kṛitā || [13 || *] Tair=ayaṁ gōshṭhikair=bhūtvā surāṇāṁ maṇḍap-ōttamaḥ | kāritaḥ Śaṅkarādēvyāḥ purataḥ puṇya-vṛiddhayē || [14 || *] Saṁvat 699 dvir-Āshāḍha śu di .

TRANSLATION

Ōm !

V. 1. May the face of **Mahāgaṇapati,** radiant with the (*gold*) dust diffused from the (*mount*) Sumēru by his pounding at it with his jingling tusk, resonant with the (*humming of the*) bees exhilarated by the ichor which (*to them*) is a fragrant wine, with its temples pierced by the din of innumerous war drums, bestow many blessings on you ![5]

V. 2 May those hands of **Chaṇḍikā**—dancing with (*proper*) gesticulation, having thoroughly agitated the earth by the weight of her feet, (*and*) having dispelled the darkness by the flashes of her nails glittering in the night bereft of moonlight—, that have annihilated the foes (*and*) that, with the palms sportively tossed up, make the quarters appear to be extending offerings of lotus-flowers, shower prosperity on you !

V. 3. May the principal *yaksha*, **Dhanada** by name of the hue of fully expanded blue water-lily, with his eyes producing spirituous intoxication, iridescent with the rays (*emanating*) from the jewels in his diadem, having a yellow robe on (*thus*), resembling the cloud interspersed with lightning and rainbow confer affluence on you !

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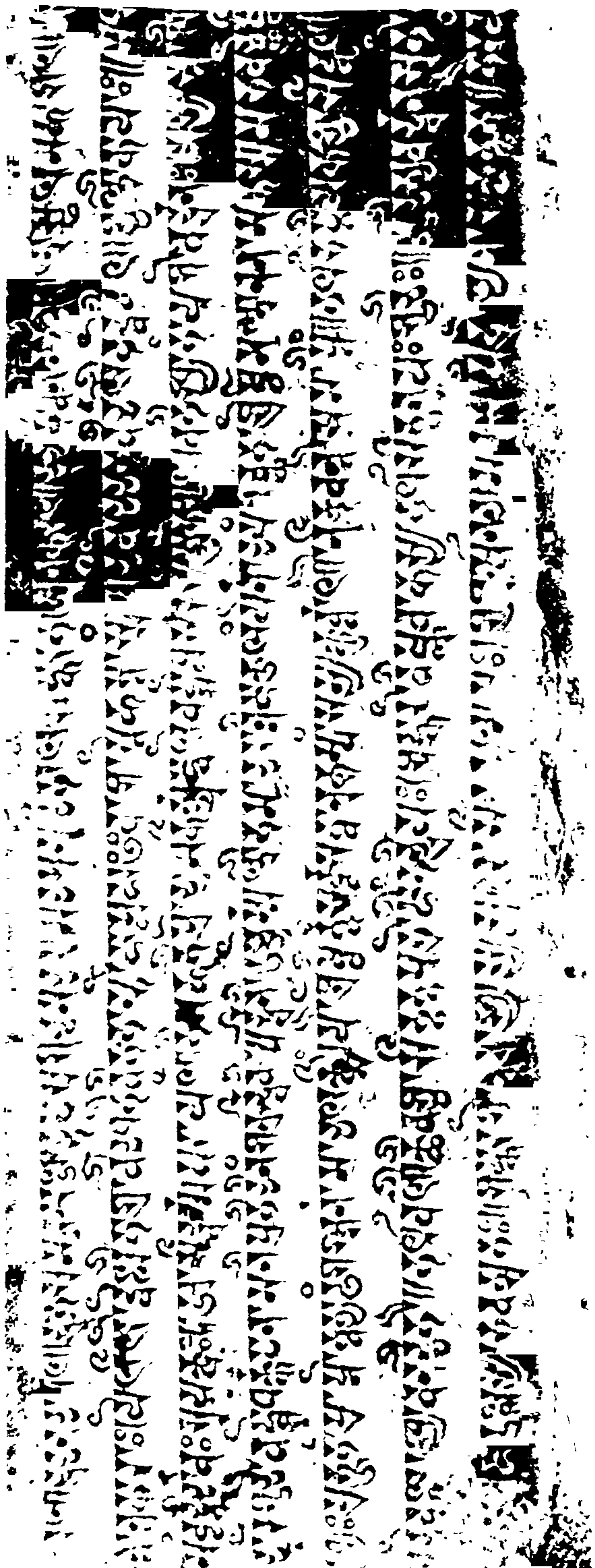
[1] The right word would be *amalī*. The writer has evidently taken the word *amala* as a noun in the sense of 'purity' (*na malam=amalam*), and from that derived the adjective *amalin* 'pure'. The metrical exigency must have been responsible for this round-about expression.

[2] The intended reading seems to be *prāpnōt=ti=atyartham*. The elision of one of the two *t*'s before *a* may be explained in the light of the form *satva* for *sattva*, as noticed above.

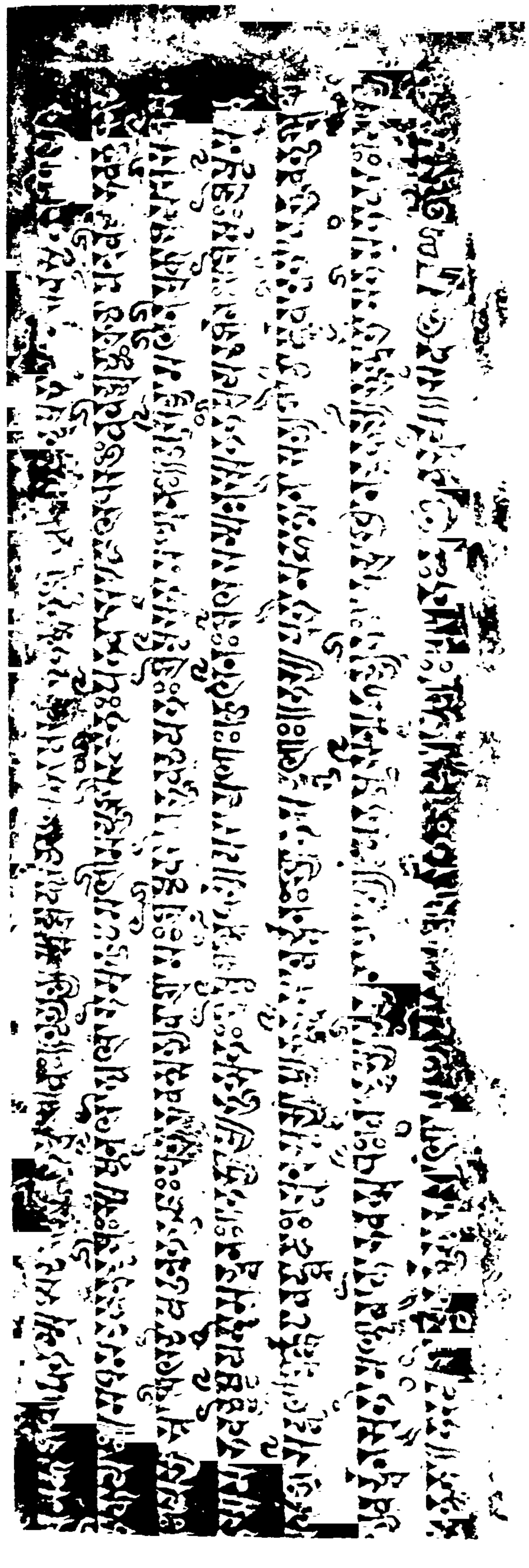
[3] The syllable *da* looks more like *dri*.

[4] See above, p. 31, n. 2.

[5] The god being *Gajānana* 'Elephant-faced,' the description naturally applies to an elephant-head.



Left half.



Right half.

From a photograph

V. 4. In the pious, prominent, farfamed, pure (*and*) virtuous family, called **Dhūsara,** there was the celebrated Yaśōvardhana, whose son was Rāma, the foremost banker, free of all blemishes, strong-armed (*and*), true to his word, from whom in turn came his son, the banker **Maṇḍana**.

V. 5. And in the spotless, glorious, rich, liberal (*and*) chaste family, called **Dharkaṭa,** whose wealth constantly vied with that of (*the god*) Indra, there was a banker, Maṇḍana by name, who, while attaining to (*the acme of*) prosperity, out of respect, highly adorned his own community, (*and*) from whom was (*born*) the banker Madvana.

V. 6. Again, his son was the banker **Garga,** pious, noble, modest (*and*) always pleasant-looking.

V. 7. The pre-eminent banker, called Maṇḍana, acquired immense wealth and so did also the one named Garga, both of whom, showing great compassion towards all beings, carried bankership to perfection.

V. 8. Likewise there was also a merchant, (*called*) Bhaṭṭiyaka, born of the (*same*) Dharkaṭa family. He, too, had a son, (*named*) Vardhana, who was prudent (*and*) whose good qualities were well-known.

V. 9. He had two sons, **Gaṇāditya** and **Dēvalla** by name, who were magnanimous, flawless (*and*) endowed with truthfulness, honesty and straightforwardness.

V. 10. Similarly there was also a merchant, (*called*) **Śiva**, Tatta's son, who had his senses controlled. And there was (*another, named*) **Śaṅkara** Vishṇuvāka's son, who was honest.

V. 11. And then there was Ādityavardhana's son, the wise **Maṇḍubāka**. There was Vōdda's son, called **Ādityanāga** who was very energetic.

V. 12. There was Naddhaka's son, called **Bhadra** who was the best among the intellectual. Likewise there was Jēulla's son, **Udyōtana**,by name.

V. 13. There was **Śaṅkara,** son of one Śōndhaka, who was flawless (*and*) who had ever and non devoted himself wholeheartedly to the service of his parents.

V. 14. It was they who, having formed an association (lit. having become associates), have caused this excellent pavilion of gods to be constructed in front of the goddess **Śaṅkarā** for the increase of their religious merit.

In the year 699, the . . . . day of the bright half of (*the month of*) the second (lit. twice) Āshāḍha.

No. 8.—BOBBILI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA ; YEAR 4

(*1 Plate*)

R. K. GHOSHAL, CALCUTTA

The **copper-plates,** which bear the subjoined inscription, were received in the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from Mr. Sivaramadas, an inhabitant of **Bobbili** in the Vizagapatam District of Madras, through the Tahsildar of that place. The plates which have since been presented by Mr. Sivaramadas to Government, are now deposited in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Only short notices of the plates have appeared[1] till now. I edit the inscription for the first time from a set of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These are three plates of copper with plain edges, measuring $6\frac{1}{8}''$ by $2\frac{1}{8}''$. Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a ring-hole, $\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a copper ring, $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered on to an elliptical **seal** measuring $1\frac{1}{8}''$ by $\frac{5}{8}''$. The seal bears, in a rectangular incuse, the legend *Pitri(tṛi)bhaktaḥ* in the same alphabet as that of the plates.

[1] *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, p. 6, No. 12 of Appendix A, and pp. 51-52 ; also *Annual Report of Arch. Surv India*, 1934-35, p. 64.

The inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. The first and the third plates are inscribed on their inner faces only, while the second one bears writing on both of its sides. Each of the plates has five lines of inscription apiece, the whole record thus running into twenty lines.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets. They resemble those of the Kōmarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman,[1] the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of Umavarman[2] and the Jirjiṅgi plates[3] of Indravarman, and present almost identical features. Coming to some of the specific details, we may notice the following: (1) initial *a* occurs in *api* (l. 13); (2) initial *ā* in *ākshēptā* (l. 18); (3) final *m* which is ticked at the top and is invariably engraved in a smaller size, is found in *Brāhmaṇānām* (l. 7) *-sabrahmachāriṇām* (l. 8), *karttavyam* (l. 9), *=ōpanēyam* (l. 10) *anuśāsatām* and *dānam* (l. 12).

The **numerical symbols** for 2, 4 and 5 occur in the date which is given in l. 20.

As regards **orthography**, it is to be noticed that consonants are doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r*, the sole exception being in *-ārka* in l. 4; *dh* has been doubled before *y* in *-ānuddhyāta* (l. 1); the *anusvāra* has been changed into a guttural nasal before a palatal sibilant in *shaṭ-tṛi(tri)ṅśad-* (l. 5); and *anusvāra* has been substituted for final *m* in *phalaṁ* (l. 15) and *=nupālanaṁ* (l. 17).

The **language** is Sanskrit. There are some unintelligible expressions such as *saṇāgraṁ* (l. 6) and *budvaṁvō* (l. 14). The form *chaütama* in l. 20 is also interesting. With the exception of three of the customary verses at the end, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription belongs to *Mahārāja* **Chaṇḍavarman,** king of **Kaliṅga.** It records a gift, of the village of **Tiritthāṇa,** to an unspecified body of Brāhmaṇas belonging to various (unspecified) *gōtras*. The village was constituted into a permanent free-hold *agrahāra* called **Tiritthāṇa-vāṭak-āgrahāra** and the income derived from it was earmarked solely for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇa settlement in the village. The grant was entirely tax-free and was to be binding upon all persons living in the village, who were further directed to make over all that came out of the soil in the shape of crops or valuable minerals such as gold to the donees.

The charter was written by the *Dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛita* **Rudradatta,** son of **Mātṛivara.**

The **date** was the fifth day of the second fortnight of the summer in Year 4.

What, however, is of supreme importance in the Bobbili inscription is also somewhat confusing on the face of it. There is a striking affinity of this record with the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of Umavarman in respect of the style of writing, the script and an identical set of phraseology and also perhaps of some kinship[4] between their donors. All this, however, may be wholly superficial or just strikingly co-incidental. In any case, there seems to be no real objection in taking the Chaṇḍavarmans of the Bobbili and the Kōmarti[5] plates as one and the same person.[6]

Chaṇḍavarman, as I have already suggested,[7] was one of those chiefs of an as yet uncertain lineage who flourished in ancient Kaliṅga.

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142-145 and plates.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6 and plates.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 281-288 and plates.

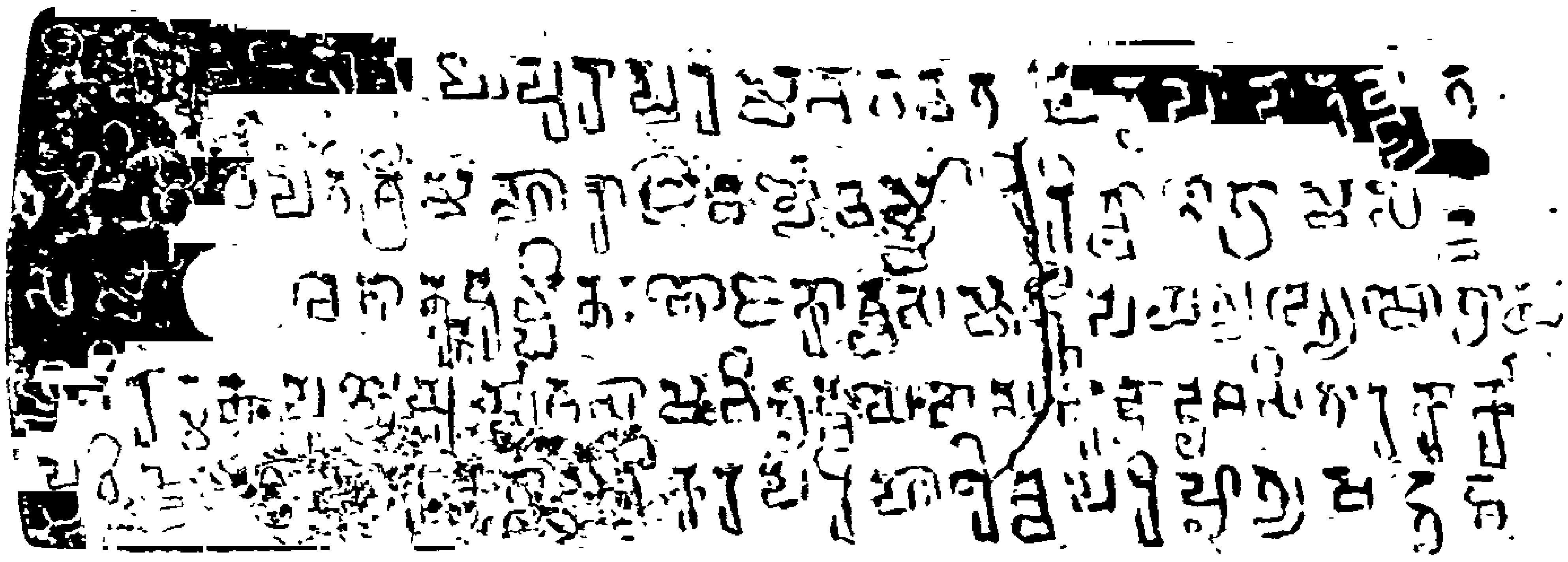
[4] See above, Vol. XXVI, p. 133, n. 4.

[5] Dr. E. Hultzsch's attempt to appropriate Chaṇḍavarman (*Kaliṅgādhipati*) to the Śālaṅkāyana royal stock has been opposed by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu (*An. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1934-35, p. 51) and by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 74-77; also *I. H. Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 780-781).

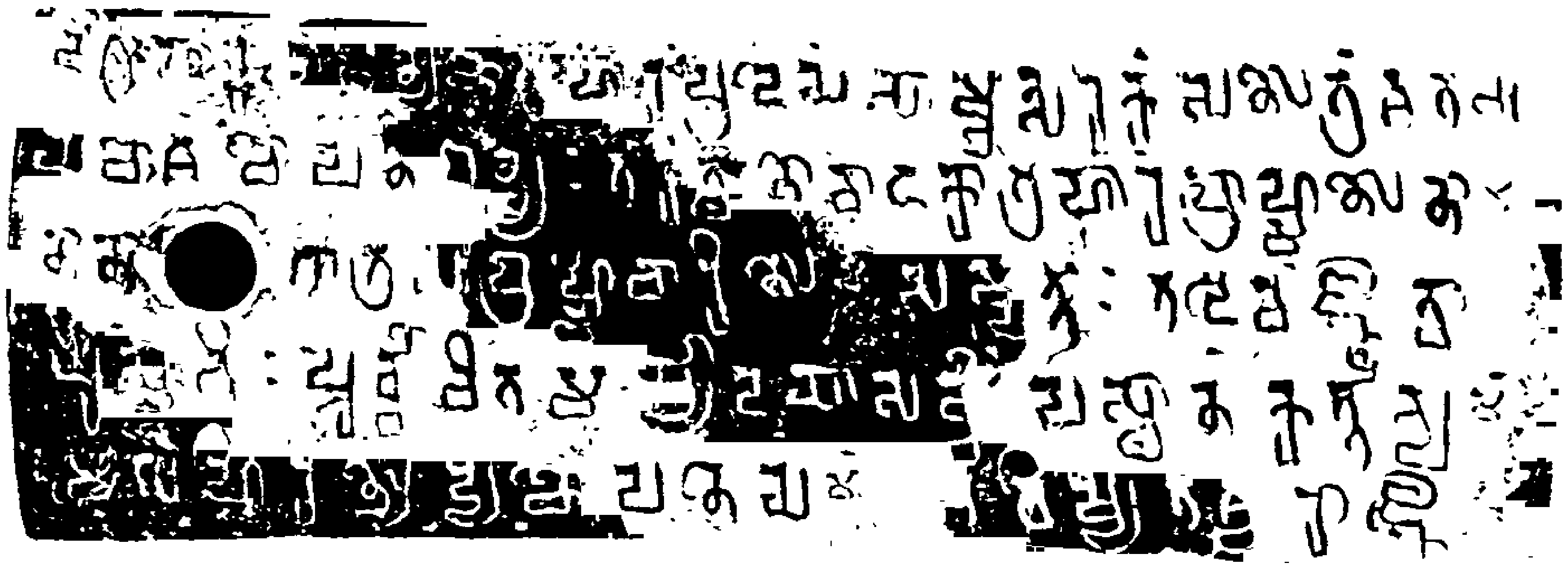
[6] Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu expresses a different opinion on this point (*An. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1934-35, p. 51, and *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1934-35, p. 64).

[7] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 283-284.

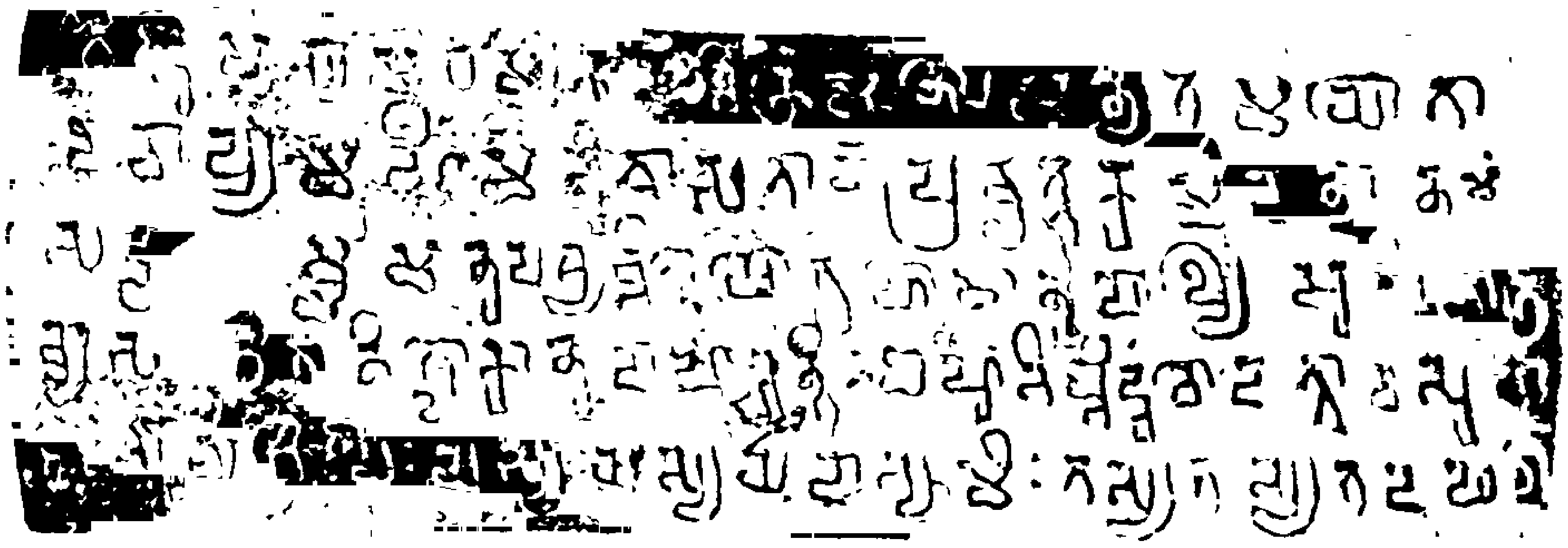
i.



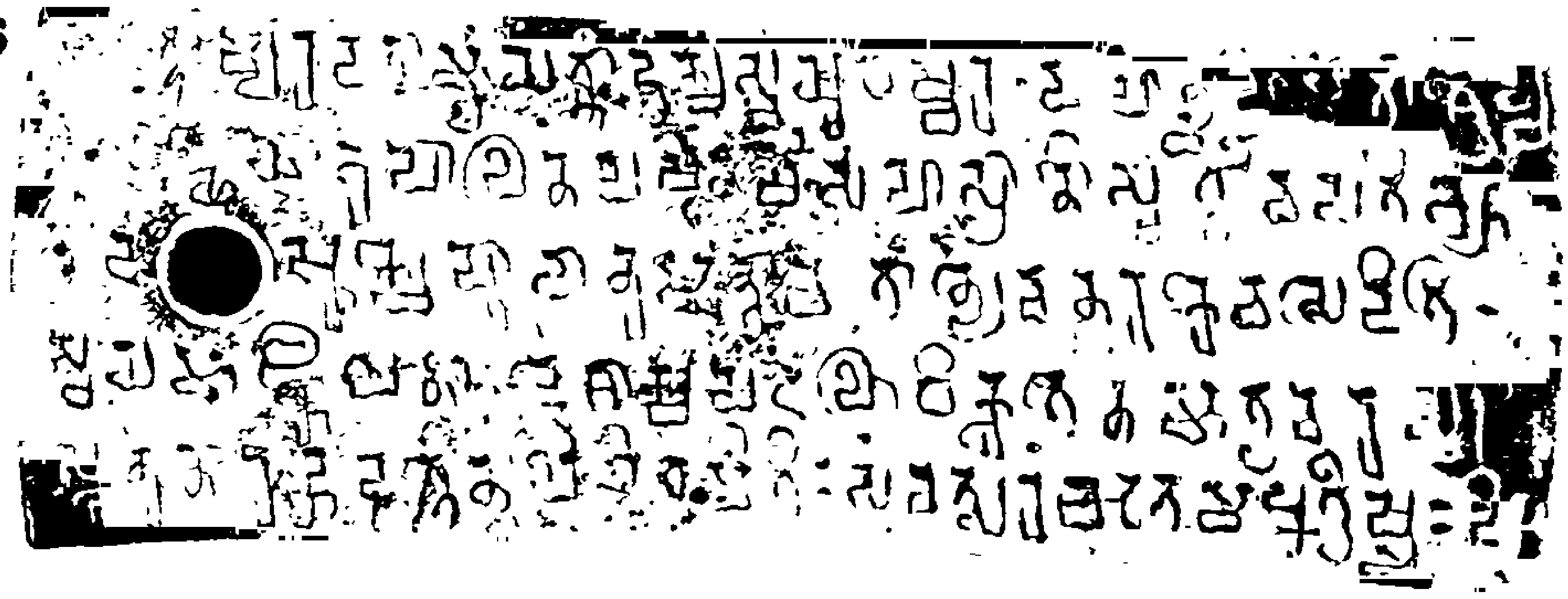
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii.



B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS

REG. No. 3977 E'36-475'49.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Of the **localities** mentioned, **Siṁhapura** occurs fairly frequently in early inscriptions[1] from Kaliṅga. It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultzsch[2] with modern Siṅgupuram lying between Chicacole and Narasannapeta. I am unable to identify the village of Tiritthāṇa.[3]

Palaeographically, the Bobbili inscription, like other early inscriptions from Kaliṅga, is to be referred to the **first half of the 5th century A. D.** The Year 4 mentioned is apparently regnal.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[5] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-**Siṁha**[6]**purā**[t]-paramabhāgavata[ḥ] pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyāta[ḥ]

2 **Kaliṅg**-ādhipati-śrī-mahārājā(a)-**Chaṇḍavarmmā Tiritthāṇa**-grāmē sarvva-

3 samavētān=kuṭumbinaḥ(nō) bhōjakā[ṁ]ś=cha samājñāpayaty=asty=ēshō(sha) grām[ō]=

4 smābhir=ātmana[ḥ] puṇy-āyur-yyaśasām=abhivṛiddhayē [ā]-samud[r-ā]dṛi(dri)-śasi(śi)-tārak-ārka-

5 pratishṭham=agrahāraṁ kṛitvā sarvva-kara-parihāraiś=cha parihṛitya [7]shaṭ-tṛiṅśa(triṁśa)-

Second Plate : First Side

6 d-agrahāra-sāmānyañ=ch=āgrahāra[ḥ*] pradēya[ṁ*] sāmba(mva)tsarikaṁ saṇāgraṁ[8] śatabhu(bhū)-

7 yañ=ch=āśaṁ=ch=ōpanibandhyaḥ[9] **T[i]ritthāṇa-vāṭak-āgrahāra-**brāhmaṇānām

8 nānā=gā(gō)tra-sabrahmachāriṇām samprattaḥ [|*] tad=ēvaṁ jñātvā

9 yushmābhiḥ pūrvv-ōchita-maryyādayā sarvv-ōpasthāna[ṁ] karttavyam

10 mēya-hiraṇy-[ā]dyañ=ch=ōpanēyam [|*] bhavishyataś=cha rājñō

Second Plate : Second Side

11 vijñāma(pa)yāmi[|*] dharmma-krama-vikramāṇām=anyatama-yōgā-

12 d=avāpya mahīm=ānuśāsatām pravṛittakam=idan=dānam

13 sad-dharmmam=anupaśyadbhir=ēshō=grahāmānupālya[10] [|*] api ch=ātra

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[1] Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 144 ; Vol. XII, p. 5 ; *Ann. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, p. 7 (No. 24) and p. 53.

[2] Above, Vol. IV, p. 143 ; Vol. XII, p. 4.

[3] [This may be identified with the Zamindari village Tiridā in the Kudala taluk, Ganjam Dt.—C. R. K.]

[4] From ink-impressions.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] It is clearly *ha*, the right limb of which being damaged gives a false look of *gha*. [The original reads *ṅgha*. —C. R. K.]

[7] Also occurs in Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of Umavarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 5, text line 6). Dr. E. Hultzsch (*ibid.*, p. 6) gives only "Thirty-six Agrahāras" and leaves it without further comment. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu suggests (*Ann. Rep. S. I. Epigraphy*, 1934-35, p. 51) a vague "thirty-six agrahāras (of the kingdom?)." It is however very probable that this highly technical expression has not yielded fully to scientific analysis. I may, incidentally, draw attention to a very interesting Bengali fiscal term, *viz.*, *chhatriś-mauzā* 'thirty-six mauzas', which passes as a convenient and popular synonym for entire zamindary estates.

[8] Can the intended reading be *sahasram* ? [The intended reading is probably *paṇā traṁśat* for *paṇā triṁśat*. —C. R. K.]

[9] Read=*ōpanibandhya*. The earliest epigraphic allusion to any system of registration of land or property can be traced back to some of the ancient cave-inscriptions of Śātavāhana and Kshaharāta kings from Kārlē and Nāsik. Cf. *e.g.*, *nibadhāpehi*, above, Vol. VII, p. 64, No. 19, line 5 ; also p. 68 ; Vol. VIII, p. 65 No. 3, l. 14, p. 70 ; p. 71, No. 4, l. 5 ; *nibadhāpetha*, *ibid.*, p. 73, l. 11, etc.

[10] Read =*grahārō=nupālyaḥ*.

14 Vyāsa-gītāni(tān) ślōkān=udāharantiḥ(nti) [|*] [1]Bahubhir=budvaṁvō[2] dattā vasudhā
15 [va]sudhādhipaiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tada(dā) phalaṁ(lam) [||1||*]

Third Plate

16 [Sva-da]ttām=para-dattām= bā[3] yatnād=rakshasva[4] Yudhishṭhira [|] mah[ī]n=ma(m=ma)-himatāṁ śrēshṭha
17 [dānāch=chhrēyō]=nupālanaṁ(nam) [||2||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhū-
18 mida[ḥ] [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti[5]
19 svayam=ājñāpanā [*] dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛitēna[6] Mātṛivarasya
20 sūnunā **Rudradattēna** likhitam=itiḥ(ti) [*] **Saṁvatsaraṁ chaütama 4 Grīshma 2 di 5** [||*]

TRANSLATION

(Ll. 1-10.) Ōṁ Hail ! From the victorious **Siṁhapura**, the glorious *Mahārāja* **Chaṇḍavarman**, the Lord of **Kaliṅga** (*Kaliṅgādhipati*),—who is a devout worshipper of the Lord and who is devoted to the feet of his father—commands the householders and tenants (*bhōjakas*) *en masse* at the village of **Tiritthāṇa** (*to the following effect*) :

" This village has been conferred by Us for the purpose of increasing (*Our*) own religious merit, life and fame,—having made (*it*) into an *agrahāra* which is to exist as long as the oceans, the mountains, the moon and the stars, after having exempted it from all taxes (*and*) having joined it to the thirty-six *agrahāras* (*i.e., the kingdom ?*). (*The gift*), being (*further*) fully and perpetually registered, accrues to the Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras* (*living at*) **Tiritthāṇa-vāṭak-āgrahāra.**[7] —So having known this (*fact*), you should respect and serve (*all those Brāhmaṇas that settle in this village*) as heretofore ; you should also make over (*to them*) all that is measurable (*mēya, i.e. grains*), gold, etc.

(Ll. 10-13.) " I also address (*the following request*) to future kings : ' Having obtained possession of the earth by means of right, or inheritance or valour (*and*) ruling (*it*), you should maintain this *agrahāra*, recognising the noble heart (*that prompted it*).''

(Ll. 13-18.) And (*incidentally*) the (*following*) *ślōkas* sung by Vyāsa may be mentioned :

[Three of the customary verses.]

(L. 19.) (*This edict was written*) at the command (*of the King*) Himself, by the *Dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛita* **Rudradatta**, son of Mātṛivara.

(L. 20.) **Year Four 4** ; (*fortnight*) **2** (*of*) **Grīshma ; day 5.**"

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[1] Metre : *Ślōka* (*Anushṭubh*) ; and in the following two verses.

[2] [It looks like *bbhadvaṁvō*. The intended reading is probably *bahudhā*.—B. C. C.] [The actual reading is *r=bbhaṁddhavō*, meant perhaps for *bandhavō* in the sense of 'O friends!' .—C. R. K.]

[3] Read *dattāṁ vā*.

[4] Read *raksha*.

[5] Read *vasēd* [3 *] *iti*.

[6] This distinction descended to Rudradatta from his grandfather Haridatta, though his father Mātṛivara apparently lived and died undecorated. [I have assigned Haridatta to a later generation—C. R. K.] (*cf.* above, Vol. XII, p. 5, l. 16 and the amended reading suggested by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu in *An. Rep. S.-I. Epigraphy*, 1934-35, p. 51 and *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1934-35, p. 64).

[7] This is of course a very free translation that I offer. The whole passage in which the grant is announced is somewhat loose and incoherent in construction, though the general purport is quite apparent.

No. 9.—LOHANER PLATES OF CHALUKYA PULIKESIN II : SAKA 552

(*1 Plate*)

G. H. KHARE, POONA

These copper-plates were originally unearthed by the inhabitants of the village **Lohaner,** Nasik District, from its old site. Mr. Bhaugir Shamgir Gosavi, the then Supervising Officer of the East Khandesh District, purchased them for five rupees and very generously presented them to the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍaḷa, Poona. I edited them in Marāṭhī[1] some years ago and I now re-edit them in English.

The set consists of **three plates,** measuring $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{8}''$, strung on a circular **ring,** the two ends of which were originally soldered into a **seal.** The ring, however, was unconsciously cut by Mr. Gosavi and the seal was consequently broken. The inner sides of the first and the third plates and both the sides of the second are inscribed. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is well preserved except in one or two places. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 89 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets and closely resemble those of the Early Chālukya inscriptions, especially the fragmentary Nerūr plates of Pulikēśin II.[2] The engraving is neatly done. Medial short and long *i* and *u* are clearly distinguished. The *anusvāra* and *visarga* are clearly indicated. Only in a few cases it is difficult to differentiate between *v* and *ch* as well as between *v* and *dh* in conjunct consonants.

About **orthography** two points deserve notice here. The *visarga* is wrongly omitted in some cases. In *Maitrāyanika* (l. 23) and *udak-ātisarggēna* (l. 24), *n* has been wrongly substituted for *ṇ*.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except at the beginning and the end, where there are altogether seven invocatory and imprecatory verses.

The record begins with one verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu and another in that of the arm of king Satyāśraya. In this respect the present grant is similar to the fragmentary Nerūr plates in which the two verses at the beginning are also devoted to the praise of the Boar form of Vishṇu and the arm of Vallabha, *i. e.*, Satyāśraya. Then comes the usual but short preamble which is found, with some variations and additions, in almost all the grants of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. After this, is introduced the Chulukikī (Chālukya) dynasty, the members of which had performed sacrifices such as Bahusuvarṇaka, Aśvamēdha, Pauṇḍarīka and Vājapēya. In it was born **Pulikēśin** who had the second name Raṇavikrama. His son was **Kīrtivarman** who was also called Śrīparākrama.[3] His son, who bore again the epithet Raṇavikrama, was **Satyāśraya.**

This Satyāśraya gave the village **Gōviyāṇaka** which lay in the vicinity of the village **Asikhēṭaka** and which was included in the **Mōshiṇī** *pathaka* to Dāmadīkshita of the Sāvarṇi *gōtra*, who originally hailed from **Girinagara** and resided at **Lōhanagara,** who followed the Vārāhaka *sūtra* and who belonged to the Maitrāyaṇika branch of the Black Yajurvēda.

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[1] *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 1

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 43.

[3] [Can this be only Parākrama, the preceding *śrī* being only an honorific ? —Ed.]

As there has been some discussion[1] on these plates during recent years, it would not be out of place if I say a few words about the points raised therein.

The Chālukya copper-plates fall into two categories. The earlier plates do not necessarily begin with the verse *Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ*, though the Boar form of Vishṇu is in some cases praised, and the preamble in them is very short, being most probably adapted from the early Kadamba records, as is the case with the Nerūr and Lohaner plates. The Chipḷūṇ plates[2] begin with a verse in praise of the foot of Vishṇu, while the Haidarābād[3] and the Sātārā[4] plates do not begin with a verse at all. Svāmi-Mahāsēna, Mātṛigaṇa (Group of Mothers), Mānavya *gōtra* and the birth from Hārītī are generally referred to in Kadamba grants. The present plates, in addition, refer to the bringing up of the originator of the family by Kauśikī and the performance of various sacrifices by members of the family. But the Kāndalgaon[5] (spurious) plates of Pulikēśin II and the Haidarābād[6] and other plates of his successors begin with the verse *Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ* and have more or less the same long preamble.

About the prolixity of the plates, I may observe that if compared with any of the complete and genuine plates of Pulikēśin II, nothing abnormal is to be found in these plates. The inscription on these is of about the same length as on others.

As regards the dating of the grant, I may point out that the Haidarābād, Kāndalgaon and the Kopparam plates[7] belong to the later Chālukya grants and as such give the details of the date in the body of the text. But it can be easily seen that the Chipḷūṇ plates have no date at all and the scanty details of the date in the Goa[8] and Sātārā plates are to be found partly in the body and partly at the end of the text. Even the dates of the Yekkēri[9] and Aihoḷe[10] stone inscriptions are recorded practically at the end.

It must be said, however, that, as far as I know, of all the genuine records of Pulikēśin II, only the Aihoḷe inscription refers to his victories in specific terms. It is therefore not safe to depend on those records for dating the Harsha-Pulikēśin war.

The **date of** the present grant is given thus in the last line: *dvipañchāśad-adhikē śakā(t-ā)bda-pañchakē*. With the obvious correction suggested,[11] the date would be 552. As **Pulikēśin** II's reign extended at least from Śaka 532 to 556, and if the date 552 be referred to the Śaka era, then the grant falls within his regnal period. This is also borne out by the genealogy given above.

Of the **localities** mentioned in this grant, it is very difficult to say whether the very well known Girnār in the Junagad State is implied here by **Girinagara.** But there is a village called Girnara in each of the Igatpuri, Malegaon, Nasik and Baglan *taluqas* of the Nasik District.[12] It is possible that one of these four, most probably the one in the Baglan *taluqa*, is meant here.

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1 For instance, see *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta Session 1939, p. 586 *et seq.*
2 Above, Vol. III, p. 51.
3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.
4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309.
5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 330.
6 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 76.
7 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 258.
8 *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.
9 Above, Vol. V, p. 7.
10 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 4.
11 [It is better perhaps to amend the text as *Śak-ābda-śata-pañchakē*.— Ed.]
12 *Vide Postal Village Directory of the Bombay Circle* published in 1902.

Lōhanagara is the modern Lohaner in the Baglan *taluqa* where the present plates were unearthed. In the northern part of this *taluqa* there is the valley of the river Mosam and on the south bank of it is a village named Āskhēḍā. Two miles to the south-west of this village is another village Gōrāṇa. These I would identify with **Mōshiṇī** *pathaka*, **Asikhēṭaka** and **Gōviyāṇaka** respectively.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 श्रीं[2] स्वस्ति [।*] [3]जयत्यमलबालेन्दुकोटिप्रकाशदंष्ट्रोत्कटं रसातलजपङ्काङ्कितस्कन्धदे-

2 शमुत्केसरं [।*] जलालुलितघोणाग्रमुक्तप्रभञ्जनोत्सारितध्वनेर्ज्जलधिम-

3 ध्योपलब्धोर्व्वि कोलरूपं हरे: ॥[१*॥] [4]तदनु जितबलवदरिगजमस्तकगलितसितमौ-

4 क्तिकच्छुरितस्म(त: । स)त्याश्रयस्य बाहुर्ज्जयति जगज्जनितबहुमान: ॥[२॥*] अस्ति मानव्यसगो-

5 त्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकी[सं]वर्द्धितानां मातृगणाभिषिक्तानां स्वामिमहासे-

6 नपादानुद्ध्यातानां चुलुकि[5]कीनामन्वये बहुसुवर्ण्णकाश्वमेधपौण्डरीक-

7 वाजपेयादियागावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतशिरसां मनुनृगनहुषययातिधुन्धुमारा-

8 म्बरीषदिलीपनाभागप्रतिम: श्रीरणविक्रमद्वितीयनामा पुलिकेशिवल्लभम-

9 म[6]हाराजस्तस्य पुत्र: परगजघनपटलपवन[:*] श्रीपराक्रमापरान्य:(ख्य:) कीर्त्तिवर्म्मा तस्य पुत्र:

Second Plate ; First Side

10 प्रद्ध(ध्व)स्तप्रबलश[त्रु]महिमा हिमाचलानुकारी विपुलस्थैर्य्योन्नतिन(र्न)तपरमसामन्त-

11 समुपचरितश्चरिततपश्चरण(णो) भृत्यलब्धप्रसाद: सादरमिवानन्यमनसा वि-

12 धात्रा विनिर्म्मितो मितहितविशदसत्यवचनोपन्यासो न्यास इव जगत्याश्चर्य्याणां प्रथम-

13 युगमनुजपतिमुनिचरित(तो) विजयी विमलगगनगत इ[व*] शरदीन्दुरू(रु)पशमित-सकल-

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1 From the original plates.

2 Represented by a symbol.

3 The name of the metre is unknown to me, but it has much similarity to the *Prithvī* metre of 17 letters with the following scanning ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —. It is evident that in point of the first six and the last seven letters the scanning of the *Prithvī* metre and the metre of the verse is identical.

4 Metre : *Āryā*.

5 The letter may also be read as क्कि.

6 This म is superfluous.

14 जगद[सुखः] साहसैकरतिरनेकचातुर्दन्त[सं]ग्रामजनितव्रणाङ्काङ्कतया

15 स्वभुजबललब्धरणविक्रमाख्यः सुहृदवन(नो) दीनान्धकृपणसमु-

16 पभुज्यमानविभवः पूर्व्वापराम्बु[धि*]नाथः(थो) देवद्विजगुरुशुश्रूषणपरः

17 परमभागवतः प्रसभाभिमृष्टान्यराजश्री[:*] श्रीसत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभ-

18 महाराज[:*] सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रकूटग्रामायुक्त-

Second Plate : Second Side

19 कादीन्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिर्मो(र्मा)षिणीपथकान्तर्गतश्च(तोऽ)सिखेटकग्राम-

20 प्रत्यासन्नगोवियाणकग्रामः सर्व्वराजकुलादेयसहितःश्च(तोऽ)चाटभटप्रा-

21 वेश्य आचन्द्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन(नो) बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रक्र(क्रि)-

22 यापञ्चमहायज्ञोत्सर्प्पणार्त्थं गिरिनगरविनिर्ग्गतलोहनगरवास्तव्याय साव-

23 र्णिसगोत्रमैत्रायनि(णि)कवाराहकसब्रह्मचारिदामदीक्षिताय उ-

24 दकातिसर्ग्गेन(ण) प्रतिपादितः यतोस्मद्व(द्वं)श्यैरन्यैर्व्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिर्न्न-

25 लवेणुकदलीसारं संसारमुपलभ्य उदधिजलवीचीचञ्चलांश्च विषयां(या)नव-

26 निधरशिखरकटकतटलसितसलिलरयगत्वरञ्च जीवितमवगम्य महाभूत-

27 परमाणुस्थास्नु च महत्फलं शरच्चन्द्रकिरणधवलं यशो निरूप्यायमस्मद्दायो-

Third Plate

28 नुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादा-

29 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्संयुक्त[:*] स्यादुक्तञ्च भगवता

30 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ [1]षष्टिंवर्ष्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता

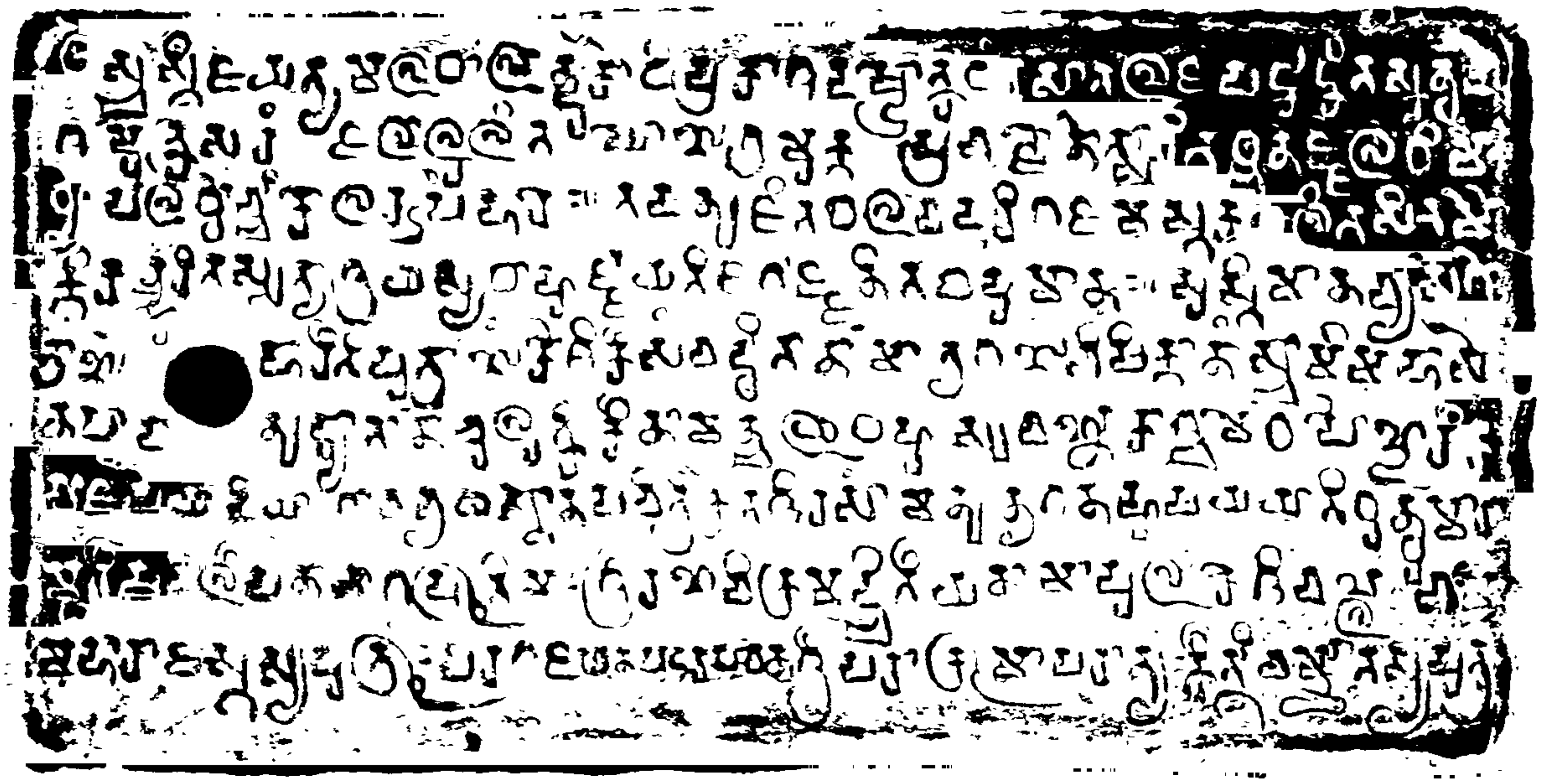
31 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥३॥*] [1]विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृ-

32 ष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [४॥*] [1]स्वदत्तां परदत्तां [वा] यत्ना-

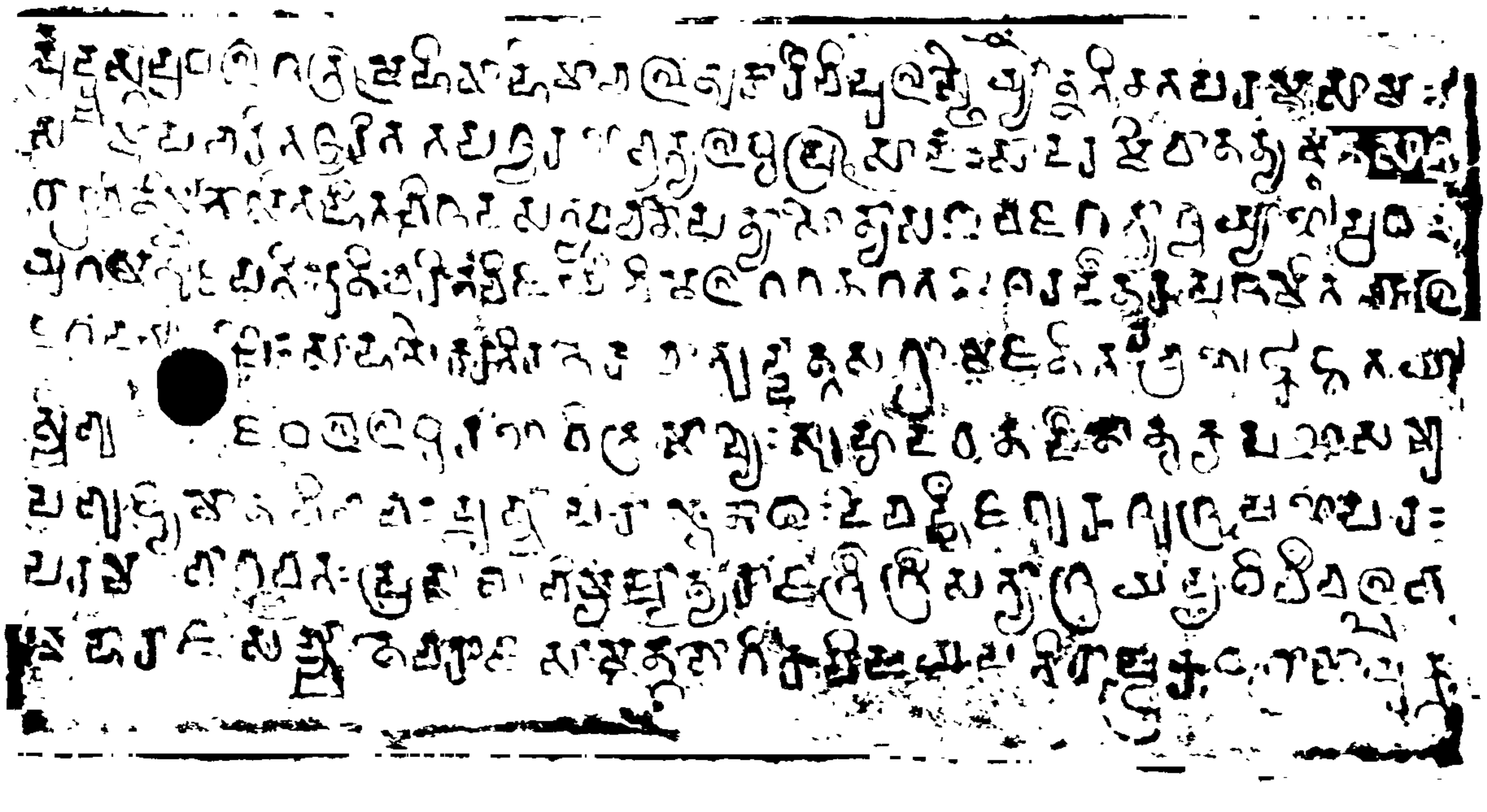
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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

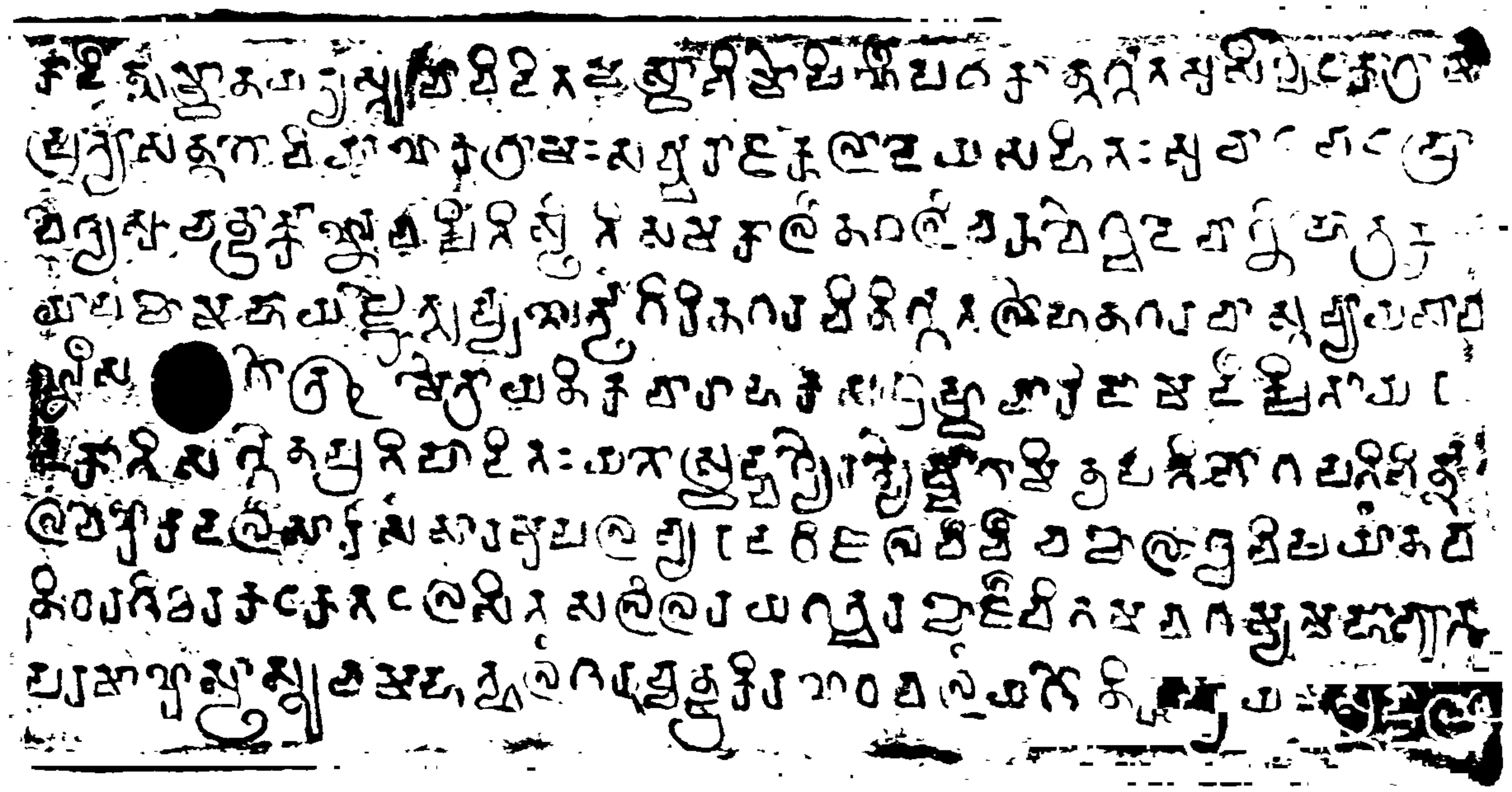
i.



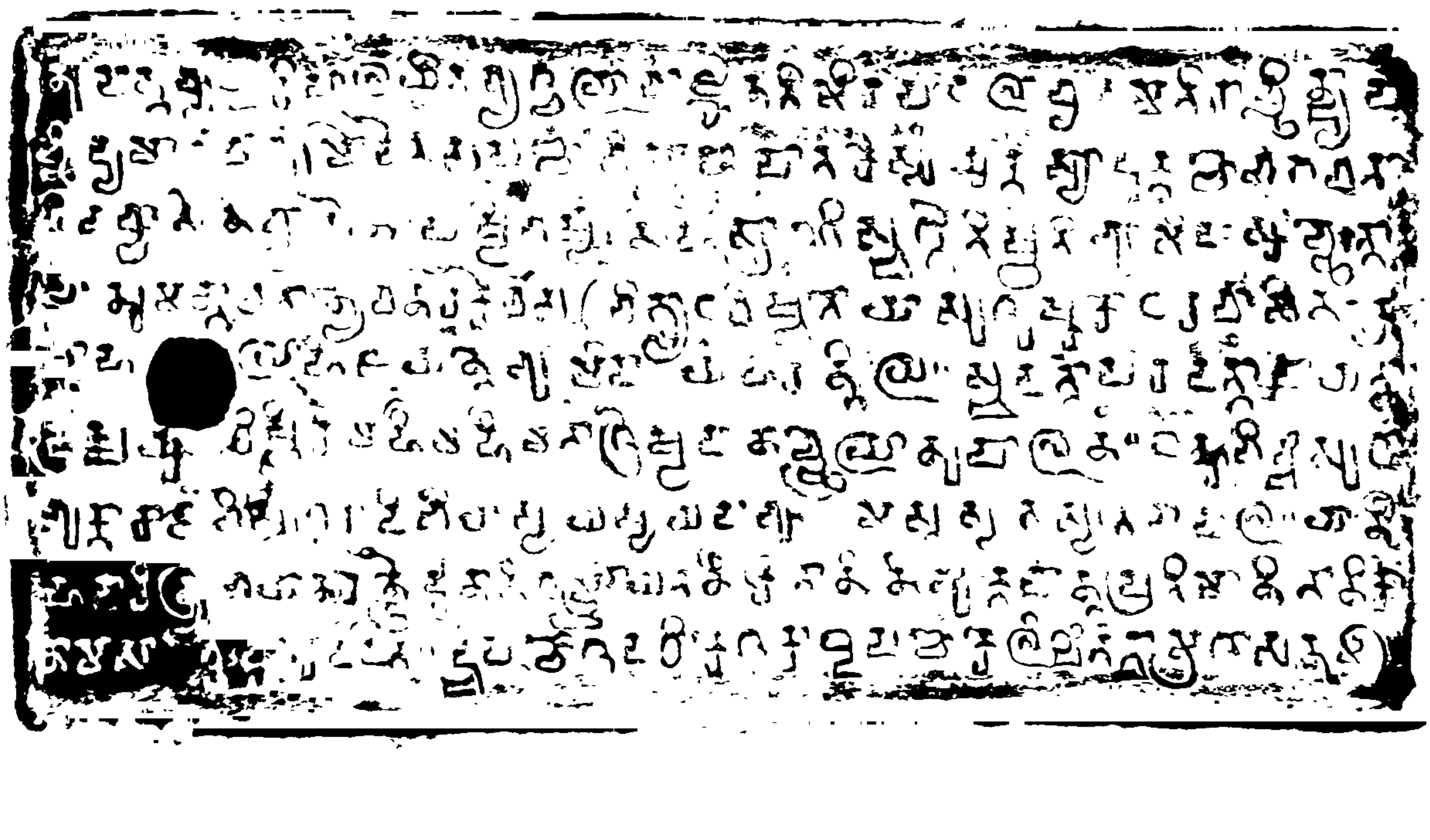
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii,



33 द्रत्त युधिष्ठिर [।*] मह्रीं मह्रीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*] [1]बहुभिर्व्वसुधा

34 भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[:।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूम(मि)स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [६॥*] [2]यानो-

35 ह दारिद्राभयानरन्द्रै[3]र्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनी[कृ]तानि [।*] निर्भुक्तवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को

36 नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[७॥*] द्विपञ्चाशदधिके शका(ता)ब्दपञ्चके[4] लिखितं ताम्रषा(शा)सनम् [॥*]

No. 10.—CHEVURU PLATES OF EASTERN CHALUKYA AMMA I

(1 Plate)

B. Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund

This set of copper-plates was discovered by me in the possession of a peasant, named Polavarapu Ankayya, son of Venkata Reddi, of the **Chēvūru** village in the Kaikalūr *tālūk* of the Kistna District in the Madras Presidency. It was by a sheer chance that I received information about the existence of the plates from a resident of the neighbouring village of Singarāyapālem, while I was touring in that part during November 1938. I forthwith went to Chēvūru and succeeded in securing the plates on loan through the kind mediation of Mr. T. V. Satyanarayana, Revenue Inspector, Vaḍāli *firkā*, Vaḍāli, Kaikalūr *tālūk*, and Mr. Gaddamadugu Chandraraju, the *Karaṇam* of Chēvūru. I was shown the actual spot, a heap of debris of a ruined mud-house, from where the plates were turned up by the spade of the peasant engaged in removing the *pāṭi* earth for manure as he himself narrated the incident to me. The event had taken place some ten years prior to my visit, and all that time the find had remained unnoticed in the custody of its rustic discoverer who, luckily for the historian, was superstitious enough to leave it alone.

The **plates are three** in number, each measuring about $8\frac{1}{8}''$ broad by $4\frac{1}{8}''$ high. I found the set perfectly intact: the plates strung on a copper ring, about $4\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and about $\frac{3}{8}''$ in thickness, its ends being secured underneath a circular seal, roughly $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter. The second plate is engraved on both the sides, while the first and the third bear inscription only on one side. The edges of the plates on the inscribed sides are raised into rims in order to protect the writing which is consequently well preserved from start to finish. The average size of letters is $\frac{1}{4}''$. The engraving is neat and deep, which is a common feature of the majority of the Chālukya copper-plate inscriptions. The weight of the three plates is 133 *tolas*, while the ring and the seal together weigh 61 *tolas*. The **seal** is slightly damaged at the bottom. It bears, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a one-line **legend** across the centre, which reads *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*[*ḥ*], with the figures of a running boar above, facing the proper right, and an expanded

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[2] Metre : *Upajāti*.

[3] Read भिया नरेन्द्रै or भयान्नरेन्द्रै.

[4] [See above, p. 38, note 11. — Ed.]

lotus-flower below. In front of the animal is depicted an *aṅkuśa*, while over it is shown a crescent with a star within.[1]

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, regular for the period and locality to which the inscription belongs. They are, so to say, precursors of the modern Telugu characters. In ll. 28 and 30, we have instances of *ṛ* and *ḷ*, which letters are peculiar to the Telugu and other South-Indian dialects and scripts. Attention may also be drawn to the forms of initial *a*, *i*, *u* and *ē*, which occur, for example, in ll. 11, 12, 27 and 25 respectively. The final *n* and *m* are represented each by a special sign, as may be seen in ll. 22 and 3 respectively. A rather unusual way of expressing medial *ē*, *ai* and *ō* is to be seen in *sāhasēna* (l. 20), *saṁpratair=* (l. 22) and *sagō-ṇāṁ* (l. 1) respectively. The form of a subscript *l* (ll. 6, 16 and 29) likewise deserves notice. Visargas and *anusvāras* are, as a rule, denoted by dots, but occasionally small circles are used instead, as may be seen in l. 16 where also the less familiar way of separating an *anusvāra* from the letter to which it conventionally belongs is to be noticed.[2]

The **language** is Sanskrit, except that in ll. 26-30 mostly it is Telugu. The composition is in prose, except the three verses in the end, the last of which mentions the name of the composer. As regards **orthography**, the occasional use of an *anusvāra* for a class nasal, as in *-puṁja-piṁjarita-* (l. 8), the frequent reduplication of a consonant after a *r*, as in *-mahīpatir=ggaṇḍara-* (l. 11), non-observance of *sandhi* in some cases, as in l. 11, and the change of *visargas* to a sibilant similar to the following one, as in l. 13, are the noteworthy points. The change of *ś* to *s* in *rāsi* (l. 9), *Sūdrakō* (l. 21) and *prāsana* (l. 23) is noteworthy. This feature is characterised as qualitative phonetic variation and is of frequent occurrence in some Dravidian languages. There are some mistakes, of both omission and commission which have been duly noticed in the transcript of the text.

The **object** of the charter is to record that the king **Amma**, *i.e.*, the Eastern Chālukya king Amma I, raised a distinguished warrior, Vēmarāja by name, to the position of a village-lord (*grāmaṇī*), placing the village of Umikilī in the district (*vishaya*) of Gudravāra, under his sole control. Vēmarāja was to pay only the traditional fixed tribute of eight *gadyāṇakas*,[3] presumably per annum, and, for the rest, he was exempted from all the tax and revenue. Thus, in other words, the village of **Umikilī** was *granted* to Vēmarāja. The inscription furnishes us with some interesting details regarding this person. As to his parentage, he is described to be son of Rājāditya's younger brother Manōhitāryya, and grandson of Chandeyarāja, belonging to the Kōna family. Rājāditya must have been a notable personage, as otherwise the mention of his name in the present context is quite uncalled for. As for Chandeyarāja, he seems to have enjoyed a highly honoured position under Vijayāditya *alias* Guṇakkenalla, *i.e.*, Vijayāditya III, inasmuch as he is stated to have held the same village of Umikilī as its headman and also to have received a gift of an elephant from the king. Vēmarāja himself is praised for his heroism and

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[1] The star is represented by a dot. The same device occurs on the seals of certain other Chālukya copperplate grants. Some scholars take the dot as representing the sun (*e.g.*, see above, Vol. V, p. 119; Vol. XIX, p. 149, etc.), but the relative size and the position of the dot would hardly warrant such an explanation. There are, however, instances where the sun and the moon are clearly depicted; see, for example, the seal of the Masulipatam plates of Ammarāja II, above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 275. [I would prefer taking the dot to stand for the sun.—C. R. K.]

[2] See below, p. 46, n. 1.

[3] *Gadyāṇaka* is supposed to be a gold coin. See above, Vol. XXI, p. 176, n. 3. It is also known as *varāha* or *varāha-gadyāṇa*, 'a pagoda equal to Rupees 3'. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 130. Mr. A. Ghosh kindly draws my attention to the terms *gadya* and *gadhaiya*, the latter being applied to a class of debased Indo-Sassanian silver coins of early mediæval period, but whether they have any real connection, beyond the phonetic resemblance, with the *gadyāṇaka* remains to be determined.

loyalty: he is described as the Śūdraka[1] of the Kali age, and is said to have served Amma I's father Vijayāditya IV loyally and obediently. It was, in fact, this devotion on the part of Vēmarāja that particularly pleased Amma I, who consequently rewarded him with the gift of a village.[2]

The special occasion, on which the conferment was made, is stated to be the *Annaprāśana* ceremony of prince Vijayāditya, *i.e.*, Amma I's son Vijayāditya V. This accords well with the already known fact that Vijayāditya V was a mere child at the time when he succeeded his father to the throne. Since the abovenamed ceremony usually comes off during the sixth month[3] from the time of the birth of the child concerned, it may be inferred that Vijayāditya V was an infant of about six months at the time of the grant recorded in the present charter. Had the regnal year of king Amma I been mentioned in it, it would have been possible to determine more or less precisely as to how old Vijayāditya V was at the time of his accession. However, we know that Amma I reigned for seven years, and thus even granting that Vijayāditya V was born to him during the very first year of his reign, he (Vijayāditya V) could not have been older than seven years when he was anointed king. There are, on the other hand, indications that he was much younger, as will presently be shown.

We know of three other records, besides the present one, pertaining to Amma I. They are the Masulipatam,[4] Ēḍēru[5] and Tenāli[6] plates. The first two of these inscriptions have been edited, while of the last one only the contents have been briefly noticed. It is remarkable that none of the four known charters of Amma I records a donation to a Brāhmaṇa, but that in every one of them a person of a military rank is so honoured. This, so far as we know, has been the case even on the occasion of the *Annaprāśana* ceremony of the new-born prince, when a Brāhmaṇa's claim to a munificent royal gift could hardly be ignored.[7] All this in reality may mean nothing, but, considering that Amma I was all along at war either with his own kinsmen or with external enemies such as the Rāshṭrakūṭas, one may be justified in assuming that he deliberately pursued a policy of encouraging men of the military profession by showing favours to them, so that they might remain loyal to him and, in case of need, might fight for him. This far-sighted policy may have contributed to his successes.

There is one point on which the present grant differs from the other three. To wit, its preamble, unlike that of the others, does not contain the usual genealogical list, giving the names and the duration of reign in each case of the Eastern Chālukya kings, starting from Vishṇuvardhana I, the founder of the dynasty, downwards. However, it mentions the names of the two immediate predecessors of Amma I, namely those of his father and grand-father, Vijayāditya (IV) and Chālukya-Bhīma (I) respectively. Vijayāditya IV is given the epithet *Samastabhuvanāśraya*. In connection with Amma I himself, the inscription mentions his known

[1] This Śūdraka, represented here as a pattern of daring, is plainly a legendary character, and 'like Vikramāditya is the hero of a vast cycle of stories'. See pp. i-ii of the Preface to H. M. Sarma's edition of Śūdraka's *Mṛichchhakaṭika* (2nd edition, Nirnaya-Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1910). Other instances of a valiant person likened to Śūdraka may be found above, Vol. V, p. 123, text l. 31; Vol. XXIV, p. 193, text l. 7; etc. [*Cf.* the title *Jagadēka-Śūdraka* applied to one Pallavamalla, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 925.—C. R. K.]

[2] [From the way the boundaries of two fields are described the gift seems to consist of only those two fields.—C. R. K.]

[3] *Shashṭhē='nnaprāśanam māsi*, *Manusmṛiti*, II, 34.

[4] Above, Vol. V, pp. 131 ff. and plate.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

[6] *An. Rep., S. I. E.* 1923-24, pp. 10, 98.

[7] It may be pointed out here that a remote ancestor of Amma I, namely Sarvalōkāśraya Maṅgi-Yuvarāja (A.D. 672-696), donated some land at the village of Ēlūru (the modern town of Ellore) to a Brāhmaṇa, Śrīdharaśarman by name, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, on the occasion of the *Annaprāśana* ceremony of his son Vishṇuvardhana III, as recorded in his Ēlūru grant. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 51.

epithet and surnames of *Sarvalōkāśraya*, Rājamahēndra and Vishṇuvardhana. Besides, it calls him *Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa*, which may be treated as an additional epithet. Describing Chālukya-Bhīma I, the inscription speaks of his victory over his enemies. In like manner it praises Vijayāditya IV for his liberality. In the case of Amma I, prominence is given to his subduing his *dāyādas*,[1] whereby his collaterals are meant.

A more important point worth noting is, however, the fact that in the present inscription Amma I assumes the full imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, whereas in the other three charters of his, he styles himself simply *Mahārāja*. This shows that by the time of the present inscription Amma I had acquired more authority possibly through subjugating his adversaries. Incidentally it is also proved hereby that the present is the latest of all the four known charters of Amma I. And from this it follows that Amma I's son Vijayāditya V must have been only a baby at the time of his accession.[2]

The present inscription further describes Amma I as *Paramamāhēśvara*, also for the first time. His son, who is called here Vijayāditya, is also known as *Bēta*, which is but a contraction of *Vijayāditya* itself.[3]

Apart from the information inferred in the foregoing paragraphs, the inscription does not furnish us with any new historical data. According to the chronology of the Eastern Chālukya kings fixed by Fleet, Amma I reigned from September A. D. 918 to August A. D. 925. Lately some scholars have re-examined the chronology, arriving at slightly different results.[4]

It is known from other records that Vijayāditya V reigned for one fortnight and was afterwards ejected by Tāḍapa. Later, it is said, he founded 'a separate line of descent, which subsequently came to hold the Vēṅgī country again.'[5]

The composer of the present record is stated to be one *Bhaṭṭa* Mahākāla, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Niravadya. This Mahākāla is evidently a different person from Mahākāla, the donee in Amma I's Masulipatam plates, who, as stated there, was a general of Chālukya-Bhīma I. The *dūtaka*, or the *samājñāpti*[6] as he is called in the inscription, was the *Kaṭakēśvara*.[7] The personal name of this official has not been mentioned.

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[1] The same fact is alluded to also in his Ēdēru plates. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 40 text, ll. 38-40; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 266, and n. 1.

[2] It has naturally been presumed that it took Amma I some considerable length of time, say at least three years, to have his position fortified and finally declare himself *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. It is difficult to say as to how much time elapsed between one charter and another; they might have followed in quick succession. However, according to the view that the expression *sva-rājyābhishēka-kṛita kalyāṇaḥ* occurring in the description of Amma I in his Ēdēru plates lends itself to the interpretation that the record 'was issued during the coronation ceremony of the king' (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XI, p. 32), the Ēdēru plates may be placed first in the chronological order and held to have been issued in the very first year of Amma I's reign.

[3] Fleet remarks that '*Bēta* was probably the original appellation bestowed at the naming ceremony after his birth' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 267).

[4] See *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. IX, pp. 17 ff.; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, Part 4, pp. 1 ff.; above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 269 f., etc.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 267.

[6] The word *samājñāpti* is obviously meant to be the same as *ājñāpti*, the form with the preposition *sam* prefixed to it having been employed owing to the metrical exigency. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu has offered an ingenious explanation of this term, 'the agency that obtains the command (*ājñā-āpti*)'; see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 303, n. 12. Nevertheless, *ājñāpti* is probably just an alternative form of the more familiar *ājñapti*. The former is derivable from the root *jñā* *nijantaḥ*. Its *ā* is not shortened because it is, unlike other *jñā* and *glai* roots, not *mit* and as such it is not governed by Pāṇini's rule *mitāṁ hrasvaḥ* (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, VI, 4, 92).

[7] The usual designation is *Kaṭakarāja*. It is apparently again for metrical reasons that its equivalent *Kaṭakēśvara* has been used in the present record, as *Kaṭakādhīśa* elsewhere, though in another epigraph *Kaṭakēśa* is found used without any such necessity; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 267, n. 5. We may render this title as 'Governor of the Fort', as suggested by the term *Durgapati* used in an early record in a similar context; see *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

As to the localities mentioned in the record, the **Gudravāra** *vishaya* figures in a number of inscriptions. In certain cases its name is spelt differently. It has been identified with Gūḍūru, near Masulipatam,[1] as well as with Gudivāḍa, the headquarters of the *tālūk* of that name in the Kistna District.[2] The latter identification is more probable. The donated village of **Umikilī** and the boundary village of **Dūdrupāka** are evidently identical with Unikili and Rudrapāka; both of which are included in the Kaikalūr *tālūk* of the Kistna District. The Kaikalūr *tālūk* map shows Rudrapāka to be situated, as the inscription has it, to the south of Unikili. The distance between the two is about a mile and a half.

I am indebted to Mr. N. Laksminarayan Rao for the explanation of the Telugu portion as well as for some useful suggestions in connection with this essay.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 Svasti [il*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ
2 Hārīti-putrāṇāṁ Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānāṁ mātṛi-gaṇa-pari-
3 pālitānāṁ svāmi-Mahāsēna[4]-pād-ānudhyātānām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-
4 prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāha[5]-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-ā-
5 rāti-maṇḍalānāṁ=aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrīkṛita-vapu-
6 shāṁ **Chālukyānāṁ**[6] kulam=alaṁkarishṇōḥ **Satyāśraya-Vallabhēndrasya**[7] kula tila
7 kāyamāna-sv-āsi-dhārā-namita-ripu-nṛipati-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-maṇi-mayū-
8 kha-puñja-piñjarita-pāda-padma-yugalasya **Chālukya-Bhīma-**bhūpālasya pautraḥ
9 s-āsi-sannahana-sva-tanu-tulā-tulita-bhūri-bhāra-bhāsura-hēma-rāsi(śi)-mahā-

Second Plate; First Side

10 dāna-viśēsh-āḍyı(ḍhyī)kṛita-vipra-kula-kalpavṛikshasya Samastabhuvanāśra-
11 ya-**Vijayādityasya** putraḥ[8] **Amma**-mahīpatir=Ggaṇḍaragaṇḍō Rājamahē-
12 ndra iti vikhyātaḥ[8] dāyāda-timir-ōdyad-dinakara-kiraṇāyamāna-bhāsur-ā-
13 si-sa[9]nāthīkṛitata[10]-dakshiṇa-bhā(bā)hus=sa Sa[11]rvvalōkāśraya-śrī-**Vishṇuva-**
14 **rddhana-**mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakaḥ paramamā-
15 hēśvaraḥ[8] **Gudravāra-**vishaya-nivāsinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭu-

[1] G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 87; above, Vol. VI, p. 316; Vol. XXIII, p. 89, n. 6; p. 99, n. 3; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V. p. 25; etc., where different spellings of the name will be seen.

[2] Above, Vol. IV, p. 34. It may be pointed out that formerly Kaikalūr was not a separate *tālūk*, but was a part of the Gudivāḍa *tālūk*. Thus Chēvūru and the other villages now included in the Kaikalūr *tālūk* were formerly in the Gudivāḍa *tālūk*.

[3] From the original plates and inked estampages.

[4] The dot seen over the syllable *sē* is superfluous. It does not stand for an *anusvāra* which in this inscription usually appears to the right of the letter concerned, as may be compared in l. 1 where it occurs thrice.

[5] The superfluous dot between *ra* and *rā* in the word *varāha* is due to a flaw in the plate.

[6] A short downward stroke is seen attached to the middle of the letter *lu* on its right side, which is unnecessary. The proper form of this letter may be seen below in l. 8.

[7] See below p. 47, n. 1.

[8] Here *sandhi* has not been observed.

[9] A superfluous mark like that of an ordinary *anusvāra* is seen over this *sa*.

[10] This *ta* is redundant; read *kṛita-dakshiṇa*.

[11] This *sa* is redundant; read *s=sarvva-*. Or we may even justify the presence of the additional *sa* by reading *s=sa sarvva-* treating that *sa* as a demonstrative pronoun, meaning here 'that well-known'.

16 ṁ[1]binas=samāhūy=ētthaṁ=ājñāpayati viditam=astu vaḥ[6] Guṇakkenall-ā-
17 para-nāmadhēya-Vijayāditya-mahārāja-prasādīkṛita-hasty-ārōha-
18 ṇ-āvāpta-Gudravāra-vishaya-śrīmad-**Umikili**[2]-nāma-grāma-rāshṭrakūṭa-

Second Plate : Second Side

19 ma(mā)hātmyasya **Kōnakula-Chandeyarājasya** pautraḥ[6] Rājādity-ānuja-**Manō-**
20 **hitāryyasya** putraḥ[6] **Vēmarājō** nāma subhaṭaḥ sāhasēna Kali-
21 yuga-Sū(Śū)drakō mat-pitaraṁ Vijayāditya[ṁ*] baddha-karppaṭakaḥ[3] svāmibhakti
22 r=ārādhitavān [|*] tad-ārādhana-svāmibhakti-saṁpṛitair[4]=asmābhiḥ kumāra-Vija-
23 yādity-ānnaprāsa(śa)na-nimittē kram-āgata-siddhāy-āshṭa-gadyāṇa-
24 kaṁ parityajya sarvva-kara-parihāraṁ[5]m=Umikilī-grāma-grāmaṇīs=sa
25 Vēmarāja[ḥ*] kṛitaḥ | grāma-dakshiṇataḥ[6] Ērvvōka-chēnu[6] asy=āvadhayaḥ
26 pūrvvataḥ[6] vranta | dakshiṇataḥ[6] Dūdrupāka-sīm=aiva | paśchimataḥ[6] Rācha-chēnu
27 chāṇḍa(ṇḍā)la-kshētraṁ cha | uttarataḥ kōḍu | grām-ōttara-diśi[6] Aypa[7]=Ērvvōka-chē-

Third Plate

28 nu[6] asy=āvadhayaḥ pūrvvataḥ kōḍu | dakshiṇataḥ[6] Vannēṛu | paśchimataḥ
29 kōḍu | uttarataḥ kolani mulugu | puṭṭi-nirugu saveraṁ iruvadinālgu vuṭla-ni-
30 ṇḍṛ-āyam=padu-gaṇḍu padeḷ=dumu | tammulaṁmuna tūmeṇḍu | asy=ōpari na-
31 kēnachid=bādhā karttavyā [|*] yaḥ karōti sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyu-
32 ktō bhavati | tathā cha Vyāsēn=āpy=uktaṁ | Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahu-
33 bhiś=ch=ānupā[8]litā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
34 phalam |[|] 1 ||*][9] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattaṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) [|*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sa-
35 hasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ |[|2 ||][9] Vēṁgī-maṇḍala-rakshaṇō(ṇa)-bhuja-bala-
36 **Kaṭakēśvaras**-samājñāptiḥ[10] | bhaṭṭa-**Niravadya**-santati-bhaṭṭa-**Mahākāla**-virachitaṁ(tam) [||3||*][11]

TRANSLATION

Ll. 1—16. Hail! The illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka* king **Amma,** *alias* Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa Rājamahēndra, surnamed Vishṇuvardhana, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the refuge of the whole world, whose right hand is companioned by a glittering sword resembling a ray of the rising sun for (*dispelling*) the darkness (*in the form*) of the

[1] This sign of *anusvāra* has been separated from the final letter of the foregoing line, namely *tu*, to which it belongs. This unusual manner of separating the sign of *anusvāra* is noticed in some other Chālukya records as well; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 187, text ll. 29-30, and remarks on p. 186; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 278, n. 3.

[2] This name recurs below in l. 24 in a slightly altered form inasmuch as the final vowel there is long.

[3] [*Cf.* 'Karpaṭivrata' mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Amma II, *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1917, p. 116, para. 24.—C. R. K.]

[4] The form *sampṛita* is to be derived from the root *pri* ('to please' or 'to be pleased') but the use of this verb is restricted to the Vedic language, as is indicated by Bhaṭṭōjidīkshita in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* : *pṛinōty=ādayas =trayaś=chhāndasā ity==āhuh.* In the present instance, therefore, we had better read *samprītaiḥ* instead of *sam-pritaiḥ*.

[5] This *anusvāra* is redundant; read-*parihāram=Umikilī-*.

[6] Here *sandhi* has not been observed.

[7] Read *Ayyapa*.

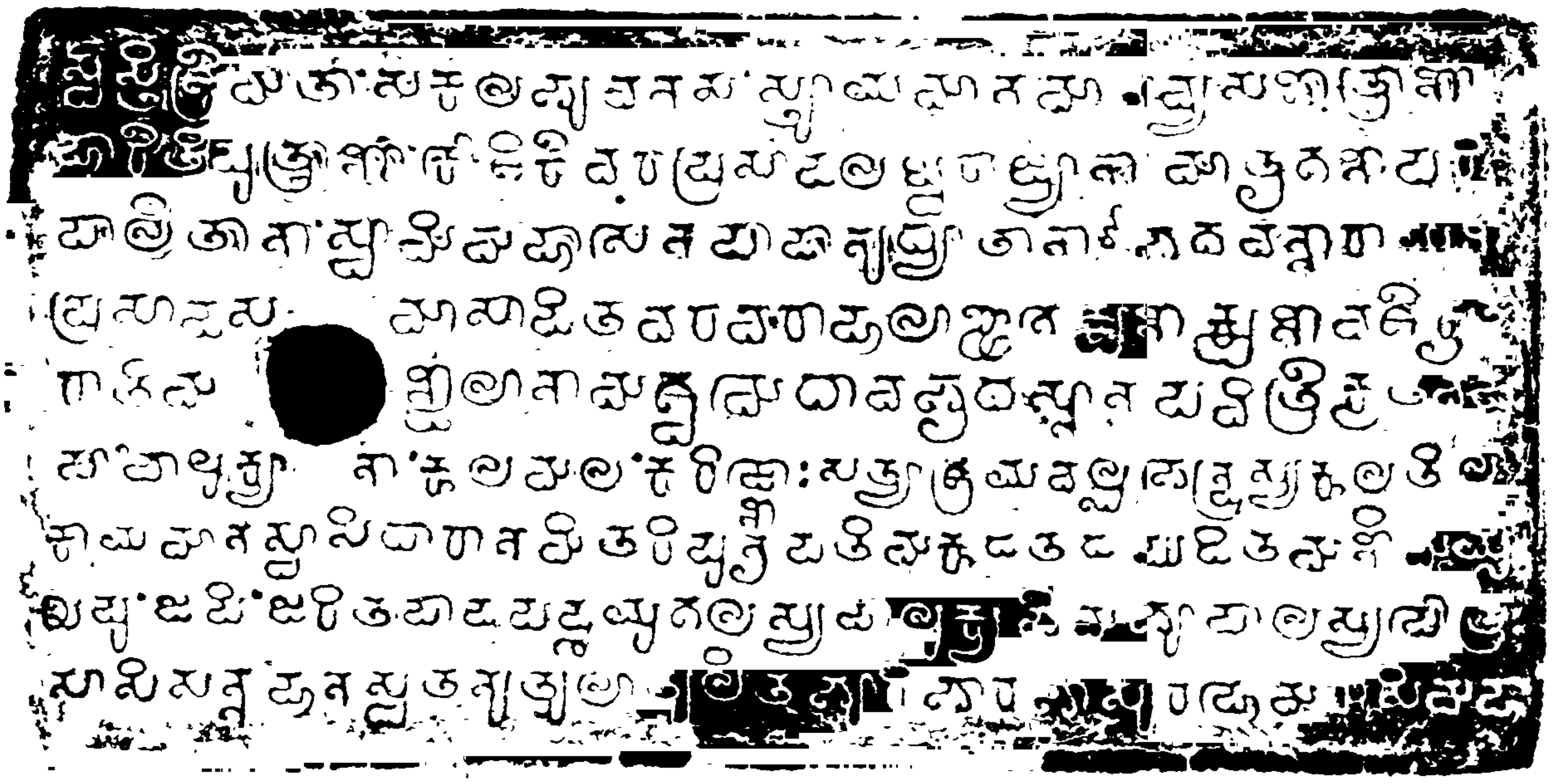
[8] There is a superfluous dot over this *pā*.

[9] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

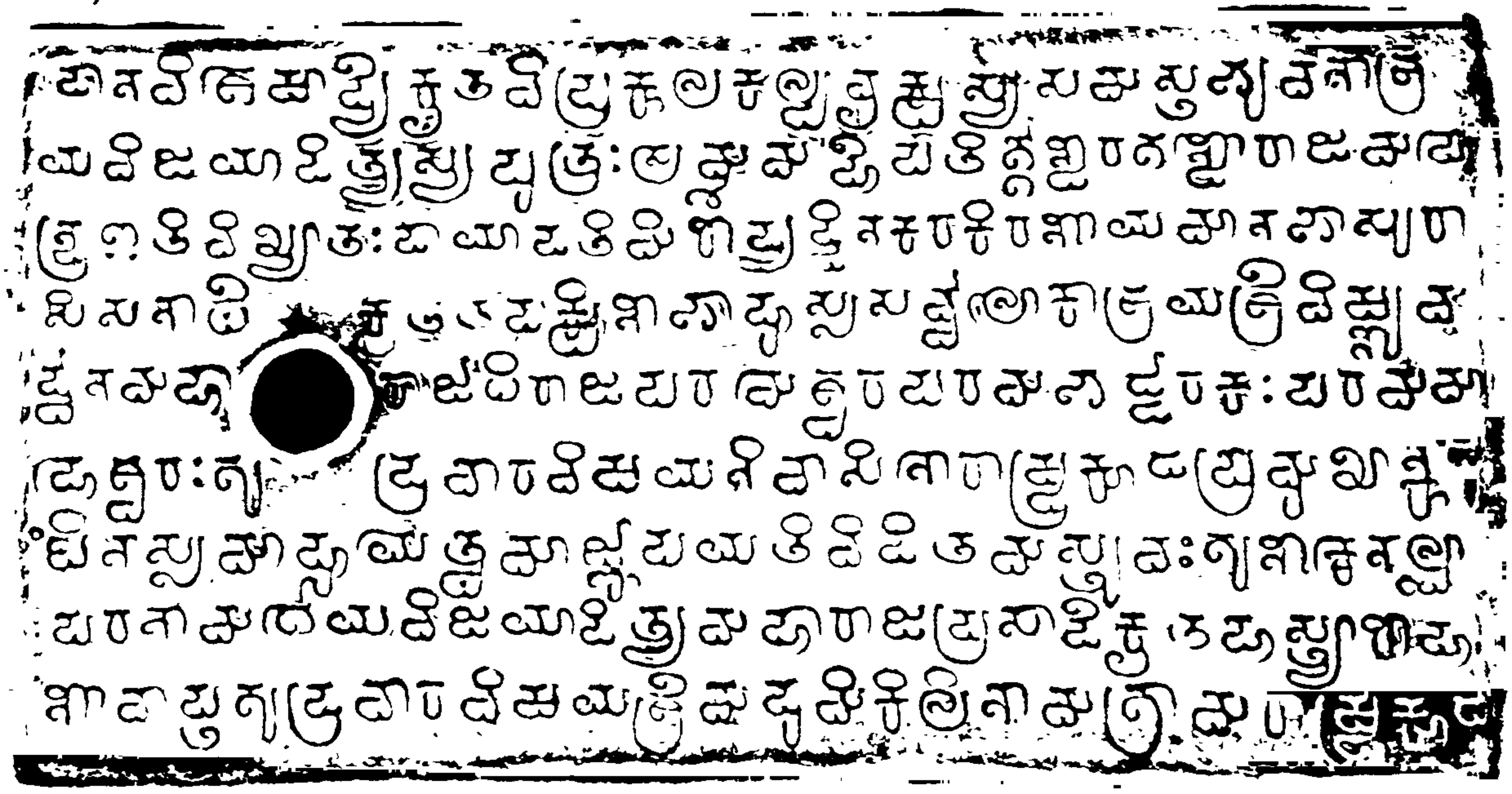
[10] For an explanation of this term see above, p. 44, n. 6.

[11] Metre : *Īryā.* The latter half of the verse is slightly irregular, being short of one syllabic instant towards the end. The syntax as well as the metre requires a reading like—*Mahākāla idam=akarōt.*

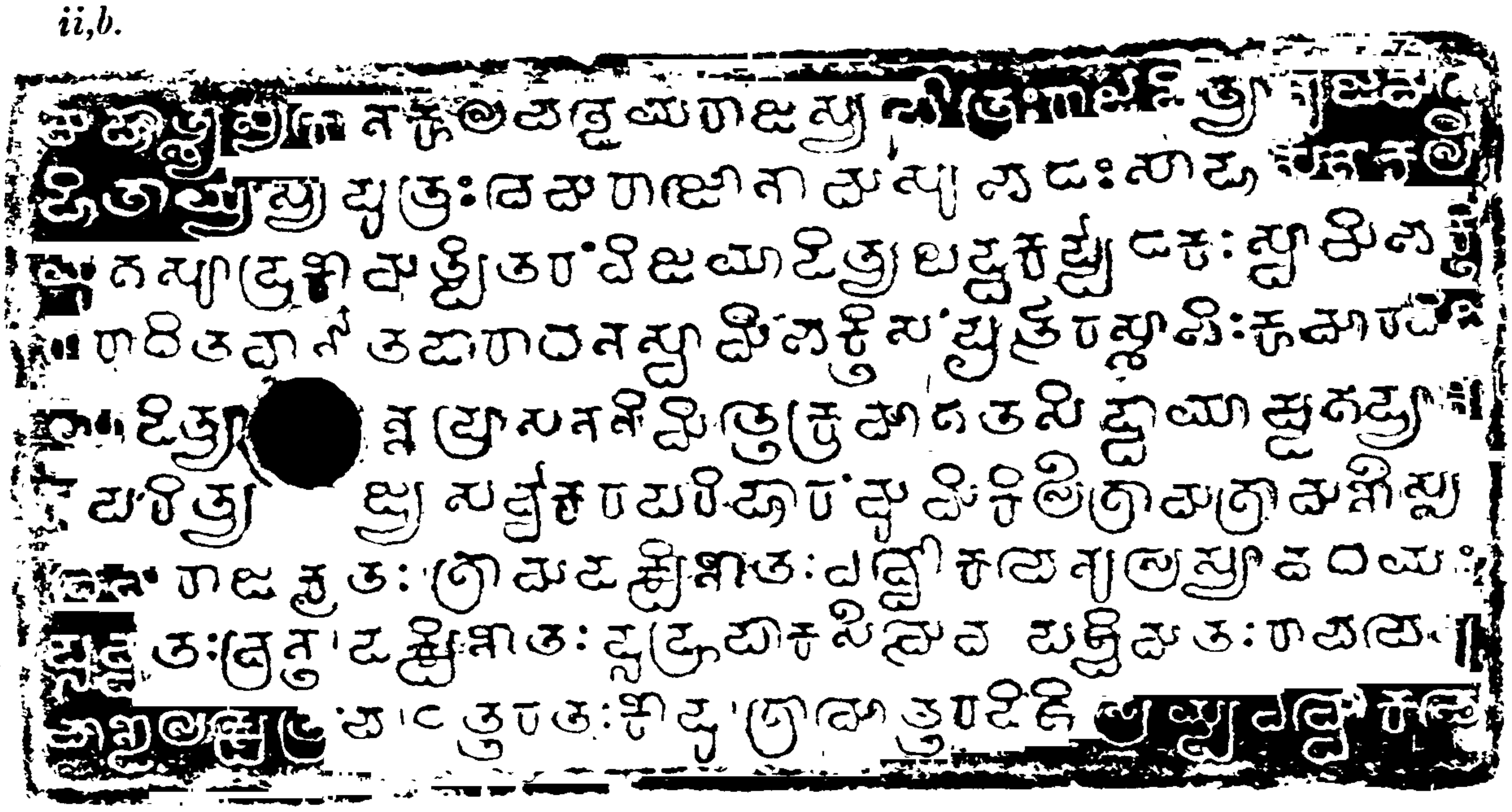
i.



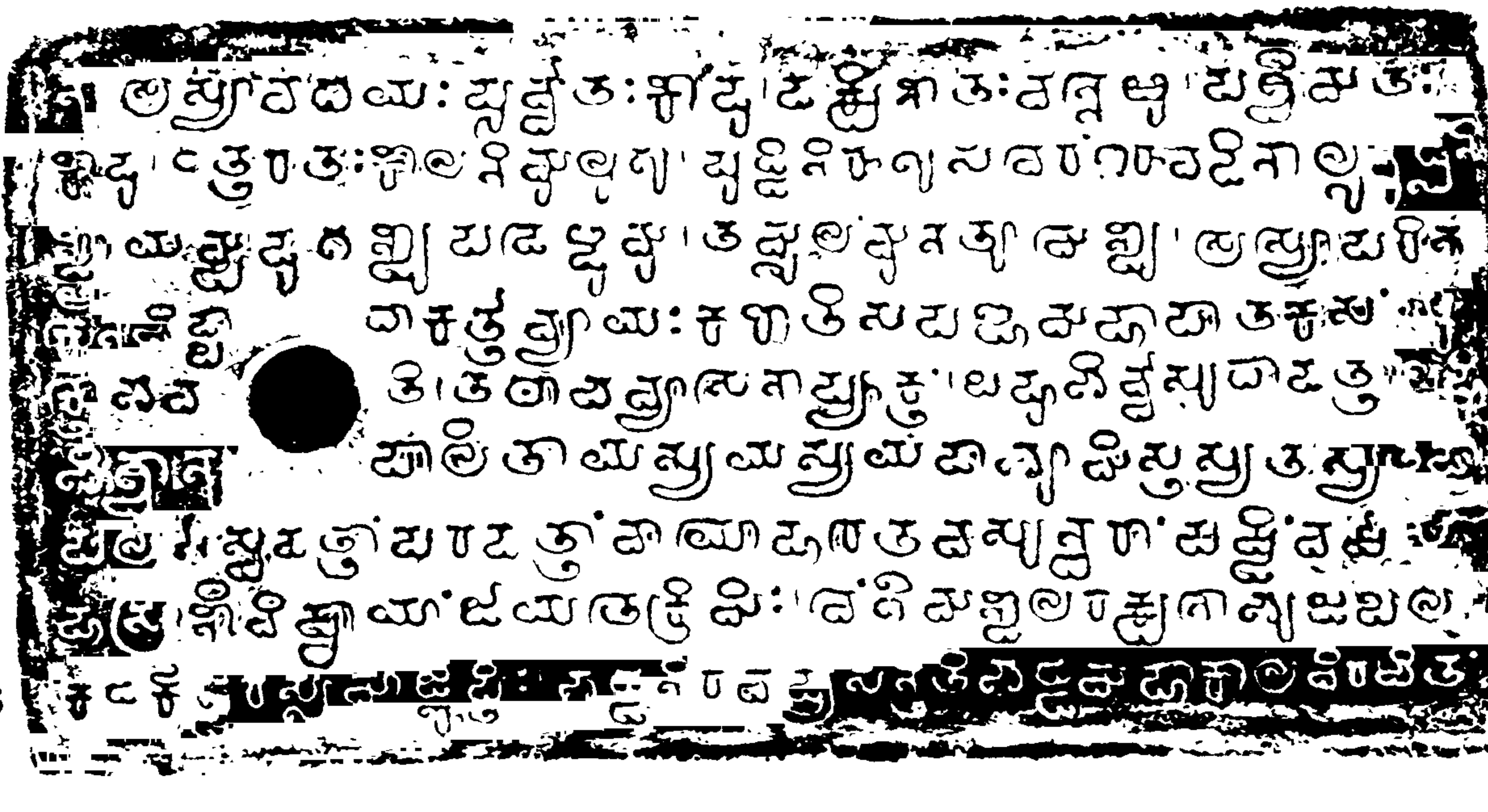
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii.



rival kinsmen——king **Amma,** son of **Vijayāditya,** the shelter of the entire world, the very desire-fulfilling tree for Brāhmaṇas whom he made prosperous with outstanding great gifts (*consisting*) of heaps of shining gold weighed against his own body (*covered*) with the armour and (*carrying*) the sword——grandson of the king **Chālukya-Bhīma,** an ornament of the family of **Satyāśraya**[1]**-Vallabhēndra,** who had the lotuslike feet tinged with golden hue by the multitude of rays (*emanating*) from the jewels set in the coronets of the enemy chiefs compelled to bow before him under the influence of his sword, who adorned the race of the glorious Chālukyas, who belong to the Mānavya *gōtra* which is praised all over the world, who are sons of Hārīti, who have acquired the kingdom through the favour of a boon (*conferred*) by Kauśikī, who are protected by the assemblage of (*divine*) mothers, who meditate on the feet of the lord Mahāsēna ; who have subjugated the territories of their adversaries in an instant at the (*mere*) sight of the boar, a boon which they obtained through the grace of the blessed Nārāyaṇa, (*and*) who have their bodies purified by the ceremonial bath at the termination of the horse-sacrifice——having called together the householders, resident in the district of Gudravāra, headed by the village-headmen, issues the following order :—

Ll. 16—25. " Be it known to you that the noble warrior, named **Vēmarāja,** son of Rājāditya's younger brother Manōhitāryya, grandson of Chandeyarāja of the Kōna family, who (Chandeyarāja) had the distinction of being the headman of the splendid village called Umikili in the district of Gudravāra, which he obtained along with (*the honour of*) riding on an elephant from king Vijayāditya, *alias* Guṇakkenalla——**Vēmarāja,** who in courage is the Śūdraka of the Kali age, attended, as a loyal and obedient servant, on my father Vijayāditya, and that We, thus pleased with his devotion and loyalty, have, on the occasion of the *Annaprāśana* ceremony of **prince Vijayāditya,** made this **Vēmarāja** the village lord of the village of **Umikilī,** exempting him from all manner of tax, except the traditional fixed tribute of eight *gadyāṇakas*."

Ll. 25—27. " To the south of the village is the Ērvvōka[2] field. Its boundaries are (*as follows*) : On the east lies the marshy pool ; on the south the very boundary of Dūdrupāka ; on the west the Royal demesne and the plot of land belonging to the Chāṇḍālas ; (*and*) on the north the brook ".[3]

Ll. 27—29. " To the north of the village is the Ērvvōka field belonging to Aypa (Ayyapa). Its boundaries are (*as follows*) : On the east lies the brook ; on the south the Vannēṟu (*river*) ; on the west the brook ; (*and*) on the north the bathing place at the lake (or the drain from the lake)."

Ll. 29—30. " The arrangement (*for the remuneration which he is to receive*) in grain measures (*i.e.*, in kind), is as follows :—the income of *saveram* (?) is ten *kaṇḍus* and seventeen *tūmus* (*measured by measure*) of 24 full *puṭṭis* ; of *tammulam*(?) one *tūmu*."

Ll. 30—32. " Nobody should cause any obstruction to this. Whosoever does, incurs (*the penalty of*) the five grave sins. And likewise it has been said also by Vyāsa :—

Ll. 33—35. (Here follow two customary verses.)"

Ll. 35—36. The **Kaṭakēśvara**[4] strong enough to protect the territory of Vēṅgī, has acted here as the executor of the (*royal*) order.[5] It has been composed by *Bhaṭṭa* **Mahākāla**, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Niravadya.

[1] This obviously refers to Pulakēśin II, who also bears the epithet *Satyāśraya*. The construction in the original is faulty inasmuch as the expression *saty-āśraya-Vallabhēndrasya* apparently qualifies Chālukya-Bhīma.

[2] Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu suggests that this word may be connected with the Telugu word *Eruvāka*.

[3] See above, Vol. V, p. 139, n. 2.

[4] See above, p. 44, n. 7.

[5] See above, p. 44, n. 6.

No. 11.—GUNJI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAVARADATTA

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

Gunji is a small village, 14 miles north by west of Sakti, the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. Sakti lies on the Calcutta-Nagpur line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. At the foot of a hill near the village there is a *kuṇḍa* (or a pool of water) called Damau Dahrā, which obtains its supply of water from the neighbouring hills and is believed to be unfathomable. On one side of this pool there is a rock on which the record edited here is engraved.[1] Gunji is about 40 miles north-west of Kirāri where a wooden pillar with a record in Brāhmī characters of the second century A. D. was discovered in 1921 which was subsequently edited in this journal.[2] About 75 miles almost due north of Gunji lies the Rāmgarh hill which contains the well-known Sītāvengā and Jogimārā caves with interesting inscriptions of the second century B. C.[3] Gunji was thus situated in a part of the country which was flourishing in the centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era.

The present inscription was first brought to notice nearly forty-five years ago in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1903-4, p. 54. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who deciphered the record then, referred it to the first century A. D. He called attention to the two regnal dates in it, *viz.*, the fifteenth day of the fourth fortnight of Hēmanta in the fifth year and the second day of the sixth fortnight of Grīshma in the eighth year, and read the name of the king as Kumāra Vasanta.[4] He also noticed the words *Bhagavato Usabhatithe*, the name of a *thera* Goḍachha and the name *Vāsiṭhiputa*. This account was followed by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar.*[5] He suggested, however, that Vāsiṭhiputa mentioned in it might be identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā cave inscription No. 1, and that the record might, in that case, belong to the second century B. C.[6] A facsimile of the inscription,[7] somewhat worked up by hand, was published in the *Gazetteer of Chhattisgarh Feudatory States* in 1909 without any further account of the record. The inscription has thus remained unedited for more than forty years after it became known. In view of its importance for the ancient history of Chhattisgarh, I requested Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra[8] to copy it for me. He very kindly complied with my request and supplied me with an excellent estampage from which I edit the record here.

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[1] *Gazetteer of Chhattisgarh Feudatory States*, p. 193.

[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 152 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197 ff.

[4] The second date was misread. As shown below, the correct reading is the tenth day of the sixth fortnight of Grīshma in the sixth regnal year. The symbol denoting the year, which is exactly like the one denoting the fortnight further on in the same line, leaves no doubt that the year was 6. As for the day, Dr. Bhandarkar was possibly misled by the word *bitiyam* which qualifies *go-sahasam*. He read the king's name as Kumāra Vasanta. As he is called *Rājan*, it looks strange that he should still be a *Kumāra*. The correct reading is *Kumāravara-data* and Kumāravara means Kārttikēya. Cf. *namo Kumāravarasa* in line 1 of the Nānāghāt cave inscription of Nāganikā, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 60 f. For the honorific suffix *siri* added to the royal name, compare *Chandasiri* (Śrī-Chandra) in the *Mudrārākshasa*, Act I.

[5] First edition (1916), p. 168; second ed. (1932), p. 180.

[6] As shown below, Vāsithiputa, mentioned in the present inscription, was a metronymic of Bōdhadatta who made the two gifts recorded here. He was not identical with Vāsiṭhiputa mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription, because the personal name of the latter was Katahadi. See *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 116.

[7] This was probably one of the two photographs which Mr. H. Cousins, Superintendent of Archaeology, is said to have contributed to the *Gazetteer*. See the Prefatory Note in the *Gazetteer*.

[8] [But for the help kindly rendered by Pandit L. P. Pandeya of the Mahakosala Historical Society it would not have been possible for me to copy the epigraph. He even accompanied me to the spot. —B. C. C.]

MGIPC—S1—XVI-1-1—22-6-49—450.

The inscription has been incised horizontally on a huge rock which, as stated before, lies beside the Damau Dahrā pool near Gunji. It consists of four lines, of which the fourth is of about half the length of the rest. The writing covers a space 6′ 6″ broad and 1′ high. The size of the letters varies from ·5″ to 1·2″. The inscription has suffered damage here and there from the effects of the weather,[1] and on the proper right side, the surface of the rock has peeled off, causing the loss of about half a dozen *aksharas* in lines 3 and 4. Some more *aksharas* have become illegible in the middle of the first line and on the proper left side, but some of them can be supplied conjecturally. Very little of historical importance is therefore lost.

The **characters** are of the Brāhmī alphabet resembling in a general way those of the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta.[2] The form of the initial *a* with the vertical ending in a curve turned to the right, the initial *i* consisting of three horizontal strokes, *kh* without a loop at the base, *v* with a double triangle and *l* with the base line prolonged to the left are also noteworthy peculiarities. As regards medial vowels, the sign for *ā* is generally added at the top, see *sahas-āyu-*, l.2, but in some cases at the middle, see *Balādhikata*, l.2; the *u* sign is formed by continuing the right limb and in some cases by adding a curve to the vertical, see *putena*, l.2 and *Kumāra-*, l.1; the medial *e* is generally denoted by a horizontal stroke to the left, but in *khe* it appears as a slanting stroke above the line. Many of the other letters show varying forms, marking a transition from the Asokan to the Kushāṇa alphabet. *G* and *t*, for instance, have the angular top in some cases and the rounded one in others, see *Goḍachhasa*, l.2 and *Bhagavato*, l.1; *ṇatukeṇa* and *Vāsiṭhiputena*, both in l.2; *chha* has the earlier form of a circle or an ellipse bisected by a vertical, *saṁvachhare*, l.2; and the later double-looped one in the same word in l.1; the dental *d* has throughout the transitional angular form open to the left, while the lingual *ḍ* has a round back in *Goḍachhasa* in l.2 and an angular one in *Daṁḍanāyakena*, ll.2 and 3; *dh* faces right in *sidha[ṁ]* but is rectangular in *Balādhikatena*, l.2, and circular in *vadhiṇike*, l.2; the Asokan form of the letter *s* occurs in the *akshara sa* of *sahas-āyu-*, l.2, but in other places it shows advanced forms, approximating in one case to that of the English letter N, see *saṁvachhare* and *etasa*, l.3. The numerical symbols for 4, 5 and 10 occur in the first line and those for 6, 10 and 1,000 in the third line.

In the advanced forms of several letters, the present inscription resembles the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta, but since it exhibits a considerable admixture of archaic forms not noticed in the latter, I put it slightly earlier. The inscription of Ushavadāta probably belongs to the second century A. D. as the year 42 mentioned in it is generally referred to the Śaka era. The present inscription may therefore be referred to the first half of the **first century A. D.**

The **language** is early Prakrit. As in other records of the age, double consonants are entirely absent except in *gimha-*, l.3. and *bamhanānaṁ*, ll.3 and 4. There is, again, no elision of intervocalic mutes as in literary Prakrits, see, *e.g.*, *ṇatukeṇa* which, according to Hēmachandra (VIII, 1. 137), should be *nattuena*. For Usabha (Sanskrit, *Ṛishabha*) see Hēmachandra, VIII, 1, 24.[3] In *mātajana* (Sanskirt, *mātṛijana*) we have an interchange of vowels as in *viñchhuo* (Sanskrit, *vṛiśchika*).[4] Another noteworthy form is *paṭhaviya* (Sanskrit, *pṛithivyām*) in place of *puhaviya* or

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[1] Since its discovery in 1903, the inscription has lost an *akshara* at the end of the first line and an ornamental figure after it, similar to the one in the beginning of the same line. These appear clearly in the photograph in the *Gazetteer*. They also show where the record ended originally.

[2] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 82.

[3] Compare *Usabhadāta* in l. 2 of the Nāsik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. (Above, Vol. VIII, p. 71).

[4] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures* (1914), p. 92.

puḍhaviya laid down by Prakrit grammarians.[1] In *vasa-sahas-āya-vadhinike* we have the Māgadhī neuter nominative singular in *e* as in Asokan inscriptions.[2] Finally, *ya* is used in the sense of *cha* in l.4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (*Rājan*), the illustrious **Kumāravaradatta.** The royal name bears resemblance to the name Vīrapurisadata which occurs in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.[3] The record contains two regnal dates, both expressed in season, fortnight and day as in other early epigraphs of the south.[4] The **object** of the inscription is to record certain pious donations made by two ministers of the king.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *sidham*, followed by a salutation to Bhagavat. It then records that at the **Ṛishabhatīrtha** of the Bhagavat, on the fifteenth day of the fourth fortnight of Hēmanta in the **fifth** (regnal) **year** of the king, the illustrous Kumāravaradatta, his *Amātya* Vāsishṭhīputra Bōdhadatta, who was the grandson of the *Amātya* Goḍachha and the son of the *Amātya* Mātṛijanapālita, made a gift of 1,000 cows to Brāhmaṇas 'for the purpose of augmenting his life for a thousand years'. He further made a second gift of 1,000 cows on the 10th day of the sixth fortnight of Grīshma in the **sixth year**, evidently of the same king's reign. Besides being an *Amātya* of the king, Bōdhadatta held the offices of *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Balādhikṛita*. Finally, the inscription records a third gift of a thousand cows which another *Amātya* of the king, Indradēva,[5] who was also *Daṇḍanāyaka*, made to Brāhmaṇas probably in the same (sixth) regnal year.

Ṛishabhatīrtha, where these donations were made, is plainly identical with the pool Damau Dahrā, beside which the present inscription is engraved. This *tīrtha* seems to have been very famous in ancient times; for the *Tīrthayātrāparvan*, a subsection of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* contains a verse which declares that a man, who fasts for three nights at Ṛishabhatīrtha in Kōśalā (*i.e.* Dakshiṇa-Kōsala or Chhattisgarh) obtains the religious merit of a Vājapēya sacrifice.[6] In view of this it is not surprising that the *Amātyas* of the king Kumāravaradatta chose this *tīrtha* for making their *mahādānas* of a thousand cows each.[7]

It is not clear who is meant by Bhagavat to whom the Ṛishabhatīrtha was dedicated. In ll. 1-2 Dr. Bhandarkar read the words *thera* Goḍachha, which suggested to R. B. Hiralal that Damau Dahrā, which is just a solitary place like Rūpnāth, was a likely place which a few Buddhist monks may have selected for their residence.[8] The reading *thera* is however extremely doubtful. Moreover, Goḍachha, who held the office of an *Amātya*, was probably not a Buddhist monk. The description of the *tīrtha* in the *Mahābhārata* clearly shows that it was a Brahmanical, not Buddhist, *tīrtha*. The mention of Brāhmaṇas as recipients of the gifts suggests that Bhagavat does not denote the Buddha. The name of the king Kumāravaradatta (one who was born by the grace of Kārttikēya) and that of the *Amātya* Mātṛijanapālita (one who is protected by the Divine Mothers) indicate that both the royal and ministerial families were worshippers of Śiva. The

[1] See Vararuchi, I, 13 and 20, and Hēmachandra, VIII 1, 216. The word occurs in the form *pathaviya* in l.3 of the Nāṇāghāt inscription of Nāganikā.

[2] See *aje bahuvidhe dhamma-charaṇe* in Girnar Edict IV. Compare also *dhamm-āyu-bala-vadhanike* in Mayidavōlu plates; above, Vol. VI, p. 84.

[3] Above, Vol. XX, p. 16, etc. Similar names *Kumāradatta* and *Kumāridatta* occur in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, taraṅga 51, v. 123.

[4] See, *e.g.*, above, Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VIII, pp. 59 f.

[5] The name [I]dadēva occurs also in an inscription at Sāñchī. See Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 419. Indradēva of the present inscription was the grandson of Dinika. His father's name is lost.

[6] Cf. *Ṛishabham tīrtham=āsādya Kōśalāyām nar-ādhipa | Vājapēyam=avāpnōti tri-rātr-ōpōshitō narah ‖ Araṇyakaparvan* (edited by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar), adhyāya 83, v. 10.

[7] For the procedure of making this *mahādāna*, see *Matsyapurāṇa*, adhyāya 278.

[8] See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 180.

Gunji Rock Inscription of Kumaravaradatta

Left half.



Right half.



B. Ch. Chhabra. SCALE ONE SIXTH Survey of India, Calcutta

name of the *tīrtha* which was evidently so called after Śiva's bull (Ṛishabha) Nandi, lends colour to this conjecture. Though Bhagavat (the Lord), when not connected with any specific name, is usually taken to denote Vishṇu, it occasionally occurs also as an epithet of Śiva and other deities.[1] It seems likely, therefore, that the Bhagavat mentioned here was the god Śiva.

This is the **earliest inscription** mentioning a royal name, **found in Chhattisgarh** and as such has great historical importance. Unfortunately it mentions neither the family nor any ancestors of the king Kumāravaṛadatta. The records at Kirāri and Rāmgarh which, belonging as they do to the same part of the country and the same age as the present inscription, might have been expected to throw light on this matter, afford no help ; for the name of the reigning king is irretrievably lost in the former, while the records at the latter place contain no royal name. We have therefore no further information about the king Kumāravaradatta.

TEXT[2]

1 सिध(धं)[3] [।*] णमो भगवतो [।*] रं(रं)जो[4] कु[5]मारव[6]रदतसिरिस संवछरे प(पं)[च]मे
५ हेम(मं)तपरवे च[तु]थ ४ दिवसे [पंचद*[7]]से १० ५ भगवतो उसभतिथे[8]
श्रमचस पठविय[9] ध[मेन][10] ।

2 गोडछस णतुकेण[11] श्रमभ(च)स मतजुनपालितस[12] पु[ते]न श्रम[चे]न दंडनायकेन बला-
धिकतेन वासिठिपुतेन बोध[13][द]तेन [द]तं वससहसायुवधिणिके

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[1] See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 28, n. 5.

[2] From an inked estampage and the facsimile facing p. 193 in the *Gazetteer of Chhattisgarh Feudatory States*.

[3] There are two ornamental figures before this word, the first resembling the Roman figure V. Similar ornamental figures appear to have been incised in the beginning of the Nāṇāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā also. See the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, Vol. V.

[4] The form *ramño* occurs on early coins of Sātavāhana and Sēbaka. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 1 f. and 94 f.

[5] What looks like an *anusvāra* on *ku* may be due to a fault in the rock.

[6] This *akshara* looks like *ma*, but is probably a double-triangled *ra* noticed by Bühler, above, Vol. II, p. 201, No. 12, and p. 207, No. 32. See his *Indian Palaeography* (English translation), p. 40. See also *r* in ll. 6, 7 and 10 of the inscription (VII) on a door-jamb from Mathurā, above Vol. XXIV, pl. facing p. 195. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar read the king's name as Vasanta, but what he read as *sa* represents two *aksharas ra* and *da*.

[7] These three *aksharas* are lost by the peeling off of the surface of the rock.

[8] Sanskrit, *Ṛishabhatīrthē*. The vertical stroke below *sa* is not an *u*-sign ; for the latter, the right limb of the letter is lengthened. For the reading of this word I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. L. Rao.

[9] Sanskrit, *pṛithivyām*. According to Prakrit grammarians, the form should be *puhaviya* or *pudhaviya*. The Nāṇāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā has *pathaviya*.

[10] The second *akshara* of this word is now completely damaged. With the expression used here, compare *pathaviya pathama virasa* in l. 3 of Nāganikā's inscription.

[11] Sanskrit, *naptrikēṇa*. Hēmachandra (VIII, l, 137) gives *nattiena* and *nattuena*, both of which (without the conjunct) are used in the present inscription.

[12] Sanskrit, *Mātṛi-jana-pālitasya*. The interchange of vowels here is as in *vimchhuo*. See Vararuchi, I, 15.

[13] *Dh* is roundish here as in *Dha*[*me*]*na* in l. 1 and in *vadhiṇike*, further on in this line.

3 [ब*][म्ह]ना[णं][1] गोसहसं १००० [।*] संवछरे तठे[2] ६ गिम्हपखे छठे ६ दिवसे १० बितियं गोसहसं दतं १००० [।*] एतस [च][3] विभावना अमचेन दंडनायकेन दिनि-[कन]गि(ति)केन

4 . . . . . .[4]न इद[दे]वेन[5] द[तं] बम्हना[नं][6] गोसहसं य[7][।।*]।

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Success! Obeisance to the Bhagavat!

On the fifteenth-10 5-day of the fourth-4-fortnight of Hēmanta in the **fifth-5 year** (*of the reign*) of the king, the illustrious **Kumāravaradatta**, a thousand-1,000 cows were donated to Brāhmaṇas, at **Rishabhatīrtha** of (*i.e.*, dedicated to) the Bhagavat, by the *Amātya*, *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Balādhikṛita* **Bōdhadatta**, the son of Vasishṭhī and the *Amātya* Mātṛijanapālita, and the grandson of the *Amātya* Goḍachha, (*who was a veritable*) Dharma on earth, for augmenting (*his*) life for a thousand years.

(Line 3) On the 10th day of the sixth 6 fortnight of Grīshma in the **sixth 6-year** a second donation of a thousand -1,000- cows was made (*by the same Bōdhadatta*).

In view of this gift, a thousand cows were donated to Brāhmaṇas by **Indradēva** who is *Amātya* (*and*) *Daṇḍanāyaka* (*and who is the son of*)........ and grandson of Dinika.

No. 12.—NOTE ON THE BAJAUR INSCRIPTION OF MENANDROS[8]

THE LATE DR. STEN KONOW, OSLO[9]

In the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1-8, the late N. G. Majumdar published a Kharōshṭhī inscription which contains the name of the Greek ruler Menandros and which can, with certainty, be ascribed to about the middle of the second century B. C. If we abstract from the inscription on the Swāt relic vase of the Meridarkh Theodoros[10] this is the first old record which mentions one of those Greek princes who established themselves in the Indian border-land about the second century B. C. And it is of considerably greater importance than the Swāt record because Menandros played a great rôle in the conquest of India, while Theodoros is not known from other sources. It has not, however, so far as I know, been noticed or discussed in European or American journals.

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[1] The first *akshara* of this word is lost by the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Of the second *akshara mha*, only the superscript *m* remains. It has the same form as in *ba[m]manāna[m]*, below, in l. 4.

[2] Read *chhaṭhe*. There is a dot in the middle of the circle of *ṭha* due to a fault in the rock, which makes it look like *tha*. As the following symbol shows, *chhaṭhe* is the intended word.

[3] These four *aksharas* are very carelessly incised.

[4] About five *aksharas* are lost here. The word probably contained the name of the father of Idadeva and ended in *putena*.

[5] Sanskrit, *Indradēvēna*.

[6] The *anusvāra* on *na* is indistinct.

[7] Sanskrit, *cha*. *Ya* is used in this sense in other records also. See, *e.g.*, the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, above, Vol. VI, p. 85, and the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, above, Vol. XXVI, p. 151.

[8] [Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar has also published a note on this inscription; above, Vol. XXVI, No. 46, pp. 318 ff.—Ed.]

[9] [It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away when this learned essay of his was in an advanced stage of proof.—Ed.]

[10] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 1.

Majumdar's edition is characterised by those qualities we were accustomed to find in his work, careful observation and good judgment. The inscription is however not easy, and I do not think that all his results can be accepted. I therefore drafted some notes when the edition reached me and sent them to the *New Indian Antiquary*. I do not know whether they have been published,[1] and at all events I should certainly have made some changes in the proofs. I have therefore thought that it might be of use to rewrite my paper.

The inscription is found on a steatite casket, which comes from Shinkot in Bajaur, about 20 miles to the north-west of the confluence of the Panjkora and Swāt rivers. The casket is well preserved, but the lid is broken, only two pieces, about half of the whole, having been recovered.

The casket was said to have encased a casket of silver, which in its turn contained a gold reliquary and some ashes. No traces of these have, however, been found, and I do not think that the whole statement can be trusted. It may be a reflex of what has been told about other relic caskets. There was a gold casket within the Bimarān[2] vase, and the Taxila steatite vessel where the silver scroll inscription[3] of the year 134 was found contained a silver vase, enclosing a gold casket, containing some minute relics.

We cannot, therefore, be confident about the existence of the silver casket, the gold reliquary and the ashes. The only thing we actually know is that there is a well-preserved steatite vessel with a broken lid.

As rightly pointed out by the editor, there are several records incised on the casket, and I shall retain his designations of them. A is found along the rim of the broken lid, and is incomplete; A 1, likewise incomplete, is incised in the centre of the lid, and A 2, also incomplete, on the inside of the lid. After A 1 we have a fourth incomplete record, C. Inside the casket are the records B and D and outside, on the bottom, E.

Of these epigraphs only A, A 1 and A 2 can be assigned to the time of Menandros, while the remaining ones can hardly be older than the 1st century B. C.

A is incised in bold and well executed letters of an early type, as shown especially by the closed head of the *akshara sa*. The reading is perfectly certain *Menedrasa Maharajasa kaṭiasa divasa* $\frac{4411}{4}$ *praṇasameda* '(of the Maharaja Menandros, the 14th day of the month Kārttika, accompanied with life'. There is a short interval between each word. We may note the form *Menedra*, for which Majumdar read *Minadra*, though the *e* of the second syllable is absolutely certain. It is the same change which is represented by the Pāli form *Milinda* and is no doubt due to an Indian notion that the name was a compound with *indra*. The way of expressing the figure 14 is unusual. It would seem that the engraver had first written 4411, and then corrected it, adding a 4 below the second 4.

It is hardly likely that *Menedrasa* was the first word of the inscription. We should certainly expect that the year would be mentioned before the Mahārāja's name, as Majumdar thinks. But the fragment of the lid which must have contained this has not been recovered. The year was most probably a regnal year.

After the date follows the word *praṇasameda* and then the great break sets in. *Praṇasameda* would be Sanskrit *prāṇasamēta*, and may mean, as Majumdar states, 'endowed with life'. It should be noted that intervocalic *t* here appears as *d*, while we shall find *t* in A 1.

The word occurs in A 2 on the inside of the lid, which only contains two words *praṇasameda* and *Śakamunisa*, but about half of the lid is missing between these two words. There has clearly been comparatively long intervals between the words of this inscription. That between *Śakamunisa*

[1] [Since published in the *New Ind. Ant*, Vol. II, 1939-40, pp. 639 ff.—Ed.]

[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II. pt. I. p. 50.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 70.

and *praṇasameda*, where the stone is most incomplete, is exceptionally long, so that *praṇasameda* clearly is the first word. Majumdar states that there is just a trace of a *t* or *r* before *Śakamunisa*, and suggests to restore the legend as *praṇasameda śarira bhagavato Śakamunisa* 'the relic endowed with life, of the Lord Śākyamuni'. And it is clear that inscription A must be restored in the same way as A 2.

In explanation of the term *praṇasameda* he refers us to three passages in the *Mahāvaṁsa*: xvii, 3, *dhātusu diṭṭhesu diṭṭho hoti jino* 'if we behold the relics, we behold the Conqueror;'

xvii, 50 ff.

Thupārāme patiṭṭhantaṁ mama dakkhiṇaakkhakaṁ
karotu nabhaṁ uggantvā yamakaṁ pāṭihāriyaṁ
Laṅkālaṁkārabhūtamhi Hemamālikacetiye
patiṭṭhahantiyo dhātū doṇamattā mamāmalā
buddhavesadharā hutvā uggantvā nabhasi ṭṭhitā
patiṭṭhantu karitvāna yamakaṁ pāṭihāriyaṁ

'taking its place in the Thūpārāma my right eye-tooth shall rise into the air and perform the twin-miracle; when my pure relics, filling a *droṇa*, take their place in the Hemamālikachaitya, which is an adornment of Laṅkā, they shall take the shape of Buddha, rise and stand in the air, perform the twin-miracle, and take their place;'

xvii, 43 f.

Tasmiṁ samāgame dhātu hatthikkhandhā nabhaggatā
sattatālappamāṇamhi dissanti nabhasi ṭṭhitā
vimhāpayantī janataṁ yamakaṁ pāṭihāriyaṁ
gaṇḍambamūle buddho va akari lomahaṁsakaṁ

'at that gathering the relic rose up into the air from the elephant's shoulder, being visible over an extent of seven tāla, standing in the air: throwing people into amazement, it performed the twin-miracle, as (did) the Buddha under the Gaṇḍamba tree'.

I think that we must accept this ingenious explanation. It is quite possible to assume that the relics can work wonders and to think of designating them as living entities at the time when they are enshrined. The continuation of A, which is clearly A 1, is very short as it would have to be if the preceding line mentioned what was being established. What is left of A 1 can be definitely read as *tharita*, which can be confidently restored as *pratitharita*. If the year was given before the name *Menedrasa* we may suppose that about eight *aksharas* preceded the name, and it is a likely assumption that A 1 in the inner ring, began at about the same place as l. 1. Since *tha* stands slightly to the left of *me*, it is tempting to assume that eight to nine *aksharas* preceded so that we might think of *ima śarira pratitharita*.

But then we have no explanation of *praṇasameda*. This compound has not, so far as I know, been met with elsewhere. It can hardly mean the same thing as *prāṇopeta* which occurs in the formula *upāsakaṁ ca māṁ dhārayādyāgreṇa yāvajjīvaṁ prāṇopetaṁ śaraṇaṁ gataṁ abhiprasannaṁ*, 'keep me as your worshipper from today, as long as I live and am endowed with life, as I have taken my refuge and turned my disposition towards (you)': *Divyāv* p. 72.1 etc. It would then be possible to fill up the gap in A and A 1 as *praṇasameda upasanaye bhagavata Śakamunisa* 'for the worship of the Lord Śākyamuni as long as life lasts', or *praṇasameda upasakena (-kasa) bhagavata Śakamunisa* 'by him who is a worshipper of the Lord Śākyamuni as long as life lasts'. If we had *upasakena* in A, this would then belong to the supposed reading of A 1, while we might think of *upasākasa* in A 2: '(gift) of life-long worshipper of the Lord Śākyamuni'.

It is, however, hardly possible to interpret the text in this way: the relics were looked upon as living entities. But the importance of the inscription is not dependent on such restorations. It rests with the fact that it gives a reliable contemporaneous confirmation of the tradition that Menandros had Buddhist sympathies.

The old inscription of the time of Menandros did not contain any further information. All the remaining inscriptions of the casket belong to a later time, probably to the first century B. C. C, which follows immediately after A 1, was evidently incised when the lid was less incomplete than now, because it has been only partly preserved. That it was already damaged can be inferred from inscription D. Majumdar read the record : *Vijaya[mit]ra . . . pate pradithavide* 'Vijayamitra . . . the bowl has been established', taking *pate* to be miswritten for *patre*. It might be possible to think of restoring the whole as *Vijayamitrena aprachharajena pate pradithavide*, but the traces that are left are too uncertain. About the purport of the epigraph there cannot be any doubt : it records a second setting up of the casket, which had become damaged in the interval after its original establishment in the days of Menandros, as can be seen from inscription D.

Within the body of the casket Majumdar distinguishes two inscriptions, the long record D and the short epigraph B, which is incised between ll 1 and 2 of D, and consequently, according to Majumdar, older than D. He thinks that it is contemporaneous with the Menandros inscription, but admits that the *akshara sa* is of the later semi-open type. The reading of B is absolutely certain : *Viyakamitras(r)a aprachharajasa*, i.e., according to Majumdar '(the gift) of Viyakamitra, who has no king as his adversary'. He thinks that this bears reference to the gift and original consecration of the casket by Viyakamitra, who 'must have been a vassal chief under King Menander.'

I accept his explanation of *aprachharaja*, *apratyagrāja*, for *pratyañch* is known to have the meaning 'equal to, a match for'. But I think it unlikely that a vassal chief could use such a title. And palaeographically B cannot be older than the first century B.C. The letters are larger and better executed than in D, but a comparison, e.g. of *aprachharajasa* in B and *aprachharajena* in D seems to show that both records can very well be contemporaneous, due perhaps to different draftsmen. We cannot expect the individual *aksharas* to be quite uniform in such an inscription, when we bear in mind how the procedure of engraving was. A draft was provided from the office which gave order to the engraving, and this draft had to be written in ink inside the bowl for the guidance of the engraver. And here there were many causes for mistakes and misshapings. The very first *akshara i* is misdrawn, the vertical turning to the right and a bar rising from the left hand termination of the horizontal and the ensuing *me* is defective ; the word *piṁḍoya* l.1 has been written *piḍoṁya* ; the lower part of the initial *sa* of *sabudhasa* l.4 has been separated from the rest and connected with the ensuing *bu* ; the final *o* of *bhu[trao]* l.1 looks like *tha* ; the *akshara ya* is sometimes bent over so that the left bar lies in the line, etc. Both the writer who copied the draft in the bowl and the engraver have evidently had some difficulty in shaping the *aksharas* properly on the rounded surface.

It may be noted that the cerebral *ṇ* only occurs in the words *griṇayat(r)i* l.1 and *Śakimuṇisa* l.3, but *Vijayamitrena* l.3. It seems unlikely that *ṇ* and *n* were felt as separate phonemes.

As can be seen from the plate accompanying Majumdar's edition, there are several instances of what looks like a subscript *r*. And it certainly stands for *r* in words such as *aprachha*, *prat(r)i*, though the shape of *pra* differs in these two words, the jointure between the *r* stroke and *pa* being angular in the former and curved in the latter. The angular form is also found in *prayasameda* in the Menandros inscription, while *pradithavide* in inscription C shows the curve. Both forms occur in the Patika[1] inscription, but in most old records the curve form is usual.

In connection with other consonants the case is a little different. In the case of *ja* we have to do with the bottom stroke we know from coins and some of the Aśōka inscriptions, but which is absent in most Indian Kharōshṭhī epigraphs. We find it in the title *aprachharaja*, but not in the name *Vijayamitra*, neither in C nor in D. Its use, *e.g.*, in the word *maharajasa* in the coin legends

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol II, pp 23 ff.

of Menandros, where our inscription A has *ja* without the stroke, points to an ordinary *j*. And then it is tempting to infer that the simple *ja* in *Vijayamitra* denotes a somewhat different sound.

The remaining consonants which are provided with such bottom strokes in our inscription are *g*, *t*, *d*, *dh*, *y*, *ś* and *s*.

In the case of *g* and *t* we find both the curved and the angular form, and the former clearly denotes an ordinary *r*: cf. *griṇayat(r)i* 'causes to take', l.1, *patre* 'vessel', l.2; *Vijayamitrena*, l.3 and *Viyakamitras(r)a* in B, where (*r*) has been used to transliterate the angular stroke. The latter is found in *Bhag(r)avatu* 'of the Lord', l.3, where there is another short stroke to the left, just above (*r*), which I cannot explain, and almost regularly in *t(r)a* when this represents intervocalic *t*; thus *palugabhut(r)ao* 'become decayed', where Majumdar reads the blurred *akshara* as *dr*, *sakareat(r)i* 'is honoured, kept in proper state', l.1 etc. The only exception is *bhag(r)avatu*, l.3. The *g(r)* of this word must be explained in the same way as in *bhag(r)avato* of the Swāt vase of the Meridarkh Theodoros[1] and similar forms in other Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, for which the Lion Capital[2] has *bhak(r)avat(r)o*. There can be little doubt about its meaning. It renders a guttural, probably voiced spirant, a δ. The *akshara t(r)a* must be explained in a similar way. It should be compared with writings such as *pradithavid(r)a* in the Theodoros epigraph, *prat(r)iṭhavit(r)o* on the Lion Capital, and similar forms in other Kharōshṭhī inscriptions.[3] Inscription C has *pradithavide*, and the actual sound was probably a voiced dental spirant δ.

In the case of *d* and *dh* we have *kaladre* and *śadhro* l.1, where the joint seems to be curved at least in *śadhro*, which evidently corresponds to Sanskrit *śrāddham*. About *kaladre* or *kalad(r)e* I shall have something to say below.

Y(r) is found in *key(r)i* l.1, which evidently corresponds to Sanskrit *kaśchit*. I am inclined to consider the (*r*) stroke as due to a mistake by the engraver. *Ś(r)* occurs in *Veś(r)akhasa* and *paṁchaviś(r)aye* l.2, and should be compared with similar forms on the Lion Capital, where a voiced *ś*, i.e., a *z*[1] seems to be intended.[4] *S(r)* only occurs in the name *Viyakamitras(r)a* in B, where we must probably think of a voiced *s*, a γ.[5]

The arrangement of the inscription is somewhat irregular. The first line contains the greater portion of a description of the state of things which led up to a new establishing of the relics. The last clause of this description is, however, transferred to l.2, though there would have been room enough for it in l.1. It seems to me that the most likely explanation of this state of things is that the first line of the office copy which had to be entered on the surface ended in this very place.

The second line would then have contained the last sentence of the introduction and the date portion, after which there is a clear interval. The continuation follows after this interval, at a slightly lower level, and is continued in a fourth line.

It would then seem as if the office draft consisted of three lines, and that this arrangement was followed by the writer who copied it for the guidance of the engraver.

The second line does not, however, keep the same distance from the first one throughout, but gradually increases it. The reason is, according to Majumdar, that B had already been incised, when D was engraved. As I have already stated I am much in doubt with regard to this. The letters of B are larger and bolder than those of D, but they seem to be contemporaneous. And Majumdar's interpretation of B as meaning 'the gift of Viyakamitra, the unequalled king' does not satisfy me. The original establishment of the relics in a casket was evidently done at the request of Menandros, and what is in[illegible]ted in inscriptions C and D is a second establishment,

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp 1 ff.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 48.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. c and cxxv.

[4] *Ibid*, p. cix.

[5] *Ibid*.

after the casket had become damaged, due to the ruler who is called Vijayamitra in C and D, and it seems to me that we must identify this Vijayamitra with Viyakamitra. The epithet *apracharaja* has been read in the legend on the British Museum coin of Vijayamitra's son,[1] but is not known from other sources. The interchange of *j* and *y* does not present any difficulty, if we bear in mind doublets such as *Aja* and *Aya* for Azes. And the writing of *k* for *y* is known from other sources[2] and has its parallel in the frequent *y* for *k*. Viyakamitra can accordingly be the same name as Vijayamitra, in a different orthography.

Palaeographically both B and C-D belong to about the first century B.C., and it is just possible that Vijayamitra, Viyakamitra is the same ruler whose coins have, according to Majumdar, been found at Sirkap during the Taxila excavations of 1931.

The form *Viyaka* can hardly be *Viryaka*, which would probably become *Viriaka*, and certainly not *Vijjaka*. *Vijayamitra* certainly makes the impression of being an Indian name. But we cannot be certain. It may be of interest to bear in mind that the bottom-stroke of *j* which we find in *apracharaja* is absent in *Vijayamitra*, which can very well be an Iranian or semi-Iranian name: cf. the element *viśe*, i.e., *vize* in the names of Khotanese kings.

In such circumstances I think it possible that the draft of the inscription was revised by an officer of Vijayamitra's who thought it advisable to make the date clearer by adding the ruler's name and therefore entered B, in his own orthography, above the date portion of the inscription. It is impossible to be confident, but such seems to me to be the most likely explanation.

In other respects I can accept most of Majumdar's interpretation of D. He has not noticed the fact that there is, especially in the first part of the inscription, a clear tendency to separate individual sentences and sometimes individual words by short intervals, which sometimes makes it necessary to deviate from his reading. Thus the beginning of the inscription goes on as follows :—*ime sarira palugabhu*[*tr*]*ao na sakareat*(*r*)*i tasa śariat*(*r*)*i kaladre*. It is evident that we cannot here read *sakare at*(*r*)*ita*, but must take *sakareat*(*r*)*i* as one word and *tasa* as the next one. *Sakareat*(*r*)*i* is *satkriyatē*, or rather *satkāryatē* 'is honoured, treated with respect.' *Paluga* has rightly been identified by Majumdar with Pāli *palugga* 'broken, decayed', though we should expect *pralugga*. The first sentence accordingly runs : 'This relic having been decayed is not properly respected', and this is further explained in what follows, which shows that the respect shown to the relic consisted in pious acts performed at the site.

The next clause is *tasa śariat*(*r*)*i kaladre*, where the *sa* of *tasa* cannot, as already stated, be separated from *ta* and consequently not be the subject of *śariat*(*r*)*i* : i.e., as stated by Majumdar, Sanskrit *śīryatē* 'is broken, falls off'; and the subject must be *kaladre*, which cannot therefore correspond to Sanskrit *kālataḥ*, as Majumdar thinks. I am in doubt about the final syllable. If it is *d*(*r*)*e* we would have a *kālade* with a spirantic δ, while *kaladre* might be something like *kāladraya* which does not seem to give any sense. I am inclined to look on the apparent *r* stroke as a mistake of the engraver, because the *e*-mātrā was blurred. And I can only explain *kalade* as standing for *kāladēya*[3] 'what should be given in its proper time, seasonal offerings,' and what is meant we learn from what follows : *na śadhro na piṁḍoya key*(*r*)*i pit*(*r*)*i grivayat*(*r*)*i* 'nobody causes the ancestors to receive *śrāddha* and *piṇḍōdaka*.' Majumdar takes *śadhro* to stand for *śrāddhaḥ*, to which he assigns the elsewhere unknown meaning 'venerated', and explains *piṁḍoyakey*(*r*)*i* as *piṇḍōdakaiḥ*, but final *o* in this inscription usually stands for *aṁ*, and both the form and the construction make it impossible to think of an instrumental plural.

The reference to such periodical offerings has no special connection with Buddhism but tends to show that the relic-sanctuary was held in honour by people of all creeds.

[1] Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1890, pp. 127, 170 ; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9 ; Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, p. 168, pl. xvii, ii.

[2] Cf. *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i, pp. cv f.

[3] Cf. the remarks by Lüders, *AO.* xviii, pp. 25 ff.

L.2 begins below the final *t(r)i* of *griṇayat(r)i* and continues under the gap after this word and further below l.1. at an increasing distance. The first clause, *tasa ye patre apomua* continues the statement about the condition of the relics in l.1. Majumdar explains *apomua* as *apamukta* 'abandoned', but *apa* could not become *apo* and *mukta* must appear as *muta*. Moreover, the casket is the same which was used for the Menandros inscription, and it is difficult to accept Majumdar's translation 'and the receptacle of that (relic) has been cast aside'. What we seem to know is that the lid was damaged, and *apomua* must mean something like 'defective'. I take it to be *appomua*, from *appa* Skt. *alpa*, and *omua* formed with the suffix *uka* from *oma*, which occurs in the sense of 'defective' in Ardhamāgadhī, so that the meaning would be 'slightly defective' which suits the context perfectly.

Then comes the date portion: *Vashaye pamchamaye* **4 1** *Veś(r)akh(r)asa masasa divasa pamchaviś(r)aye* 'in the fifth, 5, year on the 25th day of the month Vaiśākha'. The year is clearly a regnal year, and since the ruler is mentioned in the last part of the inscription nothing more needs to be added. But then we have the short inscription B above the final portion of the date and protruding beyond it to the left. If I am right about the arrangement of the lines in the original draft, l.2 would have been a little shorter than l.1, while the addition of B would have brought it up to the same length. Since B cannot be as old as A but seems to be of the same time as D, and since it would not seem likely that the establishment of the relic by Vijayamitra mentioned in D should be further characterised as the gift of Viyakamitra, it seems to me that I must be right in my explanation that B has been added above the date in order to make it more precise, though such an addition was not necessary. It is not, of course, possible to speak with full confidence, but it seems to me that the explanation I have suggested above is the only one which explains the whole arrangement. I therefore explain B, in connection with the date, as 'of Viyakamitra (=Vijayamitra), the unequalled king'.

The final portion of the inscription does not cause any difficulty *iyo prat(r)ithavit(r)e Vijayamitena apacharajena bhag(r)avatu Śakimuṇisa samasabudhasa śarira* 'this relic of the Lord Śākyamuni, the perfectly enlightened one, was established by the unequalled king Vijayamitra'.

There is, finally, a short inscription, Majumdar's ***E***, on the bottom of the casket. Majumdar read *viśpilena aṇaṁkatena likhit(r)e* explaining *aṇaṁkatena* as corresponding to *ājñākṛitēna* 'who was ordered'. An examination of the not infrequent *ye* in D shows, however, that we must read *aṇaṁkayena*, not to mention the evident difficulty in assuming *kata* and not *kat(r)a* in this record. The cerebral *ṇ* side by side with the dental in *aṇaṁkayena* further shows that I was probably right in thinking that *ṇ* and *n* are used promiscuously in our inscription.

We must then translate 'written by Viśpila' the *aṇaṁkaya*, and as I have remarked in another place,[1] *aṇaṁkaya* can hardly be anything else than the Greek 'ἀναγκαῖος, which was used in Hellenistic times about a ruler's advisers. And we are reminded of the fact that another Greek term μεριδάρχης has been traced by Professor F. W. Thomas[2] in the neighbourhood, and from a somewhat earlier time.

The writer Viśpila was, as his name shows, no Greek, but an Iranian, probably a Parthian. And the ruler Vijayamitra, probably belongs to the Parthian period. But then we now know that the Parthians played a great rôle in the preservation and evolution of Greek notions and especially of Greek art in the Indian borderland.

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1939, p. 265.

[2] *Festschrift fur Ernst Windisch*, pp. 362 ff.

No. 13.—SIVANVAYAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

Śivanvāyal is a village situated about 9 miles north-east of Tiruvaḷḷūr, the headquarters of the *tāluk* of the same name in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. The village was visited by me in the course of the epigraphical survey of the *tāluk* in November 1944.[1] The antiquity of its name goes back to Pallava times, the village being mentioned under that name in a record of Pallava Kampavarman (c. 850 A D.) at the place.[2] In Tamil, the name Śivanvāyal means the abode or the entrance (*vāyal* < *vāśal*) of Śiva and the Sanskrit rendering of the name would be Śivadvāra.[3] True to its import, the village contains the remains of an old temple of Śiva,[4] which is the main attraction to the eye as one approaches the village from the north. The remains at present visible at the site are a *liṅga* of huge size, a *nandi* in front and *débris* consisting of granite slabs some of which are dressed, having been evidently used in the construction. A little away from the Śiva temple stands a temple of Vishṇu, of simple construction, comprising an *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the *garbhagṛiha*. The deity, which is under worship in this temple, is locally called Vaikuṇṭha-Varadarāja-perumāḷ. Although the present structure appears to be modern, the temple seems to be an ancient one, because an inscription in Pallava-Grantha characters of about the 9th century A.D. engraved on a stone now built into the ceiling of the temple, refers to the god as Vaikuṇṭhanātha,[5] which is preserved in the present appellation of the god. At the entrance to this shrine was found a massive broken pillar of reddish-grey granite which the local residents used as one of the steps. On examination, the pillar was found to contain on its three sides an inscription engraved in ornate Pallava-Grantha characters.[6]

The pillar, which stands just four feet high, is about one foot square in section. Up to a height of 3¼ feet from the bottom, the pillar is cubical but not geometrically perfect as two sides of it, which are 1 foot 2 inches broad, are broader than the other two by 2 inches. The middle portion of the shaft just above the lower cubical part has its angles bevelled off, thereby making this portion of the pillar octagonal in section The cubical portion at the bottom is decorated with the design of a conventional lotus-flower similar to the lotus medallions appearing on the stone railings of the Amarāvatī *stūpa*.[7] As only a part, *viz*., the lower part, of the middle octagonal portion, about ¾ foot in height, is preserved, it would seem that nearly half the pillar must have been lost at the top. The pillar should have formed part of a monument the nature or the shape of which it is not possible now to determine.

The characters of the inscription are what is termed Pallava-Grantha **alphabet,** and they closely resemble those of the Trichinopoly cave pillar inscriptions of Pallava Mahēndra[8] as also those of the Bādāmi inscription[9] of Mahēndra's son Narasiṁhavarman I. Bühler cites the latter inscription as the latest example of the 'archaic variety' of the Grantha alphabet.[10] In general execution,

[1] The village was again visited by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, in 1945, when photographs of the antiquities and fresh estampages of the inscriptions were secured.

[2] *A. R. E.*, No. 13 of 1944-45.

[3] *Cf.* Kāñchivāyal and Kāñchīdvāra which are used synonymously in the Udayēndiram Plates of Pallava Nandivarman (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 365; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 145; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXII, p. 67 n. 63). Names of places similarly ending in *vāyal* or *vāśal* like Kuḍavāśal, etc., are common in the Tamil country.

[4] The god is locally called Śivanāṇḍīśvara.

[5] *A. R. E.*, No. 10 of 1944-45.

[6] *A. R. E.*, No. 11 of 1944-45.

[7] A. H. Longhurst: *Pallava Architecture*, Part I: *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, No 17, p. 9. The decorative style of such pillars of the Pallava period is characterised by Longhurst as the *Mahēndra* style.

[8] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, Pallavas: Pl. I, opp. p 5.

[9] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XI, pt. 1, plate opp. p. 1.

[10] *Indian Palaeography* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, App.), p. 70.

our record may be said to be engraved in the ornamental forms of Grantha in which the label inscription (Nos. 1-16) on the Dharmarājaratha at Mahābalipuram are engraved and which Dr. Hultzsch would assign to king Narasiṁhavarman.[1] The letter *ṇ* of our epigraph is more ornamental than that found in the Trichinopoly and the Bādāmi inscriptions. Attention may be drawn to *b* of our inscription which is much more developed than those found in any of the other inscriptions under comparison. The letter very nearly approaches the form found in the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman,[2] son of Narasiṁhavarman I, wherein its shape is more cursive. It is thus in a transitional stage between the forms found in the Trichinopoly label inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I and the aforesaid record of Paramēśvaravarman I, his grandson. The medial *ā* attached to the letter *j* in our inscription shows a peculiar form, which is not found in any of the above records under comparison, nor is it the usual type found in Pallava-Grantha or the Chāḷukya records of this period. In the present record it takes the form of a separate sign of length unattached to the main letter, and vertically descending to the bottom in the form of an upright, almost similar to medial *ā* in Nāgarī. The usual way in which the medial *ā* of *jā* is found marked in both Grantha and Telugu-Kannaḍa records of the period is in the form of a semi-circular spiral proceeding upwards from the middle prong of the letter *j* and ascending in a loop over the head of the letter and sometimes descending to its left. Attention may be drawn to the two different forms of medial *ē* used in the inscription as in *yē* of l. 2 of the first side and in *mē* of l. 2 of the second side. The palaeography of our record would indicate **the second quarter of the 7th century A. D.** as the period in which it was written.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and its composition in prose in the usual style characteristic of Pallava inscriptions. Parts of the inscription, including the beginning, are lost along with the top portion of the pillar. What is left of the inscription is in three disconnected parts, each part underlying the writing on each of the three respective sides of the pillar. The extant portion on the first two sides contains the eulogy of the king, Siṁhavarman, who is stated to have been born in the Pallava family as god Vishvaksēna (Vishṇu) was born in the Vṛishṇi race, and to have performed the *Daśāśvamēdha* and *Bahusuvarṇa* sacrifices. He is styled *Dēva*, *i.e.*, Lord. The portion of the inscription on the third side, which is partly obliterated, seems to contain the details of the grant. The epithet applied to the Pallava race in the present inscription might be restored on the analogy of similar passages in the published records of the Pallavas as (*nirākṛit=āśēsha-prajā-vipal-lavā*[*nā**]*m=Pallavānāṁ*, *i.e.*, of the race of the Pallavas (who have removed even the slightest distress (*vipat+lava*) from every one of their subjects (*aśēsha-prajā*). It is also found in similar terms, with the same play on the words *pallava* and *vipal-lava* (also *āpal-lava*) in the Pallava copper-plate charters from the time of Paramēśvaravarman.[3]

With palaeography as the only guide, one is tempted to identify Siṁhavarman of the present record with Narasiṁhavarman I, whose date lay in the same period and who was the son and successor of Mahēndravarman I. This Narasiṁhavarman was the contemporary of Pulakēśin II (642 A. D.) whom he is supposed to have vanquished. Of the identity of our Siṁhavarman with Narasiṁhavarman we cannot be absolutely certain in the face of the fact that Siṁhavarman of our

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[1] Above, Vol. X, pp. 2, 5-6 and plate I opp. p. 6. Further development of this florid writing is found in Atyantakāma's inscription at the Seven Pagodas and the Kailāsanātha temple label inscriptions of Rājasiṁha.

[2] Above, Vol. XVII, plate opp. p. 340; also *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, plate opp. p. 342.

Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I: *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 148: *nirākṛita-kul-āpal-lavaḥ* (l. 11). Here the play is on Pallava and *āpat+lava*; (b) the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman II: *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 366. ll. 7-8 and l. 11, *samyag-guṇa-ōchchaya-nirasta-vipal-lavānām*, 'who have driven away even the slightest calamity by the multitude of their excellent virtues': *nirākrita-kula-vipal-lavaḥ Pallavaḥ*, 'Pallava, who drove away even the smallest calamity from his race'; (c) the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman II: *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 507. l. 8, *vaṁśas=tatō=vavṛitē Pallavānām rakshā-vidhi-dhvasta-vipal-lavānām*, 'thence came into existence the race of the Pallavas, who by the Law of Protection (they had adopted) removed even the slightest distress (of their subjects).

record does not bear the full name of Narasiṁhavarman by which the son of Mahēndravarman I was usually referred to in stone and copper-plate inscriptions. He might as well belong to a collateral branch of the family or a hitherto unknown member of the same family different from Narasiṁhavarman. However, should our identification prove correct, the present inscription would be the third known record of the king, the other two being those at Bādāmi[1] (Bombay) and Tirukkaḻukuṉṟam[2] (Madras).

One fact of importance brought out by the record is that king Siṁhavarman is stated to have performed the *Daśāśvamēdha* and the *Bahusuvarṇa* sacrifices. We may recall here that the Bhāraśivas (c. 4-5th century A.D.) of Central India acquired the distinction of having performed the *Daśāśvamēdha* sacrifice and the Vākāṭakas, the *Chaturaśvamēdha* sacrifice. The Vishṇukuṇḍins (c. 5-7th century A. D.) are known to have performed the *Ēkādaśāśvamēdha* sacrifice. Though the *Aśvamēdha* is common in the cases cited, the significance of the number which in one instance is *daśa*, in the other *chatuḥ* and in the third *ēkādaśa*, is not easily understandable. There are instances of *dviraśvamēdha* also. One is led to doubt if in each case one kind of sacrifice, and that only once celebrated, is meant or whether the *Aśvamēdha* was performed as many times as the prefix *daśa*, etc., signifies. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was inclined to take the former view, explaining the number by stating that at the performance of a single *Aśvamēdha* the gifts to Brāhmaṇas were increased fourfold, tenfold or elevenfold, so that by going through one sacrifice the performer secured the merit and also claimed the distinction of having performed more than one *Aśvamēdha*, four, ten, and so on. In support of his view regarding *Daśāśvamēdha*, Dr. Bhandarkar cites a passage from the *Mahābhārata*[3] which incidentally throws some light on the nature of the *Bahusuvarṇa* sacrifice (also called *Bahusuvarṇaka*). From the passage in the *Mahābhārata* we come to know that *Bahusuvarṇaka* belonged to a class of sacrifices called *ahīna* and that it was named *Bahusuvarṇaka* owing to the profuse gifts of gold made during the ceremony. The *ahīna* sacrifice is defined by Nandapaṇḍita, the commentator on the *Vishṇu-sūtras*, as a ceremony connected with the repeated drinking of the *sōma* juice and lasting from two to twelve days.[4] Mēdhātithi (commenting on the *Manu-smṛiti*, XI, 196) simply defines it as a sacrifice extending over two days or more. Kullūka (commenting on the *Manu-smṛiti*, XI, v. 197) states that it lasts three days or more and that it is said in the Vēdas to cause impurity (*ahīnayajanam=aśuchikaram-iti śrutēh*).[5] Dr. Vogel quotes Kern as taking *Bahusuvarṇaka* to be identical with *Bahuhiraṇya*, a *sōma* sacrifice.[6] It may be observed that neither *Bahuhiraṇya* nor *Bahusuvarṇaka* finds a place among the seven *sōma* sacrifices which form the group called *Saptasōmasaṁsthā*.[7] That *Bahu*-

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XI, pt. 1, p. 1.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, p. 9, Ins. No. 16.

[3] *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. I, pp. 116-7. The *Mahābhārata* passage reads:—

Vyāsa : *Ahīnō nāma Rājēndra kratus=tē='yaṁ vikalpavān |*
bahutvāt kāñchanasy=āsya khyātō bahusuvarṇakaḥ ||
ēvam=ēva Mahārāja dakshināṁ triguṇāṁ kuru
tritvam vrajatu tērājan brāhmanā hy=atro kāranam ||
trīn Aśvamēdhān=atra tvaṁ samprāpya bahu-dakshiṇān |
jñāti-hatyā-kṛitam pāpam prahāsyasi narādhipa ||

Aśvamēdhika Parva, *Adhyāya*, 94, vv. 15-17. Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 347) accepts Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation, but draws a fine distinction by saying that the merit accruing from the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*, and not the *Aśvamēdha* itself, could be tripled if the performer offered threefold *dakshiṇā*.

[4] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VII, *Institutes of Vishnu*, p. 178 and *n*.

[5] See *sūtra* 141 of Āpastamba's *Yajñaparibhāshāsūtra*. The commentator on this *sūtra* refers to the *ahīna* sacrifice and explains it as one which lasts from two to eleven nights. Those which last from 13 to 100 nights or more are called *sattras* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXX, p. 354).

[6] The Yūpa inscriptions of king Mūlavarman, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Vol. 74 (1918), p. 213 *n*. 8; above, Vol. IV, p. 194, *n*. 3.

[7] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 247.

suvarṇa was a major sacrifice ranking in importance with *Agnishṭōma*, *Aśvamēdha*, *Rājasūya* and the like is clear from two passages[1] from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. One of them states that during Rāma's peaceful rule hundreds of *Aśvamēdha* and *Bahusuvarṇa* sacrifices were performed. The other relates that Mēghanāda performed the *Agnishṭōma*, *Aśvamēdha*, *Bahusuvarṇaka*, *Rājasūya*, *Gōmēdha*, *Vaishṇava* and *Māhēśvara* sacrifices. Pulakēśin I (6th century A.D.), and Kīrtivarman I (6th century A.D.)[2] of the Chāḷukya family of Bādāmi performed the *Bahusuvarṇa*. The Vishṇukuṇḍins also performed it.[3] Outside India king Mūlavarman of Borneo (c. 4-5th century A. D.) set up a memorial *yūpa* pillar commemorating his celebration of the sacrifice.[4] Among the Pallavas, Siṁhavarman of the present inscription appears to be the only king to have done it. The charters of the Pallavas do not attribute the performance of this sacrifice to Narasiṁhavarman with whom our Siṁhavarman has been sought to be identified, nor to any other king of the dynasty, though speaking generally, they say that the Pallavas performed many sacrifices.

TEXT

First side

1 t=āśēsha-prajā-vipal-lavā[nā*]-
2 m=Pallavānām=anvayē Vishva-
3 ksēna iva Vṛishṇīnām=a..
4 nm=ānugraham=atiśay....

Second side

1 [vi] jayasy=āyam=ēva maha[hā] sainya-
2 dvipō daśāśvamēdha-bahusuvarṇṇa-
3 kratu-yājī Dēva[ḥ*] Śrī-Siṁha-
4 varmmā pratāpa iva mūrttim[ān*]
5 ....
6 ....vana-maṇḍa-

Third side

1 supraṇīta-daṇḍēna
2 punar=iḍha[5] dvijanmasu vi..
3 ..sarvvasva pratipi
4 ....lī....

No. 14.—SOHNAG TERRACOTTA SEAL OF AVANTIVARMAN

MADHO SARUP VATS, AGRA

In September, 1945, the Collector of Gorakhpur informed the Secretary to Government, United Provinces, Public Works Department, Lucknow of the find of a terracotta seal in the village **Sohnag**, Police Station Lar, Tahsil Salempur of the Gorakhpur District, by one Tapeshar Rai, while digging in the fields, and this information was kindly conveyed to me by the Additional Assistant Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, United Provinces, in October 1945. The District Magistrate, Deoria, sent me the above-mentioned seal in June 1946, adding

[1] *Bālakāṇḍa*, I, 95; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, XXV, 8-9. I am obliged to Dr. Chhabra for these references. See also his article on Yūpa inscriptions in *India Antiqua*, Leyden (1947), p. 82.

[2] Fleet: *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 344-5: above, Vol. XXVII, p. 39, text l. 6.

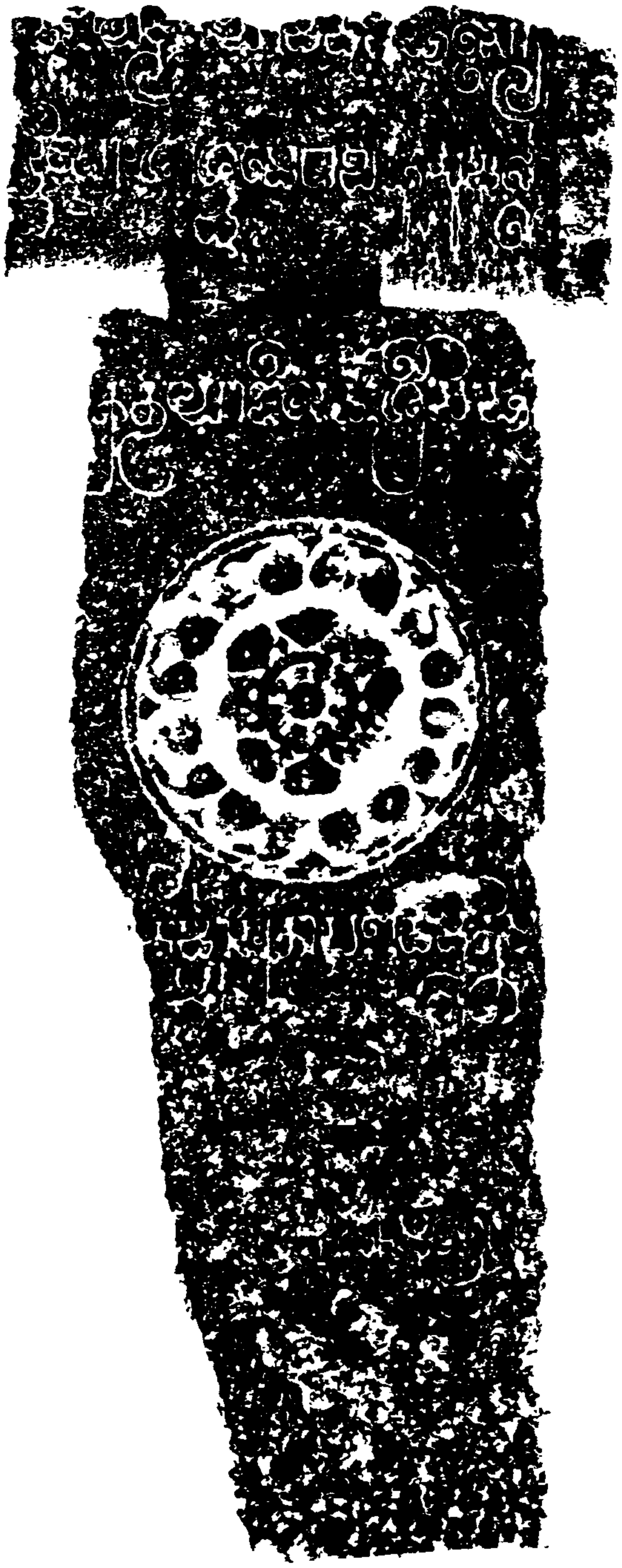
[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 196, text, l. 4.

[4] Vogel, *op. cit.*

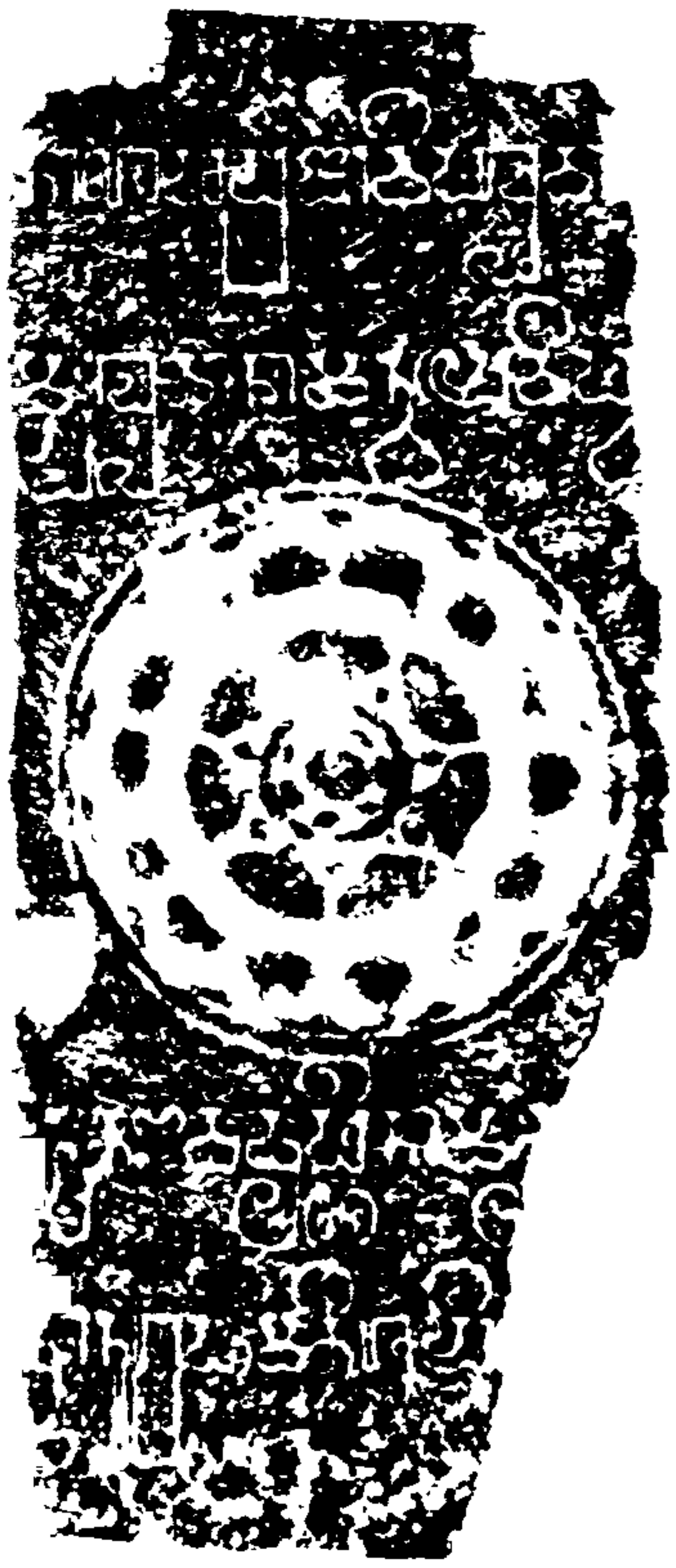
[5] Read *punar=iha* or *punar=idaṁ*.

SIVANVAYAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN

Second Side.



First Side.



Third Side.



B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: ONE-SEVENTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No 3977 E'36-405'18

that it was only a casual find in a field not associated with any ancient ruins. It may, however, be stated that the findspot, lying within the Gorakhpur District, was well within the *tarāī*, which marked the northern boundaries of the Maukhari kingdom.[1]

The **seal** is of terracotta but the baking is imperfect, the surface of the inscription having become smoky in a reducing atmosphere in the kiln. It is a plano-convex oval, which, including the rim, measures 7·3" by 6·6", but the sunk inscribed portion measures 6" by 5¼". The convex reverse rises to 2·6" from the rim but is rather irregular and shows a hole in the thickness just below the inscription for attachment, even as seals were attached to land grants. It weighs 184 *tolas*. A little more than one-third of the upper field of the seal is occupied by certain figures showing in the centre a garlanded bull to proper right, behind whose hump rises an umbrella with two streamers flowing backwards like those from a wheel or sun-emblem held in his left hand by an attendant to proper right, whose figure is, however, blurred. The man to left holds a *chaurī* brush or a stick in his right hand and a long handled axe in his left. These figures appear to be exactly similar to those depicted on the Āsīrgaḍh[2] and Nālandā[3] seals of Śarvavarman with this difference only that in the present seal a flowing end of the garment is also shown on the figure to proper right. Explaining these figures, Dr. Hirananda Sastri says, " The bull usually stands for *dharma* : **वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः ।** The two male figures are, perhaps, the *chāṇḍālas*, who want to kill the animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *dharma*".[3] This interpretation of the symbols would amount to an imprecation and limit their utility only to the safety of the seal, though it is well known that royal seals in ancient India show varied symbols which could hardly be so explained. On the other hand, they had a direct bearing on the religious tendency of a ruler or a particular dynasty.[4] Thus Garuḍa on the Gupta seals[5] refers to their being **परमभागवत**; the bull on the Sōnpat seal[6] of Harshavardhana recalls his title of **परममाहेश्वर**; the Bhagavatī on the Pratīhāra seals represents the tutelary deity of the dynasty. D. R. Sahni rightly calls " a flying figure of Garuḍa and a conch-shell " in the Gāhaḍavāla seals to be " in conformity with the Vaishṇava faith of the king who issued the plates".[7] This common practice would indicate that the seal symbols had a wider significance than that imagined by Dr. Sastri. Probably the **परशु** held by the men led Dr. Sastri to call them *chāṇḍālas*, but they might be attendant protectors or Gaṇas of the bull, **नन्दी**, of Śiva, one of whose weapons is **परशु**. This Śaiva interpretation of the symbols is in conformity with the Brahmanical proclivities of the Maukhari rulers, also borne out by their assumption of the title **परममाहेश्वर**, while the **छत्र** (umbrella) may refer to their claim to sole sovereignty of the earth **(एकातपत्रं जगतः प्रभुत्वम्)**.[8]

The **characters** belong to the Northern class of alphabets and may be dated to the latter part of the sixth century A.D. when forms with a profusion of flourishes had already been long in vogue. In this connection attention may be invited to the formation of **य** in line 3 in **जयस्वामिनी**, which is entirely different from the same **य** in all the known seals of Śarva-

[1] Cf. R. S. Tripathi : *History of Kanauj*, p. 55.

[2] J. F. Fleet : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 219-21.

[3] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 73-74.

[4] Cf. J. N. Banerjea : *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 11.

[5] Hirananda Sastri : *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 66), pp. 64-67.

[6] Fleet : *op. cit.*, pp. 231-2.

[7] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 192.

[8] Cf. Kālidasa : **रघुवंश**, *canto* II, *verse* 47, where this very expression is used, also cf. **भरतवाक्य** in Bhāsa's **दूतवाक्य** where a similar idea is expressed by **महीमेकातपत्राङ्काम् ।**

varman, but is similar to that found in the Aphsaḍ stone inscription of Ādityasēna.[1] The **language** is Sanskrit prose throughout. In respect of **orthography** may be noticed the doubling of क् and त् in conjunction with the र्, *e.g.*, in **प्रतिक्क्रान्त** and **कीर्त्ति** in line 1, in **पुत्त्र** in different parts of the inscription, and also the doubling of ध् in conjunction with the following य् as in the word **अनुध्द्यात** in different parts of the inscription. The orthography is, therefore, similar to that of the seals of Śarvavarman with this difference only that whereas in the Asīrgaḍh seal the **उपध्मानीय** occurs between **उत्पन्न** and **परममाहेश्वर** in l.7 and **विसर्ग** in the Nālandā seals, neither of these is found in the present epigraph. The omission is probably due to the scribe.

The seal refers to the **Maukhari** king **Avantivarman**, who was the son and successor of Śarvavarman begotten on his queen Mahādēvī Indrabhaṭṭārikā. He is already known to us from the two fragmentary Maukhari seals from Nālandā, published by Mr. A. Ghosh (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 283-285), wherein genealogical history of the Maukharis has been discussed by him: Avantivarman is here described as **परममाहेश्वर** and **महाराजाधिराज** exactly as Śarvavarman is described in the Asīrgaḍh and Nālandā seals. It may be noted further that Avantivarman's name also ends with the dynastic title of **मौखरि** even as Śarvavarman's ends in his seals, referred to above. This would indicate that the dynastic name was added at the end of the seal after the name of the issuer, and no special meaning need be read in the association of this title with any particular ruler, as was supposed by Dr. R. S. Tripathi in his *History of Kanauj*, p. 45.

As the first six lines of this inscription are identical with the text of the known seals of Śarvavarman, there seems to be no necessity of translating them, while lines 7 and 8 give only the name, title and parentage of Avantivarman, the Maukhari. The text[2] is as follows :—

TEXT

1 चतुस्समुद्रातिक्क्रान्तकीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यराजा(जो) वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्त-

2 चक्कस्त्वक्कधर इव प्रजानामर्त्तिहरः श्रीमह[ा]राजहरिवर्म्म[ा] [।।*] तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो ज-

3 यस्वामिनीभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजादित्यवर्म्मा [।।*] तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो जय-
स्वामिनी[3]-

4 भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजेश्वरवर्म्मा [।।*] तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात उपगुप्ताभट्टारिका-

5 देव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराजश्रीईशानवर्म्मा [।।*] तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो

6 लक्ष्मीवतीभट्टारिकामहादेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराजश्रीशर्व्ववर्म्मा [।।*]

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[1] Fleet: *op. cit.*, pp. 200-8.

[2] It is necessary to state in this connection that of all the Maukhari seals—copper or terracotta—the relief of letters in the present seal is very small and that at places the text has become more or less blurred. The surface of the seal is also uneven and this has caused greater wearing of certain parts.

[3] The mother of **ईश्वरवर्म्मन्** is **हर्षगुप्ताभट्टारिका** in all the seals of Śarvavarman, and **जयस्वामिनी**, who in line 3 of the present record is stated to be the mother of **ईश्वरवर्म्मन्** is presumably a mistake for **हर्षगुप्ता** on the part of the scribe.

SOHNAG TERRACOTTA SEAL OF AVANTIVARMAN.



B. CH. CHHABRA. From a photograph SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

7 तस्य[1] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात इन्द्र[2]भट्टारिकामहादेव्यामुत्पन्न[‿*]परममाहेश्वरो

8 महाराजाधिराजश्रीग्रवन्तिवर्म्मा[3] मौखरिः [।।*]

No. 15.—AKKALKOT INSCRIPTION OF SILAHARA INDARASA

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This epigraph was copied by me in the summer vacation of 1933, when I was a student in the Karnatak College, Dharwar. The stone-slab containing the inscription was kept in a shed in the compound of the *Nazar Bag* of the Old Palace at **Akkalkōṭ,** the headquarters of a small state on the south-eastern border of the Sholapur District, Bombay Presidency. The importance of the record was indicated in my list of inscriptions published in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 2. I am editing it here in full for the first time.[4]

The record is inscribed in rather indifferent Kannaḍa **characters** of the 12th century A. D. The **language,** except for the invocatory and imprecatory portions, which are in Sanskrit verse, is Kannaḍa. The composition is partly in prose and partly in verse.

The document refers itself to the reign of the **Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalladēva** (Vikramāditya VI) and is dated the **Chālukya-Vikrama year 39, Jaya, Pushya ba. 12, Friday, Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa,** the details of which regularly correspond to A. D. 1114, December 25. The **object** of the record is to register land and other gifts for the benefit of the temple of Siddhagajjēśvara at [Bi]ṭṭeyana Karaṁjige by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Indarasa in conjunction with other dignitaries.

The donor **Indarasa** hailed from the family of **Seḷara** or the Śilāhāras of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage, and bore the epithets *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara* (lord of the foremost city of Tagara) and

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[1] The relief in the last two lines has almost faded and they cannot be clearer on the photograph. In line 7 too many letters have been inserted in a comparatively small space. Their size is, therefore, naturally smaller.

[2] The reading इन्द्र is not clear either in the photograph or in the plaque. The form of इ is made up of one dot at the top and two below, the former coming almost above the centre of the latter as in इव in line 2.

[3] ग्रवन्तिवर्म्मा has become very blurred in the photograph, but in the original it is quite distinct. Here, too, one can see the right-hand vertical line of ग्र quite clearly, व is just a line thickened in the middle the loop to the left having merged in the thickness, and traces of न्ति are also visible.

[4] The inscription has been subsequently copied by the office of the Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar, and a brief account of its contents published in the *Digest of the Annual Report for 1940-41* of that office (page 18).

Chāmuṇḍikādēvīlabdhavaraprasāda (one who had secured the boon of the goddess Chāmuṇḍikā). The genealogy of the ancestors of Indarasa is herein set forth in detail thus :

Pittama I
|
Ajja I
|
Nāgārjuna
|
Inda I
|—— Kavilāsa I
| |
| Bibbasa
| |
| Rakkasa
| |
| Inda II
| |
| Sōvaṇa
| |—— Pittama II
| |—— Kavilāsa II
| |
| Dhanasaṅgraha
| |
| Ajja II
| |
| Kavilāsa III
| |
| Ḍāṅka I
| |
| Kavilāsa IV
| |
| Indarasa (Inda) III, the donor.
|—— Kañcha

A perusal of these names will show that this is entirely a new and hitherto unknown branch of the Śilāhāras. But this is not all. Starting with Indarasa III, whose initial date may be roughly fixed at A. D. 1110 on the evidence of the present record and counting fifteen generations backwards at the average of twenty-five years per generation, the date available for Pittama I, the first forbear of the family, will be about A. D. 735. This therefore entitles it to be considered as one of the oldest units of the Śilāhāra families.[1]

Not much information, however, could be gathered regarding the early or late history of this family from the record. Pittama I, it is stated, ruled the country bounded by Asitādri and Kālāñjara. This statement occurs again with a slight verbal change of substituting Kṛishṇādri for Asitādri, while describing the kingdom of Dhanasaṅgraha, who, we are further told, was resourceful and maintained a vast army of eighteen thousand cavalry, eighty thousand eminent warriors and countless foot-soldiers. This description bears the ring of exaggeration and sounds more conventional than real, since no specific exploit of his is recorded. Kavilāsa IV's wife was Chandaladēvī, daughter of Rājarāja of Moramba. Inda III, as can be gleaned from the present record and according to the explicit statement in another inscription[2] from the same place, was a feudatory

[1] The Southern Konkan family of the Śilāhāras was hitherto considered the earliest branch having A.D. 783 for its initial date ; *vide*, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 537.

[2] Indarasa III is referred to in this record as *Aṅkulageya nāḍa manneya Indarasa*, meaning 'Indarasa, the hereditary chief of the Aṅkulage tract'. (My private collection.)

chief having administrative authority over the small tract of Aṅkulage containing fifty villages, which must have been his hereditary fief.

Little is known about Rājarāja, the maternal grandfather of Inda III. As there are more places than one named Morab in the Bombay-Karnāṭak area, it is not possible to identify this Moraṁba, which was ruled by this chief.

In regard to Kavilāsa IV, the father of Indarasa III, we have a contemporary record at Akkalkōṭ itself. It refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI) and is dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 17, Āṅgirasa (=A.D. 1093). This chief is introduced in this epigraph as a feudatory (*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) bearing all the significant epithets of his line[1] and figures as the donor in conjunction with another feudatory chief Jōgamarasa, the grandfather of the well-known Bijjaḷa of the Kalachurya family. Of the time of Indarasa III, we have two more records from Akkalkōṭ, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama years 36, Khara (=A.D. 1111) and 48, Śōbhakṛit (=A.D. 1123). The latter of these furnishes further information regarding this family and carries its genealogy two generations ahead. Indarasa III's younger brother was named Rājarasa who had two sons, Kuppadēva and Indarasa IV. Indarasa III had four sons, namely Ḍākarasa II, Kavilāsa V, Mallidēva and Ajja III. Ḍākarasa again had a son named Indarasa V.[2]

An attempt may be made to identify the territory said to have been ruled over by the two ancestors of the family, *viz.*, Piṭṭama I and Dhanasaṅgraha. Although there appears to be definiteness regarding the location of one limit of this kingdom, namely Kālañjara,[3] which is the same as modern Kalinjar in Bundelkhand,[4] the other limit, Asitādri or Kṛishṇādri is elusive of identification in the face of too many possibilities.[5]

If its identification either with the Karakorum mountain or the Haridwar hills is accepted, we shall have to conceive that these chiefs ruled over a vast empire comprising almost the whole of North India. But such an assumption runs counter to the known facts of history. So it would be reasonable to treat this statement as only another amplified version of the legendary origin set forth by all the Śilāhāra families who trace their descent from the mythical ancestor Jīmūtavāhana, the king of the Vidyādharas residing in the region of the Himālayas.[6] The truth underlying these

[1] Compare ll. 31—37 of the text of the present record.

[2] The information contained in this paragraph is based on the contents of inscriptions in my unpublished private collection.

[3] It is interesting to observe how several families of local chiefs who rose to prominence in the Kannaḍa and Telugu districts from the 11th to 13th centuries trace their connection either with this place or the dynasties that ruled in this part of Central India. (i) The Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇa who attained prominence during the time of Jōgama in the 11th century bore the title *Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara*. (ii) The Ahihayas who flourished in the Gulbarga district of the Nizam's Dominions apparently claimed kinship with the Haihayas of Central India (above, Vol. XII, p. 292.) (iii) The Haihaya chiefs of the Kōṇamanḍala, who figure conspicuously in the inscriptions of the Telugu parts from the 11th to the 13th century (above, Vol. IV, p 83 and *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1932-33, p. 57) (iv) The phrase, *Kālañjara-paryanta-dēś-ādhīśvaram* is met with among the titles of a Śilāhāra chief in an inscription of 1288-89 A D. from Chinmaḷḷi in the Gulbarga district. (My private collection.)

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 469.

[5] *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* by Nundo Lal Dey gives under Kṛishṇagiri and Nīlāchala the following identifications: (i) The Karakorum mountain :(ii) A hill at Puri in Orissa; (iii) A hill at Gauhati in Assam; (iv) The Haridwar hills. Another possibility is the Kṛishṇagiri occurring in its Prakṛit form Kaṇhagiri in the Nasik Cave inscription (above, Vol. VIII, p. 60). This has been identified with Kanhēri or Salsette hills (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 633). But the importance of the hills noted in items (ii) and (iii) above and also the last mentioned rests mainly in their religious associations and not in their physical greatness as mountains. Hence it is doubtful if they could have been intended in a purely secular context like the present one.

[6] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XIV, 3, 65-66 and XVI, 3, 7. The legend regarding the paramount sovereignty once enjoyed by the progenitors of the Śilāhāra stock is also echoed in an inscription of the 12th century at Muttagi, Bijapur District. (*Inscriptions in Nothern Karnatak and the Kolhapur State* by Prof. Kundangar; No. 9, verse 37.)

legends seems to be that the Śilāhāras, like many a ruling family of South India, tried to show their connection with the hallowed land of the North.

No more historical details are known about the members of this Akkalkōṭ[1] Branch of Śilāhāras. Still, its great antiquity and well-preserved genealogical traditions furnish a suitable occasion for reviewing in brief the early history of the Śilāhāra stock and its later expansion into several family groups in the light of the epigraphical discoveries during the past decades.

Frequent allusions to their former rule over the famous town of Tagara (modern Ter, Usmanabad District, Nizam's Dominions), contained in the titles of the principal Śilāhāra families[2] indicate the first settlement in that tract of the earliest members of the stock, who might have migrated to the south during the early centuries of the Christian era. The next important stage in the ramification of the Śilāhāra stock appears to have come about during the time of the 8—10th centuries, as the origin and foundation of the three hitherto known Śilāhāra families, *viz.*, the Northern and Southern Konkan[3] and Kolhapur could be referred to this period from genealogical calculations.

In the earlier part of this period some more members seem to have migrated towards the south and east of Tagara and settled ' all over the region of Tardavāḍi Thousand ', roughly corresponding to the modern district of Bijapur and the neighbouring parts. This piece of information, furnished by a record from Muttagi,[4] is amply substantiated by a good number of epigraphs containing references to the several members of the Śilāhāra extraction; discovered in the Bijapur District and the adjacent areas of the Gulbarga District and the Akkalkōṭ State. From the mention of the title *Vijayapuravarādhīśvara* in place of *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara* in some records of the Akkalkōṭ branch,[5] it may be inferred that the early settlers of this tract had chosen the ancient and sacred town of Vijayapura[6] as their headquarters.

An individual line of petty Śilāhāra chiefs, who must have evidently belonged to the group of families domiciled in the Bijapur region, has been brought to light by a number of inscriptions copied by the Madras Epigraphist's Office in the Sindagi *taluk* of the Bijapur District.[7] The epigraphs containing references to the several members of this line range in date approximately from the middle of the 11th to the first quarter of the 13th century A.D. These chiefs call themselves descendants of Sēlara, Siḷara or Siyāḷa[8] and lords of Tagaranagara.[9] Their headquarters was

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[1] A local tradition connects the modern name of Akkalkōṭ with the village Aṅkalagi, which is said to have existed formerly on that site and the suffix *kōṭ* (*kōṭe*) denotes a fort. This is borne out by the form ' Aṅkalkōṭe ' of the name, frequently used by the village folk in their common parlance.

[2] Besides the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan, Kolhapur and Akkalkot, two more families of the Bijapur area assume the title denoting their lordship over Tagara.

[3] It is doubtful if we can connect this family with the Śilāhāra ancestors from Tagarapura, as the epithet denoting their authority over the place is absent among the titles of this branch. On the contrary its relationship with the rulers of Ceylon is set forth in the Khārepāṭan Plates (above, Vol. III, p. 292.). This may be due, as suggested by Fleet, to the fancied resemblance between the names, Simhala and Śilāhāra (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 536). Another suggestion is to equate Simhala with Goa (*Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 398). The banner and family deity are also not mentioned in the records of this branch.

[4] *B. K.* No. 101-102 of 1928-29.

[5] For instance, Indarasa III is mentioned as *Vijayapuraparamēśvara* and *Vijayapuravarādhīśvara* in two epigraphs from Akkalkōṭ, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama years 36 and 48. (My private collection.)

[6] Vijayapura or modern Bijapur is referred to as *rājadhānī* and *Dakshiṇa Vārāṇasī* in the records of the 11-12th century A. D.: *vide B. K.* Nos. 124, 126, 127, 131, etc., of 1933-34.

[7] The following *B. K.* Nos. of 1936-37 may be noted for studying the history of this family: 6, 21, 30, 34, 37, 38, 67, 68 and 85.

[8] This name bears some resemblance with Simhala and may possibly furnish a clue to the proposed origin of the Śilāhāras of the Southern Konkan from Ceylon.

[9] This departure from the more familiar form Tagarapura of the place-name may be noted.

at Eḷamēla, identical with modern Ālmēl in the Sindagi *taluk*. They worshipped the god Uttarēśvara of Eḷamēla[1] and cherished reverence for their tutelary deity Kātyāyanī.[2] In the beginning their status was only that of the *Mahāsāmantas*, which was later on elevated to that of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*.

More conspicuous among the Śilāhāras of the Bijapur area is a section that bears the distinctive epithet *Kopaṇapuravarādhīśvara*. They figure prominently in the records ranging from the early part of the 11th to the end of the 13th century A. D. It is curious to observe that, while a large number of records containing references to them has been discovered in parts of the Bijapur District and the adjacent areas, not a single record mentioning them has been so far traced at or in the vicinity of Kopaṇa[3] or modern Kopbal in the Nizam's Dominions, which according to the implication of the title, must have been in their possession at one time.[4] Like the members of the Ālmēl branch, this family also claimed the goddess Kātyāyanī as their tutelary deity. The earliest member of the Kopaṇapura branch so far known is from an epigraph at Sālōtgi in the Bijapur District. His name was Kañchiga and it is stated that he hailed from Kopaṇapura.[5] In the absence of date the record may be assigned to the first half of the 11th century on palaeographical grounds.[6] This Kañchiga was most probably a descendant of Kañcha, an early ancestor of the Akkalkōṭ family.[7] The kinship of the Kopaṇapura family with the Akkalkōṭ branch is vouched not only by the frequent occurrence of the peculiar names, such as Dhanasaṅgraha, Ḍākarasa, Indarasa, etc., originally found among the latter, but also by the characteristic epithet *Kālañjarapariyanta-dēśādhīśvaram* (supreme lord of the country as far as Kālañjara) occurring in a record of the former.[8]

Traces of one other family of the Śilāhāra chiefs that had settled in the Bijapur region are available from the records of the 11-12th century discovered in the Iṇḍi *taluk*. Kavilāsa and his son Dhanasaṅgraha figuring in an inscription from Taḍavalga,[9] *Mahāsāmanta* Dhanasaṅgrahayyarasa of the Rūgi epigraph,[10] Piriya Gōvaṇarasa,[11] Bandarasa and his father Chāvuṇḍarasa mentioned in the Sālōtgi record[12] appear to have been a few members of this family. Their names further suggest their possible connection with the Akkalkōṭ Branch.

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1 *B. K.* No. 43 of 1937-38.

2 The phrase *Kātyāyinīdēvī-labdha-vara-prasāda* occurs in the *praśasti* of this family.

3 In the course of my private epigraphical survey I have carefully explored the town of Kopbal and its adjoining villages.

4 The antiquity and renown of Kopaṇa may be judged from the existence of Aśōkan Edicts and other early Jain vestiges there. (*Vide Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Nos. 10 and 12.)

It may incidentally be noted that the title *Kopaṇapuravarādhīśvara* was not exclusively used by the members of the Śilāhāra branch. There are instances of other chiefs who apparently bore no connection with the Śilāhāras using this title. For example, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vīra-Rāmadēvarasa figuring in an inscription from Harasur bore this title, but belonged to the lineage of Nābhirāja (Nāchirāja is a mistake ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 486). An epigraph of the 12th century from Hoḍal in the Gulbarga District states that chiefs born in the lineage of Nābhirāja ruled at Kopaṇapura. (My private collection.) A chief named Hemmāḍidēvarasa, who held this title is introduced as a subordinate of *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna in a record from Umarāṇi, Jath State. (*B. K.* No. 128 of 1940-41).

5 Above, Vol. IV, p. 59.

6 It has been assigned to the middle of the 10th century by Fleet ; *ibid.*

7 *Vide* the genealogical statement in the beginning of this article.

8 This record is from Chinmaḷḷi in the Gulbarga District. Its date regularly corresponds to A.D. 1288, March 8, Monday. The Śilāhāra chief who bore this epithet was again Dhanasangraha. He was ruling over the Attinūr tract of eighty villages included in the province of Alande Thousand. His capital was Attinūr (modern Hattanur, Gulbarga District). He is stated to have hailed from Tardavāḍi. Dākarasa and Āhavamalla were the father and grandfather of Dhanasangraha, who appear to have held hereditary authority over the tract. (My private collection.)

9 *B. K.* No. 74 of 1937-38.

10 *Ibid.* No. 58.

11 *Ibid.* No. 35.

12 *Ibid.* No. 66.

A large number of epigraphs collected from the Hāvēri *taluk* of the Dharwar District reveals the existence of an ancient line of Śilāhāra chiefs that had domiciled in that region.[1] The earliest of these records referring itself to the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch Amōghavarsha (9th century) mentions Kaliyammarasa, the first known member of this family, as holding the office of *nālgāmuṇḍu*.[2] An examination of several records containing references to this family shows that this office was held hereditarily by its members and that their authority extended over the tract of Bāsavura-140. This humble position of these chiefs seems to have improved in course of time, for, they are addressed as *Mahāsāmantas* under the Western Chālukyas and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* under the Yādavas of Dēvagiri during the 11th and the 13th centuries.[3] While giving their *praśasti* reference is frequently made to their *Khachara* race and the serpent banner.[4] The usual Śilāhāra title denoting connection with the city of Tagara is not found in it. Unlike the other branches, this family appears to have been a follower of Jainism, as Padmāvatī of the Jain pantheon was their tutelary goddess.

A petty offshoot of the Śilāhāra lineage stretching over three generations, apparently bearing no connection with the Śilāhāra families noticed above was functioning at Terdal in the Belgaum District during the twelfth century. Jains by persuasion, they adored the goddess Padmāvatī. They had the emblem of peacock feathers as their ensign.[5]

One more family of Śilāhāra *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, who had migrated further south to the region of the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency, has been lately brought to light by the inscriptions copied in that area. One of these from Erramatham[6] dated in A. D. 1075 during the reign of the Western Chālukya king Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmēśvara II) introduces his feudatory Satyarasa of the Śilāhāra family, who constructed a temple at the village in the name of his father Bikkarasa. This chief figures again in another record[7] from the same area, a few years later (A. D. 1082) during the subsequent reign of Vikramāditya VI. A damaged record of the latter reign coming from the same parts[8] mentions another chief named Rājāditya of the Śilāhāra lineage, who seems to have been connected with the family of Satyarasa. In the first of these records Satyarasa is given the titles, *Tagarapuravarēśvara*,[9] *Pratyaksha-Jīmūtavāha-kula-sambhava* and *Mandākinīvaraprasādōdita* (prosperous through the grace and boon of the goddess Gaṅgā). It may be noted that the combination of these titles, which are rather characteristic, distinguishes this family from others.[10]

It may be seen from the foregoing that besides the **three hitherto known branches** of the Śilāhāra stock, there flourished at least **seven other distinct branches** including the Akkalkōṭ line of the present record.

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[1] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 180 ff. and *B. K.* Nos. 10, 12, 19, 32, 37, 41, 78, 123, 153, etc., of 1932-33.

[2] *B. K.* No. 24 of 1932-33.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 184, etc.

[4] The phrase, *pannagadhvaja-virājamāna* or *sarpadhvaja-śōbhita*, is met with in some records describing the titles of this family. The Northern Konkan and other branches generally mention their banner of the Golden Eagle (*Suvarṇa-garuḍa-dhvaja*).

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 22 ff.

[6] *A. R.* No. 317 of 1937-38.

[7] *Ibid.* No. 33 of 1942-43.

[8] *Ibid.* No. 64 of 1942-43.

[9] Slight verbal alterations in the eminent Śilāhāra title denoting authority over Tagara seem to have been devised for distinguishing the different branches. The Northern Konkan branch used the title *Tagarapuraparamēśvara*. The Bijapur, Akkalkōṭ and Kolhapur families had it in its modified form *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara*. The Eḷamēla family had changed it into *Tagaranagarādhīśvara*. *Tagarapuravarēśvara* of the Kurnool branch is one more instance to the point.

[10] Some of the records referred to in the course of the above discussion of several Śilāhāra families are unpublished. I am grateful to the Government Epigraphist for India for having kindly permitted me to study this material.

A passing reference is made in the gift portion of the record (l. 37) to ***Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara Kumāra*** Tailapa. A scrutiny of the several inscriptions containing references to the sons of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI clearly shows that he had at least four sons, *viz.*, Mallikārjuna. Jayakarṇa.[1] Sōmēśvara and Tailapa. The order in which they are related possibly indicates the seniority of the one over the other, Tailapa being the youngest.

Regarding the **geographical** names occurring in this epigraph, Āṇandūru, the headquarters of the Āṇandūru Three Hundred (district) is to be identified with modern Āṇadūru, chief town of the *taluk* of that name in the Usmanabad District of the Nizam's Dominions. This place is about 20 miles to the north of Akkalkōṭ. Aṅkulage Fifty was a subdivision of Āṇandūru Three Hundred and the village Aṅkulage from which it must have taken its name may be identified with the modern Akkalkōṭ town itself.[2] The gift-land was situated in the village [Bi]ṭṭeyana Karaṁjige, which may be identified with modern Karajgi, a fairly big village in the south-western part of the Akkalkōṭ State.

TEXT[3]

1 Svasti śrīr=jayāś=ch=ābhyudayaś=cha | Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chandra-chāmara-

2 chāravē [|*] trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūlastaṁbhāya Sa(Śa)ṁbhavē | [1*] Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśra-

3 yaṁ Śrī-Pri(ṛi)thvī-vallabhaṁ Mahārājādhirājaṁ Paramēs(ś)varaṁ Paramabhaṭṭāraka[ṁ] Satyāśra-

4 ya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ śrīma(mat)-**Tribhuvanamalladēvara** vijaya-rājyam=u-

5 ttarōttar-ābhivṛi(ṛi)ddhi-pravarddhamānam=āchandr-ārkka-tāraṁbaraṁ salutta śrī-rāja-dhānī-Ja-

6 yantī-purada nelevīḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam=ire || Tat-pāda-padmōpa-

7 jīvigaḷu || Vṛitta | [4]Sa(Śa)radhi-vyāvēshṭit-ōrvvī-va[ḷa]yadoḷ=esedar=ssatya-sauṁdaryya-[śau]ryya-sphura-

8 d-audāryy-ōdgha-dhairyya-prakaṭita-ye(ya)śar=eṁbaṁnegaṁ labdha-lakshmī-pariraṁ[bh-ā]raṁbha-va-

9 kshas-sthaḷar=amaḷa-Śiḷāhāra-gōtr-ōdbhavar=khkhēchara-vaṁś-aik-āvataṁsar=tTagara-pura-var-ādhīśvarar=kshatra-

10 putrar [2*] Kaṁda | Avaroḷ=Piṭṭaman=eṁbaṁ bhuvanadoḷ=Asitādriy=eṁba Kāḷāṁjaram=eṁ-

11 b-ive mēreyāda vasudheyan=avatarıpaṁ mahipan=āgi paripā[ḷ]sidam | [3*] Pṛithvī || Avaṁge ma-

12 gan=Ajjan=Ajjıga-nṛipaṁge Nāgārjjunaṁ ravi-pratiman=ātaṁge[5] negaḷd=Iṁdan=Iṁdaṁge saṁd=avāryya-bhuja-vīryya-

13 r=appa Kavilāsanuṁ Kaṁcha[nuṁ] pravīta-bhayan=agrajaṁg=avaroḷaṁ nṛipaṁ Bibbasa || [1*] Kaṁda ||

[1] The suggested identity of Jayakarṇa with Tailapa is untenable as evidence is available to prove that they were distinct individuals administering different parts of the empire at one and the same time. (*Vide An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1921, p. 89.)

[2] See p. 68 n. 1 above. It may be noted that there is another small village named Aṅkalge in the south-west corner of the State

[3] From the impressions and the original.

[4] Metre : *Mahāsragdharā.*

[5] The metre is faulty here.

14 Ā-negaḷda Bibbasaṁg=abhimānadhanaṁ puṭṭidaṁ magaṁ Rakkasan=ant=ā-nṛipatig=agra-tanayan=anūna-yaśō-ramaṇa-

15 n=Iṁda-bhūbhujan-eṁba || [5*] Vṛitta [1]Jaya-vanitā-manō-ramaṇag=ā-vibhug=agra-tanūjan=āgi dhātrivo-

16 ḷ=esedaṁ guṇ-āṁbunidhi [Sō]vaṇan=ā-mahipaṁge puṭṭi lakshmiyan=anurāgadiṁ taḷedu Piṭṭamanuṁ Ka-

17 vilāsanuṁ yaśaḥ-priyar=ene sandar=ant=avaroḷuṁ Kavilāsa-nṛipaṁge naṁdana || [6*] [2]Dha-nasaṁgra-

18 han=amaḷa-yaśo-dhanasaṁgrahan=anata-nṛipati-nirjjita-tējō-dhana-saṁgrahan=akhiḷa-kaḷā-dhana-saṁgra-

19 han=enisidaṁ dharā-maṇḍaḷadoḷ || [7*] Vṛitta || [3]Oṁd=eraḍ=eṁdu lekkisuvaḍam turagaṁ padineṁṭu sāyiraṁ

20 guṁdaḍu goṁtadoḷ=negaḷda bīrar=aśīti-sahasram=āhavakk=eṁdaḍ=aḷuṁbam=app=itara bīra-padā-

21 ti-balakke lekkav=ill=eṁdaḍe matt=adēṁ vogaḷven=ā-Dhanasaṁgraha-bhumipāḷana || [8*] Ka || [*] Paridhi nija-

22 dharege Kāḷāṁjaranuṁ Kri(Kṛi)shṇādri-taṭamum=adan=uḷidu vasuṁdharey=ene(ni)t=anitu-man=aṁjisid=ariyaṁ

23 Dhanasaṁgraham jaya-srī-ramaṇa || [9*] [4]Dhana-saṁgrahaṁge sutan=Ajjan=Ajja-bhūpaṁge sūnu Kavilāsan=a

24 vaṁg=anupama-tējaṁ Ḍāṁkaṁ tanayaṁ puṭṭidan=avaṁge Kavilāsa-nri(nṛi)pa || [10*] Vṛi || [5]Avan=urvvī-sa-

25 rvva-rakshā-kshaman=avan=anat-ārāti-saṁghāta-nirghāta-viśāḷ-ābhīḷa-bāhā-parighan=avan=anūn-ātma-dānāṁ-

26 bu-dhārā-plavasam tripath-ārtthi-sa(śa)sya-prakaran=avana......āri-sa(śa)śvan-mahā-sā(śā)trava-paura-vyūha-dāha-

27 prabaḷa-viḷaya-kāḷāgnirūpa pratāpa || [11*] Vṛi || [6]Ā-nri(nṛi)pa-ratnan=appa Kavilāsa-nri(nṛi)paṁ janakaṁ Moraṁba-

28 d-Uddāniya-Rājarājana tanūbhave Chandaladēvi tāy=enalu sūnṛita-vārddhi viśva-jagatī-taḷa-varttita-kīrtti rā-

29 jalakshmī niḷavaṁ pratāpa-nidhi puṭṭidan=Iṁdiga-maṁḍaḷēśvara || [12*] Vṛi || [7]Urag-ārātige taṁman=ittu bhujaga-vrātaṁ-

30 gaḷam kād=anantarav=unmīḷisidaṁ madīya-kula-saṁjātam dal=eṁd=ajjapajjara-peṁpiṁdame porngut=iddapane tān=ā-

31 khē(kha)ḷ[ē]ṁdraṁgam=ēm beraḷuṁd=aggaḷam=īva kāva guṇamaṁ pūṇd=Iṁda-bhūpāḷaka [13*] Svasti samadhigata-

32 paṁcha-mahā-śabda Mahāmaṁḍaḷēśvara Tagarapuravar-ādhīśvara Jīmūtavāhan-ānvay-āṁbara-śaraś(ch)=chaṁdra vibhav-āmarēṁ-

33 dra samast-āśrita-jana-dāridry-ādri-kuḷiśa-daṇḍa Sēḷāra-kuḷa kamaḷa-mārttaṁḍa ripu maṁḍaḷika-maṁḍa-

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[1] Metre : *Champakamālā.*
[2] Metre : *Kanda.*
[3] Metre : *Utpalamālā.*
[4] Metre : *Kanda.*
[5] Metre : *Mahāsragdharā.*
[6] Metre : *Utpalamālā.*
[7] Metre : *Mattēbhavikrīḍita.*

34 ḷ-ōtpāta rāja-Māndhāta śrī-Chāmuṁḍikā-dēvī-labdha-vara-prasāda dāna-vinōda manneya-vallabha bhayalōbha-

35 durllabha āḷiṁ-muṁn=iṟiva śauryyamaṁ-mera(re)va chaladaṁka-Rāma saṁgrāma-Bhīma śrīma(mat)-Tribhuvanama-

36 lladēva-pādārādhaka para-baḷa-sādhaka nāmādi-samasta-pra[śa]sti-sahita śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍ-aḷēśva-

37 ran=Iṁdarasaruṁ || ◎ Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ Kumāra Tailapadēva-[rdhāya]-mēlā-ḷikeya Bhāgiyabbarasiyuṁ

38 śrīman-Mahāprachaṁḍa-daṁḍanāyakaṁ Gajāṁkuśa-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Prabhu Kēsarināyakaruṁ magan=Aṁbarasanuṁ

39 śrīmach=**Chāḷukya-Vikrama-varshada 39neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Pushya-bahuḷa 12 Śukravārav-Utta-**

40 **rāyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa** Vyatīpāta-nimittaṁ Karaṁjigeya śrī-Siddha-gajjēśvara-dēvar=aṁga-bhō-

41 gakkaṁ nivēdyakkaṁ naṁdādīvigegaṁ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīrṇṇōdhārakkav=ā-dēvara maṭhad=āchāryya

42 ru yama-niyam-āsana-prāṇāyāma-pratyāhāra-dhyāna-dhāraṇa maun-ānushṭhāna-guṇa-

43 saṁpannaru[ṁ*] anna-dāna-vinōdarum-appa Śrī-Jñānasiddha-dēvara kālaṁ karchchi dhārā-pūrvakaṁ sarvvanamasya-

44 v-āgi Āṇandūru mūnūrara baḷiy=Aṁkulagey-eyvattar-oḷagaṇa [Bi]ṭṭe-

45 yana Karaṁjigeya [te]ṁka-voladalu prabhugaḷa mānyaduṁ mūḍalu hadınūṟu-gēṇa Beṁ-koḷvana kōla

46 mattaru nūṟu [1*] [a]daroḷage dēvar=aṁgabhōgakkaṁ jīṟṇṇ-[ōd*]-dhārakkam mattar=ayvattu maṭhada biyakke mattar ayvattu

47 dēvara puravarggada kēṟıyuv-alli dēvara naṁdādīvigege biṭṭa gāṇa[v=e]raḍu ā-kēṟıyiṁ paḍuvalu tōṁṭake Beṁko-

48 ḷvana kōla mattar-eradu chatus-sīmeyiṁd-oḷag-alli biṭṭāgaṁ hēṟiṁge ehey=irppattaydu ◎ Pratishṭhā-kāla-

49 dalu Prabhu Kēsarināyakaṁ taṁma guḍḍe-mānyadoḷage Si[ri]gaḷabbe[yā]-kereyiṁ paḍu-

50 valu Beṁkoḷvana kōlalu biṭṭa keyı mattaru hattu ◎ Śrīman-Mahāpasāyitaṁ Sūḷāytar=adhi-

51 shṭhāyakaṁ Maṇḍaḷikaṁ Kāṭıyaṇaṁ Javaḷageya mūḍa-voladalu Beṁkoḷvana kōlalu biṭṭa ke-

52 yi mattar=ayvattu ◎ Ī-dharmmaman-ārādoḍaṁ pratıpāḷisidavargge Vāraṇasiyoḷaṁ Kurukshētra-

53 doḷaṁ chaturvvēda-pāragar-appa Brāhmaṇarigaṁ tapōdhanarigaṁ sāsıra kavilegaḷa kōḍuṁ koḷagumaṁ hoṁnalu kaṭṭı-

54 si dānamaṁ koṭṭa phalam-akku ◎ Im(I)dan ā[rā]numn kiḍisihen-eṁba pāpakarmmaṁga upēkshisidaṁgaṁ

55 chaturvvēda-pāragar-appa Brāhmaṇarumaṁ tapōdhanaruṁ sāsira kavileyamaṁ Vāraṇāsi-yoḷaṁ Kuru-

56 kshētradoḷaṁ taṁma svahastadoḷu koṁda dōsham=akku ◎ Vṛı [1]Paṁna[ga]nātha-dhārig=aghahārige pūjege bi-

57 ṭṭa dharmmamaṁ maṁnisi kāvud-allad=inisaṁ tere-kāṇıke-sē[se]y-āsegaḷ maṁneyav-āya-dāyam=ıvu sallavu

Metre : *Utpalamālā.*

58 sarvvanamasyam=emdu biṭṭaṁ negaḷd=Iṁda-maṇḍaḷikan=achcharı taṁmaya vaṁsaṁ-uḷḷına ‖ [14*] Ka Parikisad=ī-dharmma-

59 doḷ=arasara kāṇike koḷḷiy=aruvaṇaṁ kiṛusuṁkaṁ pura-da(dha)rmmaṁ baṇṇigey=emd-arevīsaman=aḷi-

60 pi koṇḍavaṁ chāṁḍāḷa ‖ [15*] Ślō ‖ Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētuṁ(r)=nri(nṛi)pāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*]sa-

61 rvvān=ētān=bhāgınaḥ pārtthivēndrā(drān=)bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ ‖ [16*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā

62 dattā rājabhis=Sagarādıbhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phaḷam ‖ [17*] Svadattāṁ

63 paradattāṁ vā yō harēti(ta) vasuṁdharāṁ | shashṭi=varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭā(ṭhā)yāṁ jāya-

64 tē krimiḥ ‖ [18*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Lines 1—2 Invocation to Śiva.

ll. 2—6 **Tribhuvanamalladēva** (bearing all the Western Chālukya titles, Samastabhuvanāśraya, etc.) was ruling the kingdom from his capital Jayantīpura.

ll. 7—9 Description of the Śilāhāra princes in general terms.

ll. 10—11 Piṭṭama (the earliest ancestor of the family) ruled the country bounded by Asitādri and Kālañjara.

ll. 11—17 Genealogy of the family up to Kavilāsa (II).

ll. 17—23 Description of Kavilāsa (II)'s son Dhanasaṁgraha. He was very resourceful and ruled the country bounded by Kālañjara and Kṛishṇādri.

ll. 23—31 Genealogy continued from Dhanasaṁgraha's son Ajja to Indarasa (III).

ll. 31—37 Indarasa (III)'s *praśasti*.

ll. 37—42 Indarasa (III), Bhāgiyabbarasi who was in charge of the income of the estate (?) of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kumāra Tailapadēva, *Prabhu* Kēsarmāyaka of Gajāṁkuśa *kula* and his son Ambarasa participated in making a gift on the specified date.

ll. 42—52 Details of the gift.

ll. 52—64 Imprecation in prose and verse.

No. 16.—WADGAON PLATES OF VAKATAKA PRAVARASENA II

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. Mirashi, Amraoti

In July 1942 one Bhagwan Shiva Ganar of Yenur, a village in the Hiṅganghāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District came to Nāgpur to attend a conference of the Depressed Classes. Out of curiosity he went to see the Central Museum, Nagpur, where he noticed some Vākāṭaka plates displayed in the Archaeological Section. They reminded him of similar plates in the possession of his grandfather at **Waḍgaon** in the Warorā *tahsil* of the Chāndā District. Being curious to know what was inscribed on them, he brought them to the Museum some days later and handed them over to the Curator, Dr S. S. Patwardhan. Mr M A Suboor, the Coin-Expert of the Museum, cleaned the plates, took inked estampages of them and kindly placed them at my disposal for editing.[1]

[1] [The original plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.—Ed.]

The **copper-plates are four** in number, of which the first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only and the other two on both the sides. They measure 6.5″ long and 3.5″ broad and weigh 97 *tolas*. They were held together by a ring, about 3 *tolas* in weight, passing through a roundish hole 1.3″ from the middle of the left side of each plate. It must have carried the usual Vākāṭaka **seal** sliding on it, but this is not forthcoming now. There are 42 lines of writing in all, which are evenly distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates. The writing is in a state of good preservation throughout. In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes of omission and commission, see, *e.g.*, *aṁśa-bhāra-*, l. 4, *saty-ārjjava-*, l. 9, *śrī-samudayasya*, l. 13, etc.; but there are many more which are left uncorrected. In the right hand lower corner of the first side of the second plate, he has incised the syllables *Māradē* (*dā*)[*sē*]-, which were inadvertently omitted in l. 42. In l. 21 several letters were beaten in and in their place the syllables *vishuva-vāchanaka* were incised. This correction or tampering, whatever it might be, was apparently done in the Vākāṭaka age, for the substituted *aksharas* are of the same type as the rest of the record.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety as in most other inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas. The noteworthy peculiarities are the cursive form of the medial *ū* in *sūnōḥ* twice in l. 4; the bipartite *au* in *dauhitrasya*, l. 7: the medial *ṛi* of *kṛi* which is formed not by the usual curling curve, but by the addition of a curve turned downwards on the left of *k* in *kulaputr-ādhikṛitā*, l. 23 and the rare medial *ḷi* in *-kḷipt-ōpakḷiptaḥ*, l. 31. The numerical symbols for *400*[1] occur in l. 20 and those for *2* and *3* on the second side of the second and the third plate respectively. The **language** is Sanskrit, and, except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The orthography does not present any thing calling for special notice.

The inscription is one of the Vākāṭaka king **Pravarasēna** II. His genealogy is given here exactly as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called Dēvagupta. The object of the present inscription is to register the grant of 100 *nivartanas* of land which Pravarasēna II made to a Brāhmaṇa named Rudrārya who was versed in two Vēdas and belonged to the Lōhitya *gōtra*[2] and the Vājasanēya *śākhā*. He was a resident of the village Ēkārjunaka. The land donated to him was in the village Vēlusuka which was situated in the Supratishṭha *āhāra* or subdivision. The village lay to the east of Gṛidhragrāma, to the south of Kadambasaraka, to the west of Nīlīgrāma and to the north of the road to Kōkilā. The plates were issued from the royal camp on the bank of the river Hiraṇyā on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the twentyfifth year, evidently of the reign of Pravarasēna II. The *Sēnāpati* Bāppadēva, mentioned in the last line, was probably the *dūtaka*. He is also mentioned in the Siwani plates of this Vākāṭaka king.[3] The scribe was Māradāsa.[4]

From the Paṭṭan plates published in this Journal,[5] we already know that Pravarasēna II ruled for at least twentyseven years. The present plates being issued in his twentyfifth regnal year do not make any addition to the reign-period of the king. The donee Rudrārya is styled *vishuva-vāchanaka* (reciter at a *vishuva*) which suggests that the grant was made on the occasion of a *vishuva* or equinox. The *vishuva* immediately preceding the date of the grant[6] was that of

[1] [The original gives the symbols for 100 followed by 4 evidently in the sense of 100 × 4 (=400). A different set of symbols for 400 is employed in *Gupta Inss.*, Pl. XXV, l. 78 and Pl. XXXVI(c), l. 1. Cf. the symbol for 600 where the symbol for 100 is followed by symbol for 6; Ojha's *Palaeography of India* (1918), Pl. LXXIV.—Ed.]

[2] The *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* gives *Lōhita* as the name of the *gōtra*.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 247.

[4] See below, p.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

[6] Lines 20—21 of the present plates state that the grant was made in the twentieth year, but this is probably a mistake. The writer seems to have omitted the word *pañcha* before *viṁśatima* in l. 20. It is unlikely that the grant remained unregistered for five years.

the Mēsha-saṅkrānti falling in Chaitra. The grant was evidently made to the Brāhmaṇa for reciting certain sacred texts on the occasion of the *vishuva* or Mēsha-saṅkrānti.[1]

The Supratishṭha *āhāra* in which the village Vēlusuka was situated is already known from two other Vākāṭaka charters, *viz.*, the Poona plates[2] of Prabhāvatīguptā and the Kōṭhūraka grant[3] of Pravarasēna II. Its location was uncertain until the discovery of the Kōṭhūraka grant. I have already shown in connection with the identification of the places mentioned in that grant that the *āhāra* roughly corresponded to the modern Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District. The present grant indicates that the *āhāra* extended a little southwards and comprised the northern parts of the Warorā and Yeotmāl *tahsils* of the Chāndā and the Yeotmāl Districts respectively. The village Vēlusuka in which the donated land was situated cannot now be traced, but it seems to have occupied the same position as modern Chiñchmaṇḍal which lies just on the south of the elbow of the Wunnā, for all the boundary villages mentioned in the present charter can be traced in the vicinity of it in the respective directions. Thus Gṛidhra-grāma is Gadeghāṭ about 8 miles to the west and Nīlī-grāma is Nīljai about 5 miles to the east of Chiñchmaṇḍal. Kadambasaraka is Kōsara about 2 miles to the north. Kōkilā is modern Khairi which lies about 4 miles to the north-west. The road from Mardi to Khairi passes by Chiñchmaṇḍal at a distance of only about a mile to the south. All the boundary villages can thus be satisfactorily identified in the vicinity of Chiñchmaṇḍal. It is again noteworthy that Chiñchmaṇḍal lies only about 5 miles to the south of Waḍgaon where the plates were found. The river Hiraṇyā is the modern Erai which flows from north to south in the Warorā *tahsil* and ultimately joins the Wardhā. Ēkārjunaka where the donee resided is probably Arjuni on the left bank of the Erai, about 16 miles north-east of Warorā, the chief town of the Warorā *tahsil*.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 [ओं][5] दृष्टं[ष्टम् ।*] हिरण्यानदि(दी)वामकादग्निष्टोम(मा)प्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्या(श्य)ति-

2 रात्रवाजपेयबृहप्स(स्प)तिसवसद्यःक्र[6][च*]तुरश्वमेधयाजिनः

3 विष्ण(ष्णु)वृ[द्ध]सगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[7] वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रि(श्री)प्रवरसेन-

4 स्य सूनोः सूनोरत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य श्रंस[भा][8]

5 रसन्निव(वे)शितशिवलि[ङ्गो]द्वहनशिवसुपर(रि)तुष्टसमुत्पादित[रा]-

6 जवंशाना(नां) पराक्क्रम(मा)धिगतभागि(गी)रत्थ्यमलजलमु(मू)र्द्ध(र्द्धा)भिषिक्तानां दशा-

7 श्वमेधा[व*]भृथस्नातानां भारशिवानां महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य

[1] Had this epithet not been used, the grant might have been supposed as made on the occasion of the Daśahara-*vrata* which is performed on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha. But it is doubtful if the *vrata* was in vogue as early as the fifth century A.D. [This may be only the donee's epithet and may have no reference to any recitation at any particular *vishu*.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 155 ff.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by a symbol which is imperfectly incised. Perhaps they are imperfectly incised symbols of the sun and the moon.

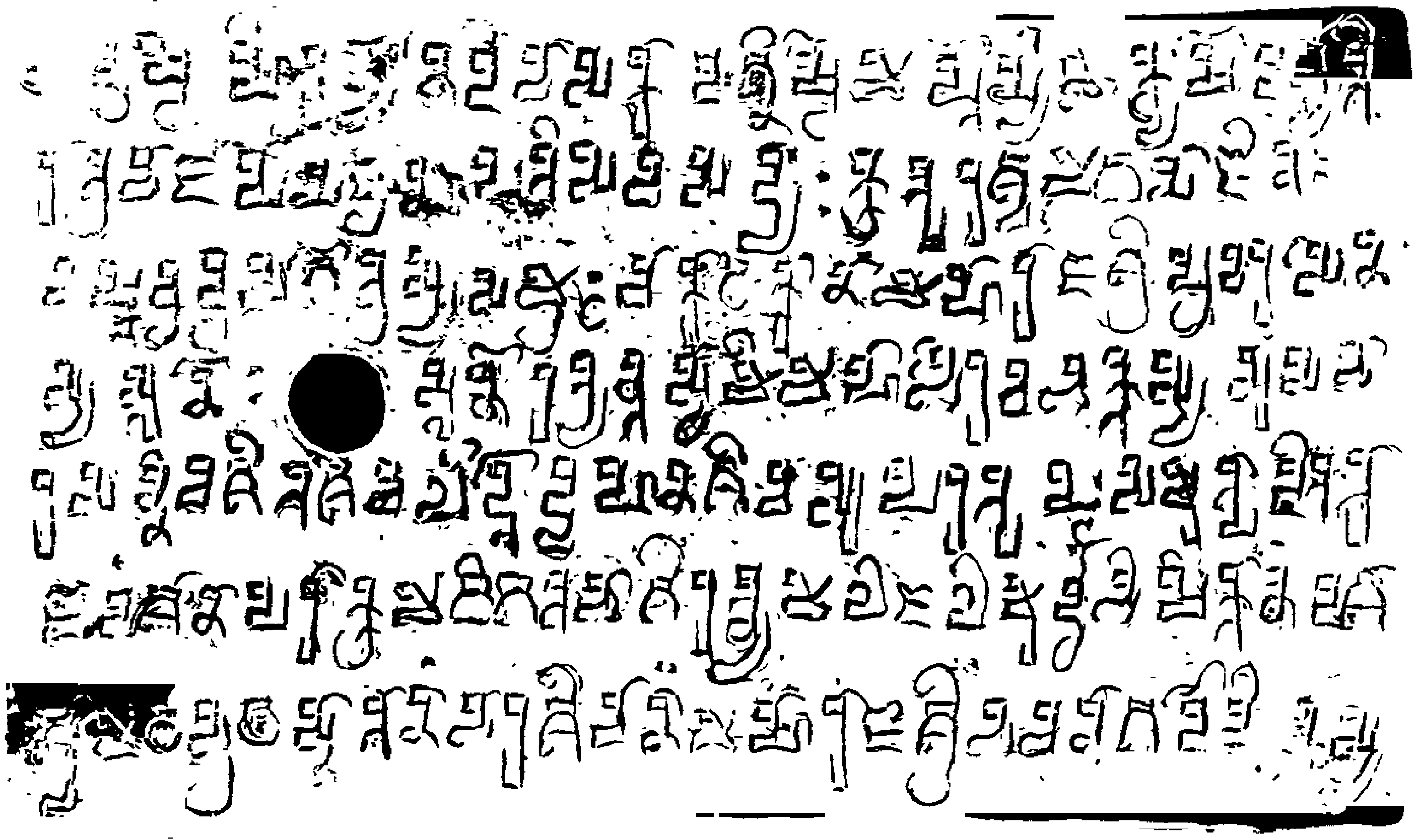
[6] Read *Sādyaskra*—.

[7] Read *samrājō*

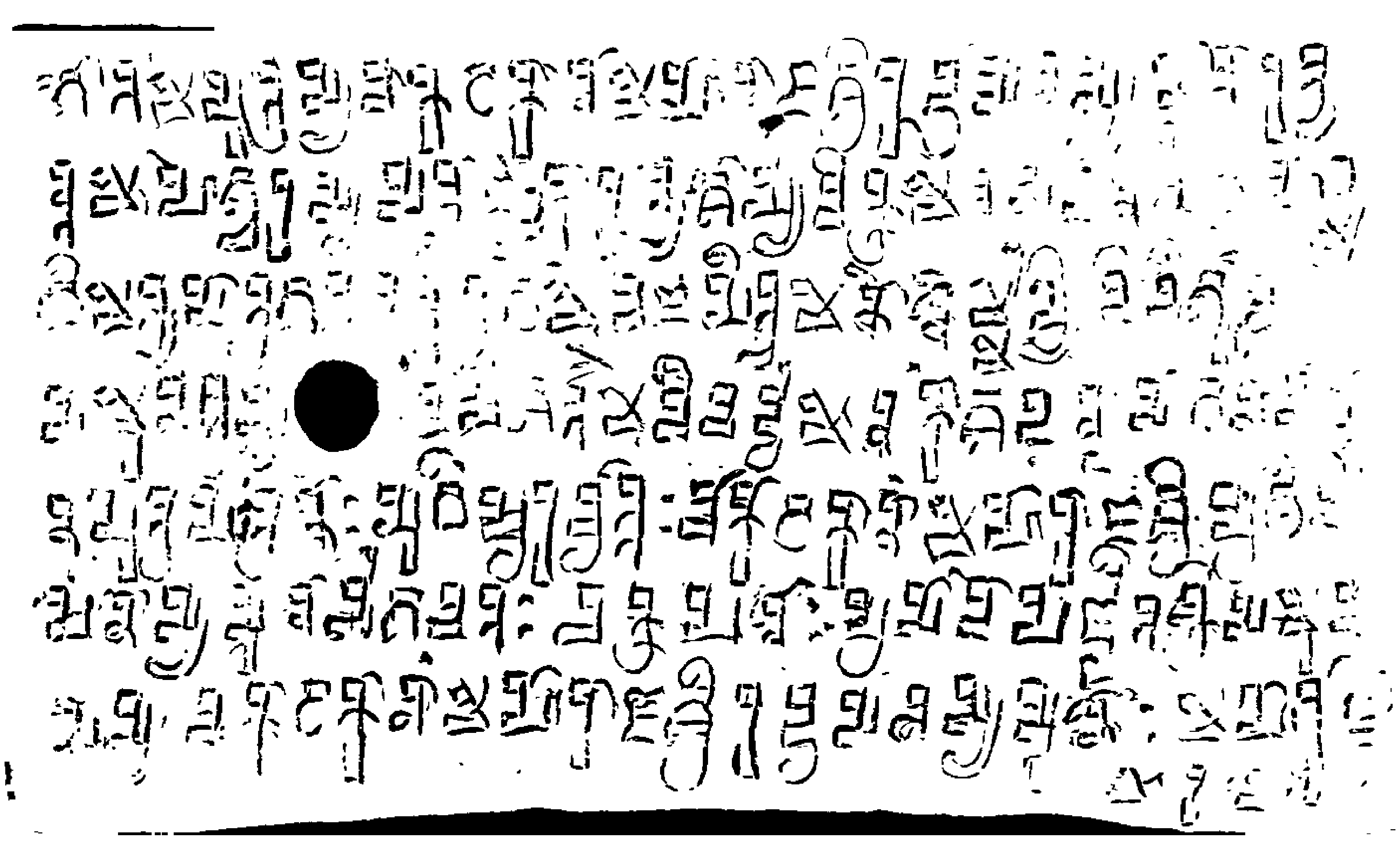
[8] The engraver at first incised *chā* which he later on changed into *bhā*

WADGAON PLATES OF VAKATAKA PRAVARASENA II

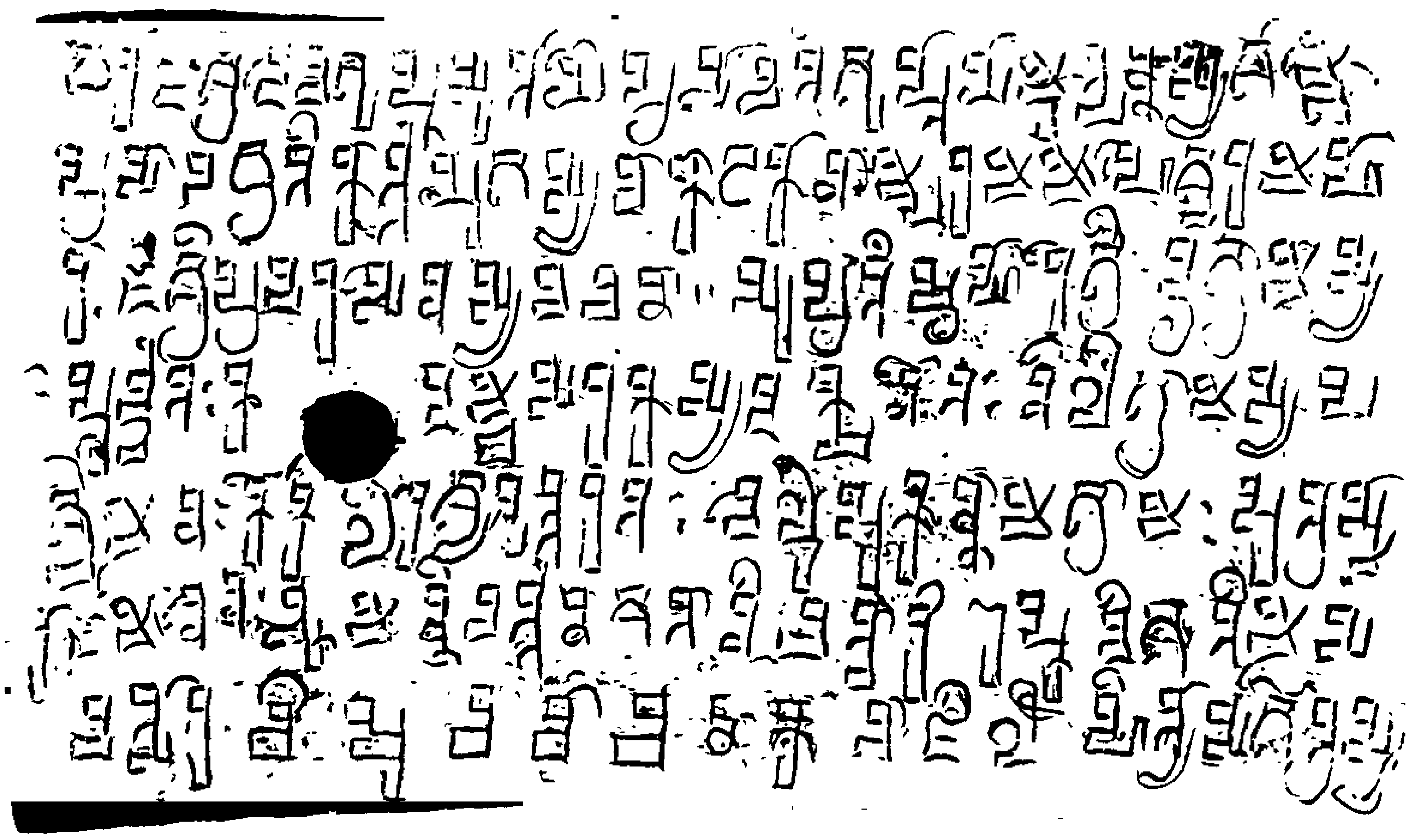
i.



ii.a.



ii.b.

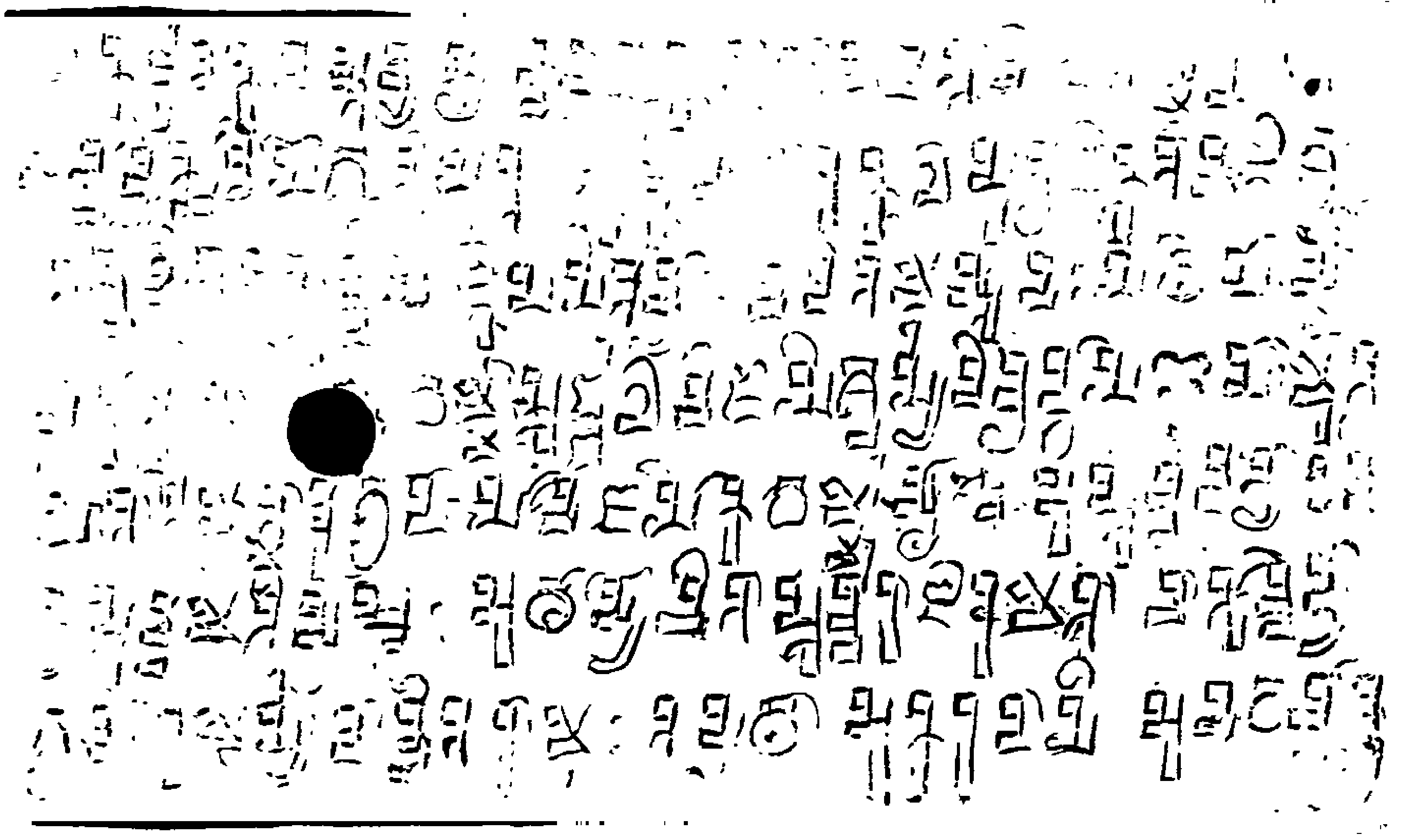


B. CH. CHHABRA

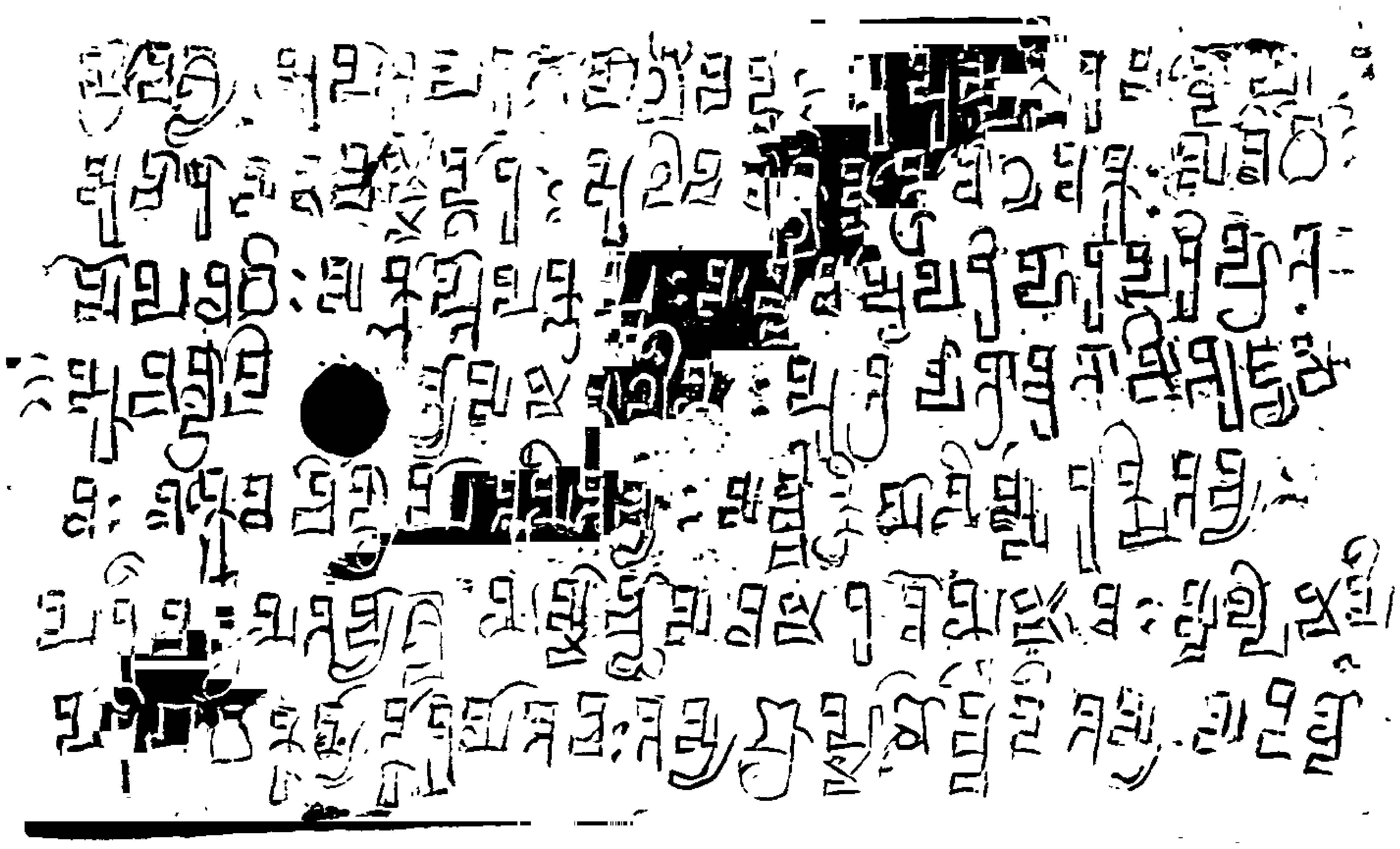
SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

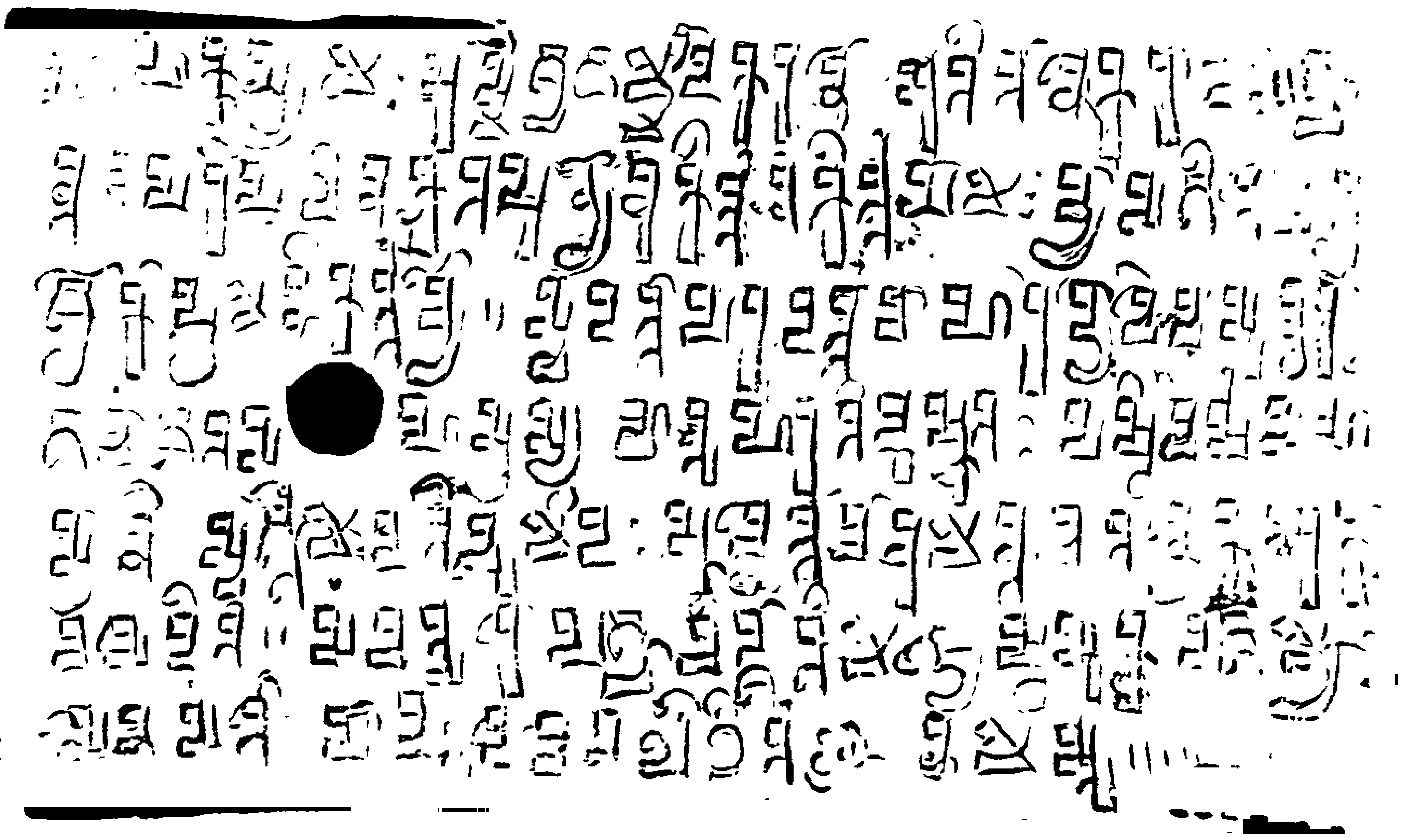
iii,a.



iii,b.



iv



Second Plate ; First Side

8 गौतमीपुत्रस्य वाक(का)टकाना(नां) महाराजश्रि(श्री) द्रसेनस्य सूनोरत्य-

9 न्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जव[1]कारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्कमनयविनयम(मा)हात्म्य-

10 धीमत्य(त्त्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधम्म(र्म्म)विजयी(यि)त्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिभोगु(भिर्गु)णैः

11 समुप(पे)तस्य वष(र्ष)शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डा(ण्ड)साधनसन्ता-

12 नपुत्रपौत्र(त्रि)णः युधीष्ठ(धिष्ठि)रवृत्तेः वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रि(श्री)पृथि[2]वी-

13 षेणस्य सूनोर्भगवतः चक्कप(पा)णेः प्रसादोप(पा)र्ज्जितश्रि[3](श्री)समुद-

14 यस्य व(वा)काटकानां महाराजश्रीर(रु)द्रस(से)नस्य सूनोः महाराजा[4]-

Second Plate ; Second Side

15 धिराजा(ज)श्रि(श्री)देवगुप्तसुतायो(यां) प्रभावतीगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शा(श)म्भो[:*]

16 प्रसादधृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य[5] वाकाटकानाम्परममाहे(हे)श्वरमहा-

17 राजं(ज)श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] ॥ सुप्रतिष्ठहारे[6] ग्रिद्[7]ग्रामस्य

18 [8]पूर्व्वतः कदम्बसरकस्य [द]क्ष(क्षि)णतः नीलीग्रामस्य प-

19 श्चिमेनः(मतः) कोकिलार[श्य](थ्याया)[9] उत्तरतः वेलुसु[क]ग्राम ग्रामः अत्रस्मा[10]

20 राजमानेनः[11] भूम(मे)न्नि(र्न्नि)वर्त्तनशतानी(नि) चत्वारि ४०० वीशतीम[12] सं-

21 वत्सरे विषुववाचनक[13] वाजी[14] लोहित्या(त्य)सगोत्रस्य[15]

Third Plate ; First Side

22 एकार्जुनकव(वा)स्तव्यस्य[15] द्विवेदरुद्राय्या(र्य्या)य दत्तानि [।*] यतोस्मत्सन्तकाः

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[1] This *akshara* which was at first omitted, has been inserted in a smaller form.

[2] The medial *ī* of this *akshara* has been subsequently shortened.

[3] The engraver at first incised *kri* and subsequently changed it into *śri*.

[4] Just below this word the *aksharas mārodī(dā)s[ī]* have been incised, but their proper place seems to be after *Bāppadēvī* in l. 42 below.

[5] Read—*prasāda-dhṛita-kārttayugasya*.

[6] Read *Supratishṭh-āhārē* as in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā (above, Vol. XV, p. 41) and the Kōthūraka grant of Pravarasēna II (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 160).

[7] The correct form should be *Gṛidhra-grāmasya*.

[8] Just before this *akshara* there is the numerical symbol for 2 denoting the number of the plate.

[9] [Perhaps the intended reading is Kōkilārasya.—Ed.]

[10] Perhaps *ētasmād* was intended. [Or perhaps *atratya* was intended.—Ed.]

[11] This *visarga* is redundant.

[12] Read *viṁśatitamē*. It is perhaps a mistake for *pañchaviṁśatitamē*. See that the regnal year mentioned in l. 41 below is the twentyfifth.

[13] These seven *aksharas* are of a larger size and have been incised over others which were carefully beaten in.

[14] Read *Vājasanēya*. [It is possible that there was a *gōtra* of the name Vājilōhitya though not commonly known now.—Ed.]

[15] Read *Lōhitya-sagōtrāya* and *-vāstavyāya* so as to make them agree with *Rudrāryāya* mentioned further on in l. 22.

23 सर्व्वाध्यि (ध्य) क्ष[नि]योग[1] नियुक्ताः आज्ञासञ्चार (रि) कुलपुत्राधिकृता भजा (टा) श्छ (श्छा) -

24 त्र (त्रा) श्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वय[2]ज्ञापयितव्याः [।*] विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्मा-

25 भिरात्मनो धर्म्मायू (यु) र्ब्बलविजयि (यै) श्वर्य्य[वि]वृद्धये इहामुत्र-

26 ही (हि) तार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या (त्त्या) [उ]द-

27 कपूर्व्वमती (ति) सृष्टः[3] [।*] अथारयोच्चिता[4] पूर्व्वराजानुमता[5] चातुर्व्वै (र्व्वै) द्या-

28 ग्रहारमर्य्यादा[6] न्वितरामः [।*] तद्यथा अकरदायी अभटच्छात्र-

Third Plate; Second Side

29 प्रावेश्यः अपारंपरगोबलीवर्द्दः अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोहः

30 अचारासनचर्म्माङ्गारः अलवणक्ली (क्लि) न्नक्रे[ण](णि) खनकः सनि[धिः]

31 सोपन (नि) धिः सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः सर्व्ववे (वि) ष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः

32 [7]आचन्द्रादित्या (त्य) समकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रा[नु][ता] (गा) मि (मी) भुज्यमा-

33 नः न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्यः सर्व्वक्रियाभिस्संरक्षितव्यः

34 परी (रि) वर्द्धय (यि) तव्याश्च[8] [।*] यस्मा[9] च्छासनमरणयमानः स्वल्पामपी (पि)

35 परिबाधा (धां) कुर्य्यात्कारयात वः[10] तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वदी (दि) तस्य सदण्डां (ण्डं)

Fourth Plate

36 निग्रह (हं) कुय्यमः[11] [।] अस्मिश्च[12] धर्म्माद[र*]करणे अतीतानेकराजसञ्चि-

37 त्तनपरिप (पा) लन (नं) कृतपुण्यनुकीर्त्तिनं[13] कीर्त्तियामः [।*] व्यासगीतो[14] चात्र

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[1] The *akshara sā* which was incised below the right limb of *ya* has been beaten in.

[2] Read *viśruta-pūrvvay=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyāḥ*.

[3] This should qualify a word like *grāmaḥ*; but the drafter of the record forgot that the object of the grant in this charter was only four hundred *nivartanas* of land, not the whole village.

[4] Read—*sy=ōchitām*

[5] Read—*rāj-ānumatām*.

[6] Read—*maryyādām vitarāmaḥ*.

[7] Just before this word there is a symbol for 3, denoting the number of the plate.

[8] Read *parivarddhayitavyaś=cha*

[9] Read *Yō=smach-chhāsanam=apanayamānaḥ*

[10] Read *kārayēd=vā*.

[11] Read *kuryyāma*.

[12] Read *asmiṁś=cha*

[13] Read *kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrttana-parihārāya na* as in the Tirodi plates, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 173.

[14] Read *gītau*.

38 श्रोका[1] प्रमासि कर्त्तव्यौ[2] ॥ स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्तां वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धराम् [।*]

39 गवां शतसहस्रस्य हतु[3] र्हरति दुष्कृत(तम्) ॥[१॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसह-

40 स्रानि(णि) स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्त(न्ता) च त(ता)न्येक(व) नरका(के)-

41 वसेदिति(सेत् ॥२॥ इति) ॥ संवत्सरे पञ्चवीङ्शातीम[4] ज्येष्ठसुक्लदशम्याः[5]

42 सेन(ना)स(प)तौ बा[प्प][6] देवे न[7] लीखीतं[8] (०) [[9]ञ्च] मस्तु ॥

No. 17.—NOTE ON VIJAYADITYA'S GRANT OF SAKA 653

G. H. KHARE, POONA

Mr. S. C. Upadhyaya has edited a copper-plate grant of the Western Chālukya king Vijayāditya, dated Śaka 653, in this journal Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff. He did not, however, decipher the portion of its text concerning the village granted and the specification of its boundaries. Mr. N. L. Rao, in footnote 3, p. 21, has rightly deciphered the portion in question ; but the localities have been left unidentified. I have attempted below to identify them.

The following place-names occur in the grant. Navasāri : name of the *vishaya* in which Tēllādāhāra was included. Tēllāda name of the *āhāra* in which the village granted was situated. Tārā[va]dra . name of the village granted Kōñchaütthā, Tēllāda, Paḍhamatthāṇa, Vēsimā : names of villages by which the village granted was bounded. Of these Navasāri is too well-known to require any identification. Now, in the *Postal Village Directory of the Bombay Circle* published in 1902, the names of the following villages are found, with the details shown against them.

Village	Post Office	Tāluqa	District
Telāda	Navasāri . . .	Navasāri . . .	Baroda state
Kucheḍ	Sarbhon	Do.	Do.
Parthān	Vesma	Do.	Do
Vesma	Do.	Do.	Do.

These are evidently Tēllāda, Kōñchautthā Paḍhamatthāṇa and Vēsimā of the grant These places can be easily traced in maps also. If we take latitude 21° north and longitude 73°

---

[1] Read *ślōkau*.

[2] Read *pramāṇī-kartavyau* ; *si* appears to have been changed into *ni*.

[3] The superscript *n* of this *akshara* has been wrongly cancelled ; read *hantu* —

[4] Read *pañcha-viṁśatitamē*.

[5] Read *śukla-daśamyām*.

[6] The superscript letter of this conjunct, which was originally *h*, has been corrected into *p*.

[7] Read *Māradāsēna*. The *aksharas Māradāsē*, which were inadvertently omitted before *na* in this line, were afterwards incised in the lower right corner below l. 14 on the first side of the second plate. For a similar case of omitted *aksharas* being misplaced, see *-mūle dattam-iti* written in l. 13 instead of below l. 20 of the Indore plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 55.

[8] Read *likhitam*

[9] This *akshara* is superfluous. Read *Subham=astu*.

38 श्रोका[1] प्रमासि कर्त्तव्यौ[2] ॥ स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्तां वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धराम् [।*]

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[8] Read *likhitam*

[9] This *akshara* is superfluous. Read *Śubham=astu.*

The carving on the mountain of Nannan, the *Vāgai*, *kurangu* and *visaiyam* of his (Vēṇāvudaiyāṉ's) father Peruñjiṅga, is of great interest. It is a well known fact that kings and ruling chiefs of South India used to wear garlands made of (or golden garlands made in the shape of) the flowers of particular kinds of trees and had the emblems of some animals such as the tiger, fish, elephant, boar, etc. From clause (iii) noted above, we learn that the flower of the *Vāgai* tree was used by the Kāḍavarāyas of Kūḍal and that their banner contained 'Kuraṅgu', *i.e.*, the Monkey. The adoption of the Monkey in the banner is not novel. The epic hero Arjuna had Hanūmān on his banner. What is difficult to explain is the carving of *visaiyam*, which term means victory. Whether the chief engraved an inscription glorifying the deeds of valour of his father or simply carved his emblem in such a way as to give a subdued position to the emblems of the enemy kings overcome by him it is not possible to say with certainty. In the seals of the Chōḷa king, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, we see clearly that the tiger, the emblem of the Chōḷas, is given a more prominent place than the fish and the bow, which are the emblems of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra whom he had subdued. It is not unlikely that a similar device was made by Vēṇāvudaiyāṉ.

A genealogy covering all the members of the house of the Kāḍavarāyas of Kūḍal being a great desideratum, I shall discuss it below.

Two inscriptions[1] dated in Śaka 1108 (=A. D. 1186), discovered at Tiruveṇṇainallūr and Vṛddhāchalam, furnish the following genealogy :—

1. Vaḷandanār[2] *alias* Kāḍavarāyar
   |
2. Āṭkoḷḷiyār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar
   |
   - 3. Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ Kāḍavarāyaṉ (conqueror of the four quarters)
   - 4. Araśanārāyaṇaṉ Kachchiya-rāyaṉ *alias* Kāḍavarāyaṉ
     |
     5. Āḷappirandāṉ Vīraśēkharaṉ *alias* Kāḍavarāyaṉ.

A few other inscriptions of the Madras Epigraphical collection also refer to some of these chiefs and enable us to know the time when they lived, the full names and titles they bore, and the part they played in the political history of the country. They also mention other members whose names are not included in the above pedigree. To know the complete genealogy and history of the family, these inscriptions are useful. In inscription No. 111 of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa dated in the 3rd year of his reign, figures a chief called Mōgan Āṭkoḷḷi *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla-Kāḍavarāyaṉ, who made a gift of his *pāḍikāval* rights on certain lands to the temple of Tirumāṇikuḻi. As mention is made in the inscription of two villages called Tiruppērambalamponmēyndaperumāḷnallūr and Edirilśōlanallūr almost in the same words as found in another inscription[3] of Kulōttuṅga II discovered in the same place, we are enabled to ascribe both the records to the same Chōḷa sovereign. The year of the inscription is thus equivalent to

[1] No. 74 of 1918 and No. 463 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection (See *A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras for 1918, p. 130, and for 1922, p. 107.)

[2] The name is given as Valandāndār in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 24. But *A. R.* for 1918, (p. 130) has only Vaḷandanar.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII., No. 780.

A. D. 1135-6. This is the earliest reference that we have to this family. The Kāḍavarāya herein referred to is no doubt identical with (2) Āṭkoḷḷiyār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar of the above genealogy. It is worthy of note that the chief Āṭkoḷḷi bore the title Mōgan and had the surname Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kāḍavarāyan. A second reference to this chief is found in an inscription[1] of Kōpperuñjiṅga dated in the 11th year of reign. It states that in the 12th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājarājadēva, a tax-free gift of land was made by Āṭkoḷḷi Kāḍavarāyan for offerings and worship to an image which he had set up in the temple of Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ at Tiruveṇṇainallūr for being blessed with a son. That the Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājarāja, in whose twelfth year the grant was made, is the second king of that name and not the third, is assured from the fact revealed in Inscription II which belongs to the 7th year of Kōpperuñjiṅga which speaks of the pulling down of the *śrīvimāna* of the temple of Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ that had become dilapidated, of its reconstruction in the 29th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, and of the re-engraving of the older inscription on the new structure. The date of the chief's gift is thus A. D. 1158 corresponding to the 12th year of Rājarāja II. From the two references cited here it will be seen that Āṭkoḷḷi Kāḍavarāyan continued to live from A. D. 1135 to 1158. At Grāmam in the South Arcot District, there is an inscription[2] dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājarājadēva which registers a gift by Mōgan Āḷappirandāṉ *alias* Anapāya Kāḍavarāyan. As Anapāya is a surname of Kulōttuṅga II and as Mōgan has been noted above to be a title of Āṭkoḷḷi Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kāḍavarāyan, the chief that figures here may be identified with him without any difficulty, Rājarāja II being the immediate successor of Kulōttuṅga II. The date of this record is A. D. 1148. The full name of this chief is thus Mōgan Āḷappirandān Āṭkoḷḷi *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa (or Anapāya) Kāḍavarāyan.

From the fact that Āṭkoḷḷi Kāḍavarāyan figures in the records of Kulōttuṅga II and his successor Rājarāja II from A. D. 1135 onwards, it may be concluded that his father Vaḷandanār must have been a contemporary of Vikrama-Chōla (A. D. 1118-1135).

In the genealogy, No. 2 Āṭkoḷḷi Kāḍavarāyaṉ is said to have had two sons, *viz.* No. 3 Ēḻiśaimōgan Kāḍavarāyan, the conqueror of the four quarters (*Nāludikkumveṉṟāṉ*) and No. 4 Araśanārāyaṇan Kachchiyarāyan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan. Four inscriptions, Nos. VI, V, IV and 137 of 1900, which belong to the reign of Kulōttuṅga II, dated respectively in the 7th, 12th, 13th and 15th years, speak of gifts made by these two chiefs, the earlier two inscriptions referring to the younger Araśanārāyaṇan and the later two referring to the elder Ēḻiśaimōgan. Though all the names and surnames of these two chiefs look more like titles than real names, yet the inscriptions which mention them seem to distinguish the two by calling the elder by the names Ēḻiśaimōgan and Kāḍavarāyan and the younger by the names Araśanārāyaṇan and Kachchiyarāyan. The inscriptions are of importance as they belong to the very time when the chiefs flourished and furnish the various titles borne by them, which titles, it may be noted, do not find mention in the genealogy given above; besides, they also refer to the numerous gifts which the chiefs had made. These inscriptions confirm the relationship that is said to have existed between them. Inscription No. VI belonging to the 7th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga II comes from Tirunāmanallūr in the South Arcot District. It registers a gift made by Paḷḷi Āḷappirandān Mōgan *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kachchiyarāyan of Kūḍalūr in Peruganūr-nāḍu to the temple of Tiruttoṇḍīśvaramuḍaiyār. Among the articles of gift one silver *kachchoḷkkōram* called after the name Araśanārāyaṇan and weighing 224 *kalañju*, and one bell-metal dish called after Āḷappirandān and weighing 200 *palam* are noteworthy. The costly gold and silver articles presented by the chief and the assignment of the income of *pāḍikāval* accruing from two entire villages testify to the wealth and power of the chief. It is specially worthy of note that two of the articles

[1] No. 486 of 1921.

[2] No. 181 of 1906.

bore the names Araśanārāyaṇaṉ and Āḷappirandāṉ. The twelfth year record, *i.e.*, Inscription No. V, comes from Tiruvadi and registers the assignment of incomes arising from *pāḍikāval* and other taxes from Kaṇṇamaṅgalam, Māṇmallūr, Koṭṭiḷampākkam and Toruppāḍi of Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāḍu, Kāṭṭupākkam of Ānāṅgūr-nāḍu, besides some other lands in Ādirājamaṅgalliya-puram, for worship and offerings to the temple of Tiruvīraṭṭānam-Uḍaiyār at Tiruvadi, by Paññāgamuttayan-Āḷappirandāṉ Araśanārāyaṇaṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kachchiyarāyaṉ of Kūḍalūr. It is significant that all the villages herein mentioned are stated to have formed part of what fell to the share of the chief. At the end of the record it is stated that the gift made by him will not be rescinded by his elder brother or by the other members of the family. From the record under reference it is evident that the two brothers were living amicably, having received from their father, who was then living, the right to the incomes of certain villages. From these two inscriptions we learn that the full name and title of this chief was Paḷḷi Āḷappirandāṉ Paññāgamuttaraiyan Araśanārāyaṇaṉ Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa Kachchiyarāyan and that he had an elder brother who appears to be none other than Ēliśaimōgan. More direct information regarding the relationship of the two chiefs is furnished in an inscription[1] of Tiruveṇṇai-nallūr which states that Kūḍal Āḷappirandān Araśanārāyaṇan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan made a gift of certain taxes leviable on certain temple lands to the temple itself, for the welfare of the donor, his elder brother Āḷappirandāṉ Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ *alias* Kāḍavarāyan and his family.

It has been stated above that two inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga II mention Ēḷiśaimōgan. One of these, Inscription No. IV, dated in the 13th year, which is left unfinished seems to register the assignment of the chief's income consisting of taxes including *pāḍikāval* accruing from the villages that belonged to him to the temple of Tiruvadi for worship and offerings. The chief is styled Paññāgamuttaraiyan Āḷappirandān Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa Kāḍavarāyaṉ of Kūḍalūr in Peruganūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu. The villages from which he was deriving taxes, *viz.* Śiṟuvāgūr, Dēvanūr and Kīl-Kumāramaṅgalam are stated to be situated in the same Peruganūr-nāḍu. In the second inscription,[2] which is dated two years later and which comes from Vṛiddhāchalam the chief bears all the above names and titles except Paññāgamuttaraiyan. Here he is said to have built a pavilion for the *mahāsnapana* of the god and called it Ēliśaimōgan-tirumaṇḍapam. The dates of these two inscriptions are A. D. 1146 and 1148. From the fact that this chief Ēliśaimōgan Kāḍavarāyaṉ is said, in the verse-inscriptions to have conquered the four quarters, we are enabled to assign to his time two other inscriptions[3] dated in the 6th year of Parakēsarivarman Rājarāja (A. D. 1152). In both, the chief is styled Kūḍal Āḷappirandān Mōgan *alias* Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan, and in one of them he gets the attribute *Nāludikkumveṉṟāṉ*. From these[4] two records we learn that the surname Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa Kāḍavarāyan, which he bore in the 13th and 15th year records of Kulōttuṅga II, had been changed into Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan in the subsequent reign. This chief, Āḷappirandāṉ Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa Kāḍavarāyan, is reported to have made a gift of *pāḍikāval* and other incomes from certain villages for worship in the temple of Tirumuṭ-ṭamuḍaiya-Mahādēva at Śrīmushṇam in the sixth year of Rājarāja II (*i.e.*, A. D. 1152) for the merit of himself and his descendants.[5] The same chief figures in an 8th year record[6] (A. D. 1154) of Rājarāja II, and seems also to be referred to in an inscription[7] of the 10th year (A. D. 1156) of the same king.

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[1] No. 423 of 1921.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 150 (137 of 1900).
[3] Nos. 166 and 170 of 1906.
[4] No. 170 of 1906.
[5] No. 232 of 1916.
[6] No. 375 of 1902.
[7] No. 307 of 1910.

No. 5 Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappiṟandāṉ Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ, son of Araśanārāyaṇan Kachchiyarāyan figures in two inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III dated in the 9th[1] and 13th[2] years of reign. The name Vīraśēkhara, like Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa, Aṇapāya and Rājarāja, prefixed to Kāḍavarāyan might indicate the name or surname of the chief's Chōḷa overlord. And since we know that Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ figures only in inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III, there is every possibility of Vīraśēkhara being the surname of this Chōḷa king. In this connection it is worth noting that a lithic record with the introduction *vīramē tuṇai* found at Puttali in the Chingleput District, dated in the 2nd year of reign, actually gives Kulōttuṅga the surname Vīraśēkhara.[3] This king must, therefore, be Kulōttuṅga III and not Kulōttuṅga II as had been tentatively assumed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1922-23.

So far, we have noticed the inscriptions which mention the several members of the pedigree furnished in the two verse-inscriptions relating to the Kāḍava chiefs of Kūḍal. We may now consider who the other members of the family were. A record of Siddhaliṅgamaḍam[4] states that Ēḷiśaimōgan *alias* Jananātha Kachchiyarāyan was the son of Āḷappiṟandāṉ Araśanārāyaṇan of Kūḍalūr. This record is dated in the 6th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vīrarājēndra, *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga III (A. D. 1183-4). Since we know that Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappiṟandāṉ of Kūḍalūr was No. 4, the younger son of Ātkolli, it is clear that Jananātha Kachchiyarāyan must have been the latter's son. As Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ was also a son of this Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappiṟandān *alias* Kachchiyarāyan, it is evident that they were brothers. And since Jananātha Kachchiyarāyan figures in two inscriptions, one dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III[5] (A. D. 1181) and the other in the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II[6] (A. D. 1171) he has to be regarded as the older of the two. There are also a few other records[7] which mention him. From all these we learn that his full name was Kūḍalūr Araśanārayaṇan Ēḷiśaimōgan *alias* Jananātha Kachchiyarāyan. His dates range from A. D. 1171 to 1183-4.

Two inscriptions[8] state that a certain Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar also called Vīrai-Vīran Kāḍavarāyar, conquered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. In both of them he is stated to be the son of Āḷappiṟandāṉ *alias* Kāḍavarāyar. But in one,[9] the additional information that his father was also called Ēḷiśaimōgan is furnished. The full name of the father of Pallavāṇḍār as obtained from the inscriptions is Kūḍal Āḷappiṟandān Ēḷiśaimōgan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan. As such, his identity with No. 3, the first son of Ātkolli is assured. One of these records which comes from Attī[10] in North Arcot District states that Pallavāṇḍār killed a large number of his enemies at Sēvūr[11] and created mountains of dead bodies and swelling rivers of blood. Another verse in the same epigraph adds that Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam conquered by Pallavāṇḍār included in it Peṇṇai-nāḍu and Vaḍa-Vēṅgaḍam.

Other Kāḍava chiefs of Kūḍal known from inscriptions are (*a*) Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ and his son Kāḍavarāyar, (*b*) Mahārājasimha, the son of Jīvamahīpati and Śīlavatī, and (*c*) Kōpperuñjiṅga. There is not much in the names of these chiefs to admit of their identification with the members

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 1011.

[2] See Inscription VII below.

[3] No. 156 of 1923.

[4] No. 413 of 1909.

[5] No. 165 of 1902 ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 209.

[6] No. 47*b* of 1903.

[7] No. 157 of 1906, No. 391 of 1921, and No. 99 of 1934-5.

[8] No. 187 of 1932-3, and No. 296 of 1912.

[9] No. 187 of 1932-3.

[10] No. 296 of 1912 and *A. R.* 1913, p. 117.

[11] Sēvūr is probably the present Mēḷ-Sēvūr in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District, *Ibid.*

noticed already. Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ figures in a number of inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III ranging in date from A. D. 1191[1] to about 1213.[2] In these inscriptions he is found to bear the titles and epithets Ēḷisaimōgan, Vāṇilaikaṇḍaperumāḷ, Achalakulōttamaṇ, Āṭkoṇḍanāyaṇ and Aḻagiyapallavan. A record[3] of the 28th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III gives this Kāḍava chief the surname Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan. It may be noted that there is no room for confounding this Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan with the earlier one of the same surname who was a brother of Araśanārāyaṇan Kachchiyarāyan, for with the former are associated many of the clearly distinguishing epithets of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ noticed above. Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ seems to be the first chief of the family to assert his independence and to issue records in his own name. So far, only a single inscription dated in the 5th year of the chief's reign[4] has been found. It gives him the title Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Since he held a subordinate position under the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III till about A. D. 1213 it is fairly certain that he should have thrown off the Chōḷa yoke only after that date. A point of interest is that Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ is said in a record of Kulōttuṅga III to have belonged to Kūḍal in Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāḍu[5] in Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu, whereas the earlier members are said to have hailed from a Kūḍal in Peruganūr-nāḍu. This difference deserves to be remembered

There is not much doubt as regards the identity of Mahārājasiṁha with Kōpperuñjiṅga. In fact, the first is only a Sanskrit rendering of the second. Inscriptions of Mahārājasiṁha are found at Tripurāntakam[6] and Drākshārāma.[7] While the Tripurāntakam inscription is not dated, the Drākshārāma record bears the date Śaka 1184 (A. D. 1262) and both the Tripurāntakam and the Drākshārāma inscriptions contain identical and characteristic titles or *birudas* which make it impossible to differentiate one Mahārājasiṁha from another. The highest regnal year discovered so far for Kōpperuñjiṅga is 36 which takes his reign up to A. D. 1279.[8] And the earliest mention of him as a chief is made in a record of the 11th year of Rājarāja III (A. D. 1230),[9] wherein one of his military officers figures as donor of a gift. From the Tiruvēndipuram inscription[10] of Rājarāja III, dated in the 16th year of reign it is learnt that just before A. D. 1232 the Chōḷa king had been captured and kept in prison by Kōpperuñjiṅga. Thus the earliest clear reference to Kōpperuñjiṅga and his activities are only found in inscriptions dated between the year 1230 and 1232, though his name has been incidentally brought in in an inscription[11] of A. D. 1213 of the time of Kulōttuṅga III while mentioning his mother who figures in that record. This early reference to Kōpperuñjiṅga can only indicate that he lived to a considerable age like Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Pallava dynasty and Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga of the Eastern Gaṅga line.

The pretty long reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga from A. D. 1212-3 to 1279 and his figuring in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of A. D. 1232 as well as in another of Rājarāja III two years earlier may lead one to enquire if there was only one king of the name or more than one. This question had been taken up by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya[12] whose finding was that the Mahārāja

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[1] Inscription No. VIII, below.

[2] A. D. 1207, *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 317; A. D. 1211, No. 63 of 1919.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 146 (No. 133 of 1900)

[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 221.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 146.

[6] Nos. 187, 198, 202 of 1905.

[7] No. 419 of 1893.

[8] Nos. 456, 487 of 1902; 370 of 1908 and 104 of 1934-5.

[9] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 149.

[10] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 161ff.

[11] No. 487 of 1921.

[12] *A. R. on Ep.* for 1906, pp. 63-4.

simha of the Sanskrit inscriptions and Kōpperuñjiṅga of the Tamil inscriptions are identical and are not different from the Kōpperuñjiṅga referred to in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription. According to him Kōpperuñjiṅga's father, Jīyamahīpati was identical with Aḷagiyaśīyan. Mr. Venkayya cites three inscriptions where the name Aḷagiyaśīyan Avaniyāḷappirandān Kōpperuñjiṅga occurs and states that in them the name Aḷagiyaśīyan is found prefixed to that of Avaniyāḷappirandān Kōpperuñjiṅga. Aḷagiyaśīyan and Kōpperuñjiṅga have been taken as names and Avaniyāḷappirandān as a title. Students of epigraphy know that in double names the first denotes the name of the father while the second is the name of the son. Mr. Venkayya, it may be noted, has not identified Jīyamahīpati with Aḷagiyaśīyan Kōpperuñjiṅga; he has only equated it with the first part Aḷagiyaśīyan of this double name. It will be unjust to foist on Venkayya a conclusion which he had not arrived at, nay, which he was positively against. Though the credit of having raised the question whether there was only one king or more than one of the name Kōpperuñjiṅga is due to Mr. Venkayya, he has not suggested or postulated that there might have been two Kōpperuñjiṅgas related to one another as father and son and that the younger has perhaps to be identified with Mahārājasimha of the Tripurāntakam inscription. Mr. Venkayya has assigned the Tripurāntakam, Drākshārāma and four Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscriptions to one Kōpperuñjiṅga whose attitude to the Chōḷas in times earlier than the date of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription, is expressed in the epithet 'the sun to the lotus tank of the Chōḷa family'.

Two of the inscriptions found in the Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr are of importance as they afford hints regarding the relationship that existed between Kōpperuñjiṅga and Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ. One of them,[1] which is not dated in any king's reign, tells us that the mother of a Kāḍavarāyan presented the image of Alaga (Aḷagiya)-Pallava-Viṇṇagara-Emberumān that its shrine, after the death of Kāḍavarāyan's father Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ, had been neglected and allowed to go into ruin; and that Kāḍavarāyan repaired it and gave some lands for its upkeep. There is every possibility that the image Aḷagiya-Pallava-Viṇṇagara-Emberumān was called after the name of the husband of the lady that consecrated it. If this is the case, Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ should have borne the surname Aḷagiya-Pallavan, and it may be noted that we have already found that Aḷagiya-Pallavan was one of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ's surnames. The other inscription[2] is dated in the 35th year (A. D. 1213) of the reign of Tribhuvanavīradēva. It refers to the setting up of the image of the goddess Periyapiraṭṭiyār in the temple of Vaikuṇṭhattu-Emberumān by the mother of Aḷagiyapallavan Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva and to a gift of lands made to it by certain individuals. From the double name Aḷagiyapallavan Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva it might either be gathered that Kōpperuñjiṅga was the son of Aḷagiyapallavan or that he also had the surname Aḷagiyapallavan as suggested by Mr. Venkatasubba Ayyar.[3] It is very likely too that the Kāḍavarāyan mentioned in the former inscription, as being the son of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ *alias* Aḷagiyapallavan is not different from Peruñjiṅga.

The only relationship, which is not apparent and which is at the same time difficult to make out is that of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ with any of the members known so far. The fact which points to the unmistakable connection of Peruñjiṅga and his father Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ with the members of the Kāḍavarāya chiefs noted above, is that they belonged to Kūḍal or Kūḍalūr. Peruganūr-nāḍu was under the control of the two famous sons of Āṭkoḷḷiyār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar and was doubtless identical with Perugai which figures among the places that comprised the dominion of Vēṇāvuḍaiyān, the younger son of Kōpperuñjiṅga, as reported in Inscription No. I. It is also mentioned in another record of the same place as the native place of Āḷappirandān

[1] No. 484 of 1921.
[2] No. 487 of 1921.
[3] See above, Vol. XXIV, No. 6.

Aḷagiyasīyar.[1] All these, therefore, make it certain that Peruñjiṅga and his father came in the line of Āṭkoḷḷiyār, the son of Vaḷandanār.

The latest member mentioned in the pedigree is Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyan and the inscriptions which mention him are dated in A. D. 1186, 1187, 1189 and 1191.[2] But there are inscriptions of A. D. 1171, 1181, and 1183-4[3] which mention Jananātha Kachchiyarāyan, the elder brother of Vīraśēkharan Kāḍavarāyan and state that both were the sons of Araśanārāyaṇan Kachchiyarāyan. The genealogy provided by the verse-inscriptions omits the name Jananātha Kachchiyarāyan altogether though he was the elder of the two sons of Araśanārāyaṇan Kachchiyarāyan. The omission of the name is significant and the reason for the omission is not known. Was he left without any issue?

Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyan's successor was Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ. The earliest inscription which refers to him is Inscription No. VIII from Tiruvadi dated in the 13th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III (A. D. 1191) which is the last year so far known for Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyan. It registers the gift of an ornament (*ēkāvalli-vaḍam*) by Kūḍal Achalakulōttaman Āṭkoṇḍanāyakan Kāḍavarāyan. The title Achalakulōttamaṉ shows that the chief is identical with Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ. The other records[4] which mention him are dated in A. D. 1195, 1206, 1207 and 1211, all falling in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. In the first of them he is styled Kūḍal Ēliśaimōgan Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Vāṇilaikaṇḍān *alias* Kāḍavarāyan.[5] Here the epithet *Vāṇilaikaṇḍān* applied to him indicates that while he was yet a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III, he had achieved some military renown.[6] From the records of Kulōttuṅga III we learn that in or prior to A. D. 1197 corresponding to the 19th year of his reign,[7] he despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the North, and entered Kāñchī, when (his) anger abated, and levied tribute from the whole of the northern region. In the second record[8] he is called Ēḷiśaimōgan Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ *alias* Vāṇilaikaṇḍaperumāḷ *alias* Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan of Kūḍal in Kil-Āmūr a subdivision of Tirumunaippāḍi. It is particularly worthy of note that he was styled Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan even during the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. The third inscription[9] which is dated in the 29th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III calls him Kūḍal Achalakulōttaman Ēḷiśaimōgan Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ *alias* V[ā]ṇilaika[ṇ]ḍaperumāḷ *alias* Kāḍavarāyan.

The date of the chief's assumption of independence was certainly later than A. D. 1213, but how much later and how long he lived after that event are questions on which direct information is not at present forthcoming. That he was the first to throw off the Chōḷa yoke, there could be no doubt, as it is proved by an inscription issued in his own reign. It has been shown that he had a valiant son in Kōpperuñjiṅga whose accession took place in A. D. 1242-3. If he did pass away long before A. D. 1242-3 there is no reason why Kōpperuñjiṅga did not assume regal powers earlier than A. D. 1242-3 and from the date of his father's demise. That the Kūḍal chiefs had good cause to be dissatisfied with the Chōḷas is clear from the terms of a compact recorded in an inscription of A. D. 1189 (No. 251 of 1919) but they had to bide their time for taking final action against the emperor who kept the various subordinate chieftains well balanced, even though

[1] No. 511 of 1921.

[2] No. 74 of 1918; No. 1011 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII; No. 244 of 1934-5; and Inscription No. VII below.

[3] No. 47b of 1903; 165 of 1902; 157 of 1906; and 413 of 1909.

[4] No. 313 of 1902, 133 of 1900, 43 of 1903 and 63 of 1919, etc.

[5] No. 313 of 1902.

[6] See above, Vol. XXIV, No. 6.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 217, *Pudukotta Inscriptions* No. 164; *A. R.* for 1905, p. 53.

[8] No. 133 of 1900.

[9] No. 43 of 1903 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 317).

the dissensions among them, which were many, were allowed to continue. All things considered, it will be natural to suppose that Kōpperuñjiṅga's accession in A. D. 1242-3 synchronised with the end of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ's rule.

The signal defeat inflicted on the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga III in the closing years of his reign by the rising Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I caused the proud Chōḷa to beg for his crown and kingdom.[1] It was then perhaps that the Kāḍava played the part of the *sūtradhāra* in the dramatic action resulting in the establishment of the Pāṇḍya kingdom (*Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*).[2] A feeble attempt was made by the successor of Kulōttuṅga III, *i.e.*, the effeminate Rājarāja III, which only resulted in the establishment of the Karṇāṭa in between the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya territories in about A. D. 1222 and gave occasion for Narasiṁha II to assume the title *Chōḷa-rājya-sthāpanāchārya*. The events that led to the imprisonment of the Chōḷa emperor or, in other words, those that favoured the rise of the Kāḍava as an independent power are clearly readable in the history that followed the crushing defeat of Kulōttuṅga III at the fag end of his reign.

The principal power against whom Rājarāja III wanted to fight in the early years of his reign after the demise of his father, was the Pāṇḍya. It is to be noted also that the Kāḍava is not stated anywhere as having been an enemy of the Chōḷa king at the time. On the other hand there was a conflict in A. D. 1222-23 between the Kāḍava and the Yādava chief Vīranarasiṁha in which it was the Kāḍava that was defeated. Narasiṁha II marched against Śrīraṅgam and succeeded in establishing an outpost at Kaṇṇanūr to checkmate the Pāṇḍya; and the Kāḍava rising against the Chōḷa authority was yet in the future. The Kāḍava rising probably followed immediately after Rājarāja's defiance of the Pāṇḍyas. There is nothing to preclude the possibility of an independent enmity between the Hoysaḷa and the Kāḍava as well as between many other chiefs of the time. A record of Narasiṁha II dated in A. D. 1223 says "Why describe his forcible capture of Adhyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara, and the powerful Kāḍavas? Rather describe how he lifted up the Chōḷa, brought under his orders all the land as far as Sētu".[3] The first interrogatory included in it some chiefs who were not at feud with the Chōḷa.

The Kāḍava who is said to have been wounded by the Yādava Vīranarasiṁha and to have been captured by the Hoysaḷa is in all likelihood Vāṇilaikaṇḍān Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ.

By about A. D. 1222-3, the Kāḍavarāya who was considered powerful by Narasiṁha II, must have made an attempt to become independent and was put down by the Hoysaḷa king. It is needless to say that both the attempts were undertaken on behalf of the Chōḷa. But the Kāḍava was not so easily to be baffled. In the cause of his father Peruñjiṅga made a stronghold at Śēndamaṅgalam for his military operations, and commenced war against him. His Vailūr inscription[4] tells us that he 'conquered the Chōḷa king at Teḷḷāṟu, deprived (him) of all (royal) insignia (and after) imprisoning the Chōḷa (king) took the Chōḷa country'. Another verse in the same record states that his 'prison-house was the abode of the lord of Ponni, *i.e.*, Rājarāja III, of his wife and of his ministers'. Speaking of the excellence of his army the record says that his invincible army fought with the army of Kannaḍar 'who knew no retreat'. Even allowing for poetic excesses, there could be no doubt of Peruñjiṅga's having captured and kept Rājarāja III in prison along with his wife and some ministers at Teḷḷāṟu. It is not unlikely that the Chōḷa king escaped or was let off from prison under some conditions and was for a second time imprisoned at Śēndamaṅgalam. The details of what followed the second imprisonment of the emperor are narrated in the Tiruvēndipuram record of

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Cn. 203.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 180.

Rājarāja III. It must be somewhere about this time, probably soon after the Teḷḷāru battle, that Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ became king and reigned perhaps for a decade.

In the Tiruvēndipuram inscription we find the Chōḷa or Hoysaḷa version of a part of the success of the enemies of Peruñjiṅga. It was a single episode in a long struggle. In Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ's time, Peruñjiṅga must have put down Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōḷa Tikka, who, like Narasiṁha II, came to share the title of '*Chōḷarājya-sthāpanāchārya*' in about A. D. 1232. Tikka's successor became a subordinate of the all-powerful Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga and a new enemy of the ally arose in Kākatīya Gaṇapati almost in the very year of the accession of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla, *i.e.*, A. D. 1249-50, and it was left to the Kāḍava to deal with him also. The success of his arms gave him the possession of the region further north of Kāñchī as is clearly vouchsafed by Mahārājasiṁha's inscriptions in Tripurāntakam and Drākshārāma. The politic Kāḍava set up prince Nīlagaṅgaraiyan to safeguard his own interest and that of his ally Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla.

Thus far we have noticed the inscriptions of Rājarāja III and his predecessors which speak of the ancestors of Kōpperuñjiṅga.

Now about the later members of the family. In editing the Tiruvēndipuram inscription, the late Dr. Hultzsch made out that Nīlagaṅgaraiyan was a son of Kōpperuñjiṅga.[1] There is a bilingual inscription[2] dated in the 22nd year of the reign of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla (A. D. 1272) found in the Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram in which a chief styled Bhūpālanōdbhava Nīlagaṅganṛipa figures. The Tamil portion of the record calls him Puviyāḷappirandāṉ Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ of Āmūr. The title Puvi(or Avaṉi)yāḷappirandāṉ and the place Āmūr with which the chief is connected suggest that he may be a prince of the Kāḍava family of Kūḍal; and the date is indicative of the fact of his having flourished in the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga. It seems likely that Avaṉiyāḷappiṟandāṉ Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ whose son Aḻagiya Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ and queen Naṅgai-Āḻvār are referred to in the 2nd and 27th years of the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga,[3] was the son of Kōpperuñjiṅga.

A certain *Piḷḷaiyār* Pañchanadivāṇaṉ Nīlagaṅgaraiyan is referred to as the father of Aruṇagiripperumāḷ and as the husband of Perumāḷ Nāchchi and Śōliṅga Nāchchi in three other inscriptions dated in the 19th[4] and 30th[5] years of the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga and the 10th[6] year of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla. This Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ has been identified with Kōpperuñjiṅga's son by the late Dr. Hultzsch.[7] The additional epithet Pañchanadivāṇan given to the chief in these records does not seem to be quite favourable to the identification. Though we cannot be positive as regards this chief being a Kāḍava, it seems that the association of the title Avani(Puvi)vāḷappiṟandāṉ and Āmūr with Nīlagaṅgaraiyan is a better ground for determining him as the Kāḍava chief of Kūḍal. In this connection, it may be useful to remember that a chief named Pañchanadivāṇaṉ Nīlagaṅgaraiyan, the protector of Kāñchī (Conjeeveram) and Mallai (Mahābalipuram) figures as early as the reign of Kulōttuṅga I,[8] and probably was his subordinate: the region over which he had authority which is the same as that of Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ to be mentioned below, would be favourable for his inclusion in the family of the Kāḍavas of Kūḍal.

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[1] Above, Vol. VII, p. 166. *Piḷḷaiyār* Nīlagangaraiyar himself is mentioned in a record from Tiruvaḍisūlam dated in the 14th year of Peruñjingadēva (No. 342 of 1908).

[2] No. 41 of 1893.

[3] Nos. 505 and 518 of 1902.

[4] No. 365 of 1919.

[5] No. 181 of 1894.

[6] No. 117 of 1912.

[7] Above, Vol. VII, p. 166.

[8] No. 25 of 1934-5. See also Nos. 415, 416 and 417 of 1893.

A number of inscriptions dated between the 3rd and 26th years of the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga mention *Piḷḷai* or *Perumālpiḷḷai alias* Śōlakōn or Śōlakōnār.[1] Some of them call him Araiśūruḍaiyān and Śeṅkanivāyar.[2] He was one of the *mudalis* of the king.[3] These inscriptions leave no doubt that he was the son of Kōpperuñjiṅga and was one of the king's principal officers. Most of the orders of the king had been issued by him. A few bear his signature also. He made valuable presents to the temples at Chidambaram, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Vṛiddhāchalam and other places, founded gardens of flower plants and fruit trees, and provided for their perpetual maintenance by giving lands for the *jīvita* of the persons that had to work in them and for those that superintended the work.

That Vēṇāvuḍaiyān was another of the sons of Kōpperuñjiṅga is clear from his being called *magan* in inscription No. I below, and *Perumālpiḷḷai* in two other records where he is specifically stated to be the younger brother (*tambi*) of Śōlakōṉ.[4] These three inscriptions are particularly important as they definitely establish that Śōlakōn and Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ were the sons of Kōpperuñjiṅga and that Vēṇāvuḍaiyān was the younger of the two. Thus including Nīlagaṅgaraiyan of Āmūr, Kōpperuñjiṅga had three sons.

It is interesting to note that some more members of Kōpperuñjiṅga's family are also known. In an inscription of the 35th year of the region of Kulōttuṅga III, the mother of Kōpperuñjiṅga is mentioned but the name is unfortunately lost. Since Jīyamahīpati of the Tripurāntakam inscription has been identified with the father of Peruñjiṅga the name of his mother has to be taken to be Śīlāvatī. A certain Miṭṭāṇḍār Nāchchiyār *alias* Nambirāṭṭiyār figures in three records[5] as donor, the earliest of which is dated in the 31st year of Rājarāja III (A. D. 1247), the second belongs to the 9th year of the reign of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Alagiyaśīyan Kāḍavarāyan Avaṇiyāḷappiṟandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvan and the third to the 15th year of the same king without the title Alagiyaśīyaṉ. They tell us that she was the daughter (*tirumagaḷār*) of Nambirāṭṭiyār *alias* Uḍaiyāḷvār and queen (*peṇṇaraśiyār*) of Kūḍal Āḷappirandān Kāḍavarāyan Śāḍumperumāḷ. Looking at the title Kūḍal Āḷappirandān given to Śāḍumperumāḷ and at the dates of the records, *viz.* A. D. 1247, 1252 and 1258, as well as the application of the terms Peṇṇaraśiyār and Nambirāṭṭiyār to Miṭṭāṇḍār Nāchchi it seems possible that Śāḍumperumāḷ may be a member of distinction in the family of Kōpperuñjiṅga next to the king or the king himself. If it be the latter, the name Śāḍumperumāḷ requires to be explained. The latter part of the compound indicating 'king', *śāḍum* may be taken to mean 'dancing'. From the Drākshārāma inscription and other records it is clear that he was an adept in the science of *Bharatanāṭya*. Araśāḷvār mentioned in a record of Tiruveṇṇainallūr[6] is probably a sister of Kōpperuñjiṅga.

The genealogy of the family of the Kāḍavas of Kūḍal embracing all the members noted above with their titles or surnames will stand as follows :—

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[1] No. 432 of 1924 dated in the 26th year of Kōpperuñjiṅga has *Piḷḷai* Śōlakōnār : *Perumāl-piḷḷai alias* Śōlakōnār occurs in No. 460 of 1902. See also Nos. 302, 312 and 318 of 1913, dated in the 12th, 10th and 9th years, No. 80 of 1918, dated in the 11th year, and No. 199 of 1936-37, dated in the 5th year.

[2] The chief is also called *Piḷḷai* Araisūruḍaiyān *Perumā-piḷḷai alias* Śōlakōn in No. 401 of 1903, dated in the 8th year. Araisūruḍaiyān Śeṅkanivāyar *alias Piḷḷai* Śōlakōnār in No. 462 of 1902 dated in the 4th year and *Piḷḷai* Śeṅkanivāyar *alias* Śolakonar in No. 400 of 1903 dated in the 11th year.

[3] No. 460 of 1902, dated in the 8th year of Kōpperuñjiṅga and No. 80 of 1918, dated in the 11th year of his reign.

[4] Seṅkanivāyan *Śōlakōn tambi perumāl Vēṇāḍuḍaiyān* occurs in No. 146 of 1902 and *Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ mudali-gaḷil* Seṅkanivāyan *Śōlakōn tambi perumāḷ piḷḷaiyāna Vēṇāḍuḍaiyān* in No. 504 of 1902.

[5] Nos. 77, 78 and 98 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.

[6] No. 511 of 1921. This record states that in the 8th year of Kōpperuñjiṅga a *maṇḍapa* was erected by Araśāḷvār, the elder sister of Āḷappiṟandān Alagaiyaśīyar of Peṛugai. Alagaiyaśiyan was Kōpperuñjiṅga's surname and Peṛugai of this inscription is certainly identical with the place of the same name in Inscription No. I below, and with the native place of the two sons of Āṭkoḷḷiyār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar.

Vaḷandaṉar *alias* Kāḍavarāyar.

Mōgan Āḷappiṟandān Ātkoḷḷiyār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kāḍavarāyar *alias* Apapāya Kāḍavarāyar (A.D. 1135-6, 1148, 1158.

- **Kūḍal** *or* Kūḍalūr *or* Paḷḷi-Āḷappiṟandān **Eḷiśaimōgan** *or* Mōgan *alias* Kāḍavarāyar *alias* Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kāḍavarāyan, Paññāgamuttarāiyan 'Nāludikkumvenṟān' (conqueror of the four quarters) A.D. 1146, 1148, 1152, 1154, 1156 and 1162
  - Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyan *alias* Virai-Viran Kāḍavarāyan 'conqueror of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam'. A.D. 1181
  - Ātkoṇḍanāchchi *m* Rājarāja Chēdiyarāyan: A.D. 1162[1].
- Kūḍal *or* Kūḍalūr *or* Paḷḷi-Āḷappiṟandān Araśanārāyanan Kachchiyarāyan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kachchiyarāyan, Paññāgamuttarāiyan: A.D. 1140, 1145.
  - Kūḍalūr Araśanārāyanan Eḷiśaimōgan *alias* Jananātha Kachchiyarāyan: A.D. 1171, 1181, 1183-4.
  - Kūḍal Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappiṟandān Virāśēkharan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan; destroyed Kūḍal belonging to Karkaḍagamārāyans and conquered the country of Adigamān: A.D. 1186, 1187, 1189, 1191.
    - Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Kūḍal Eḷiśamōgan Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Vāṇilaikaṇḍaperumāḷ, Alagiyapallavan, Achalakulōttaman, Ātkoṇḍanāyakan, Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan *alias* Jīyamahīpati (Alagiyaśīyan), *m* Śīlāvati A.D., 1191 to 1213, 1213 to 1243.
      - Araśālvār: A.D. 1251.
      - Mahārājasiṁha of Kūḍal *alias* Sakalabhuvanachakravartin, Avani-Āḷappiṟandān Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvan *alias* Śādumperumāḷ, Kāḍavarāyan, Niśśaṅkamallan, A.D. 1243 to 1279-80.
        - Puvi(Avaṉi)Āḷappiṟandāṉ Nīlagaṅgaraiyan of Āmūr *m* Naṅgai-Āḻvār.
          - Alagiya-Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ Nīlagaṅgaraiyān.
        - Araśūruḍaiyān Śeṅkaṇiyāyan *alias* Śōlakōṉ or Śōlakōṉār
        - Ātkoṇḍadēvan Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ *alias* Kāḍavakumāraṉ.

[1] Nos. 480 and 481 of 1921. See *A. R. on Epigraphy Madras*, 1922, p. 101, para. 24.

The Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record, *i.e.*, Inscription No. I. which must be ascribed to a date later than A. D. 1243, describes briefly the victories gained by Peruñjiṅga and his son Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ. It is clear from this epigraph that most of the victories were won by the son during the lifetime of his father. Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ held sway, on behalf of his father, over the highly celebrated Mallai (Mahābalipuram), Mayilai (Mylapore), Kāñchī (Conjeeveram), Daṇḍaka-nāḍu, the well watered Pāli, the region of the river Peṇṇai, Kōval (Tirukkōvalūr), and Peṟugai. He is described as 'the hero among heroes who worsted the Karṇāṭas (*i.e.*, Hoysaḷas) of the west and belittled their acquisitions or kingdom in the south, and who had made the Teluṅgas of the north perish in their own quarter'. The worsting of the Hoysaḷas, which resulted in the curtailment of their possessions in the south, must be taken rather to refer to an independent achievement separate from the conquest of the Chōḷas which led to the imprisonment of Rājarāja III at Śēndamaṅgalam. This event must have been accomplished some years later than A. D. 1243, from which date Peruñjiṅga became a crowned king with the title Sakalabhuvanachakravartin.[1] An inscription[2] belonging to the reign of Sakalabhuvanacharavartin Kōpperuñjiṅga found at Vṛiddhāchalam[3] records the interesting fact that he made a gift of a gold forehead-plate set with jewels,[4] to the god Tirumudukuṉṟamuḍaiya Nāyanār of the place, in order to absolve himself of the sins of killing Kēśava-Daṇḍanāyaka, Harihara-Daṇḍanāyaka, and other *Daṇḍanāyakas* of the Hoysaḷa king in the battle-field at Perambalūr (in the Trichinopoly District) and seizing by force their ladies and treasure. This record thus brings to light another significant event in the history of Peruñjiṅga, *viz.*, the battle of Perambalūr. It seems to me that this battle might be the same as the one mentioned in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record noted above.[5] The Hoysaḷa contemporary of Peruñjiṅga in about A. D. 1253, the date of the Vṛiddhāchalam record, was Vīra-Sōmēśvara, the son and successor of Narasiṁha II, whose reign extended from A. D. 1234 to A. D. 1263.[6] Rājarāja III was weak and Vīra-Sōmēśvara easily established himself at Kaṇṇanūr, called Vikramasiṅgapura, north of Śrīraṅgam, near Trichinopoly on the border of the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa countries and built fortifications right along the north bank of the river Kāvērī.[7] Vīra-Sōmēśvara, staying in his capital Kaṇṇanūr, was keeping watch and ward over his brother-in-law, the Chōḷa Rājarāja III, and was sending frequently his *Mahāpradhānas*, perhaps almost annually to the Chōḷa kingdom after the 16th year (A. D. 1249).[8]

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[1] There are, however, two records dated in his 12th and 16th years which give him the title Tribhuvanachakravartin instead of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin (Nos. 440 and 439 of 1921.) The former refers also to the 21st year of Rājarāja III.

[2] No. 73 of 1918.

[3] Vṛiddhāchalam is called in its inscriptions by other names like Tirumudukuṉṟam, Nerkuppai, etc. Tirumudukuṉṟam was situated in the Paruvūr-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Irungōḷappāḍi which was a division of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu (Nos. 39, 40 and 54 of 1918). A Kāḍavarāya of Nerkuppai is also known (No. 88 of 1919).

[4] This ornament was called Avani-Āḷappiṟandān and was placed on the image with the chanting of the Sanskrit verse :

Chāruratnamayam paṭṭam Avanyavanasambhavaḥ
didēśa tridaśēśāya Śrī-Vṛiddhagirivāsinē .

A similar gift of a forehead-plate, but without jewels, was made for the same god by one of Peruñjiṅga's older sons, Śōḷakōn, in the 11th year of his reign (No. 80 of 1918).

[5] This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that it was in the latter part of the reign of Vīra-Sōmēśvara that the southern hold of the Hoysaḷas got weakened.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 435.

[7] No. 514 of 1918.

[8] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 162. See also Nos. 39 of 1920 and 366 of 1919 dated in the 20th and 22nd years, and *Pudukotta Inscriptions*, No. 168. Before the 16th year of Rājarāja III, Narasiṁha II's ministers figure (Nos. 404, 408 of 1919), and this fact shows that disturbances had already begun and must have culminated in the defeat and imprisonment of Rajaraja III and his subsequent release in A. D. 1231-2. The presence of the Hoysaḷa kings, with the members of their household, their generals and ministers in the Chōḷa country, is an evidence of the utter reliance placed by the latter on the power and help of the former. See *Pudukotta Inscriptions*, Nos. 183, 73 of 1918, 366, 404 and 408 of 1919, and 39 of 1920.

Inscription No. I indicates that Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ vanquished the Kākatīyas in their own dominion, implying that he had invaded their territory. The Kākatīya contemporary of Kōpperuñjiṅga was Gaṇapati, who in 1219[1] was in possession of Kāñchī. In his endeavour to obtain the place, he must have found himself in conflict with the Kāḍava Peruñjiṅga. In about A. D. 1258, Rudrāmbā, the only daughter of Gaṇapati, became the queen of the Kākatīya dominion, as there was no male heir to the throne. It was just before A. D. 1262, the date of the Drākshārāma epigraph, probably in A. D. 1260-1, that the forces of Peruñjiṅga, probably under the command of his valiant son Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ, invaded the territory of the Telugus. His Drākshārāma and Tripurāntakam inscriptions are evidences of the reality of the conquests of the Pallava in the north.

Here may be considered the attempts of the Pāṇḍya king. Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya is described in his inscriptions as the thunderbolt to the mountain, *viz.* the Chōḷa race (Rājarāja III), the dispeller of the Karnāṭa king (*i.e.*, Vīra-Sōmēśvara), the fever to the elephant Kāṭhaka king, the jungle fire to the forest Gaṇḍagōpāla, the lion to the deer Gaṇapati (*i.e.*, the Kākatīya king), who was the lord of Kāñchī.[2] It is also on record that Jaṭāvaraman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I laid siege to Śēndamaṅgalm, fought many a fierce battle which made the Pallava tremble, and finally took the country together with immense wealth and numberless elephants and horses and bestowed it on Peruñjiṅga. One could easily see that the detailing of the achievements in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record (Inscription No. I) and in the records of Sundara-Pāṇḍya has much in common. It might be said that the achievements which Sundara-Pāṇḍya claims over the Kāṭhaka, Gaṇapati and others of the north, must have been effected by the combined forces of Sundara-Pāṇḍya and Pallava Peruñjiṅga, for these two distinguished contemporaries claim almost the same conquests.

Peruñjiṅga's relationship with the Pāṇḍya king seems to have been one of continued friendship. He seems to have occupied a subordinate position under the Pāṇḍya. There are records which declare that the Pallava king had sent tributes to the Pāṇḍya overlord[3] and that the latter had received them. His Pāṇḍya overlords were Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A. D. 1251-72)[4] and his coregent[5] Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1251-75). In the keenly contested battle at Śēndamaṅgalam, the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, who trembled at the fierceness of the fight, was bestowed, in the end of the battle, the conquered kingdom. Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya claims to have performed the anointment of heroes at Perumbarrappuliyūr (*i.e.*, Chidambaram) and this place was mostly under Kōpperuñjiṅga. The performance of the anointment of heroes at that place by the Pāṇḍya may indicate the subordination of the Kāḍava.

There are three inscriptions at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai dated in the regnal years 30, 31 and 32 of Rājarāja III, corresponding to A.D. 1246, 1247 and 1248.[6] In the same place there are found inscriptions dated in Kōpperuñjiṅga's reign from the 2nd year onwards which also correspond to A.D. 1246, 1247, 1248, 1250, etc.[7] So then it happens that that place was under the rule of both Rājarāja III and Peruñjiṅga from A.D. 1246. And by the evidence of the available inscriptions it is clear that while the Chōḷa hold over the place was lost in about A.D. 1248, Peruñjiṅga continued to possess it. Another fact to be noted is that the initial year of Rājēndra-Chōḷa III, the son of Rājarāja III, was A. D. 1246-7. All the available pieces of evidence seem to suggest that Rājarāja III and Peruñjiṅga were on amicable terms from A. D. 1243.

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[1] No. of 26 1890.

[2] See K. V. S. Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 165 f.

[3] No. 192 of 1914 and *Pudukottai Inscriptions*, No. 370.

[4] The date of his accession is fixed to have been between April 20 and 28, A.D. 1251 (above, Vol IX, p. 227).

[5] See K. V. S. Aiyer, *op. cit.* p. 169.

[6] Nos. 503, 510, and 511 of 1902.

[7] Nos. 460, 465, 500, and 513 of 1902.

Of the three sons of Peruñjiṅga the eldest seems to have been Śōḷakōṉ. The first mention of him is made in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of A.D. 1232. From this inscription it looks as if Kōpperuñjiṅga and Śōḷakōṉ were powerful in and around Chidambaram, and had made Śēndamaṅgalam their stronghold. Numerous records found at Chidambaram and other places in its vicinity mention Śōḷakōṉ. His brother, Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ, was a 'hero among heroes'. He is said to have been the lord of Mallai, Mayilai, Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, etc. He was issuing royal orders (*ōlai*) in the latter part of Kōpperuñjiṅga's reign, while Śōḷakōṉ, his elder brother, was performing a similar function from the 1st to the 19th years of Peruñjiṅga. The sons of Peruñjiṅga were his trusted generals and under their control and service there were other warriors and generals.[1]

Great as were the military activities of Peruñjiṅga displayed both in his early days and after he became king, the fame which he acquired in other walks of life was no less. He was pre-eminently a patron of learning and fine arts. Besides being well known as one of the best wrestlers with the sword,[2] he was renowned as a *pārīṇa* in the ocean of *Bharatanāṭyaśāstra*.[3] He was recognised as the best poet of the day, a *Kavisārvabhauma*.[4] He is called Dēvāramaḷagiyāṉ[5] and Tamiḻnāḍukāttaperumāḷ.[6] Peruñjiṅga's devotion to the god at Chidambaram is borne out by numerous records registering his munificent gifts. The deity in the golden hall at Chidambaram was his favourite.[7] He also presented a gold forehead plate set with jewels to the god at Vṛiddhāchalam. Numerous were his gifts to the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Here we find a gift made by his queen also.[8] Valuable were his gifts to the temple at Drākshārāma: they consisted of a throne (*simhāsana*), *Makaratōraṇa*, *Kanakāndōlana*, etc. In the 27th year of the reign of Peruñjiṅga, a service called Aḷagiyapallavaṉśandi, called after the king, was instituted to be conducted on the day of Tiruvōṇam, the natal star of the king (*i.e.*, Peruñjiṅga).[9] A Tamil and Grantha inscription of his reign states that Avaṇi-Āḷappirandāṉ constructed a temple for Hēramba-Gaṇapati on the bank of the tank at Tribhuvaṇamādēvi.[10] Other minor shrines were also constructed.[11]

The wide extent of country which acknowledged Peruñjiṅga's sway is indicated by the provenance of his inscriptions which lie scattered from Drākshārāma in the north to the extreme south. Among the places which shared the munificence of his costly gifts are mentioned Drākshārāma, Conjeeveram, Śvētajambu, Vīraṭṭāṉam, Madura, Kāḷahasti and others. The mention of Madura in this list is specially worthy of note as it evidences his friendly relations with the

[1] Some among the generals under Peruñjiṅga and his sons were :—
Ediriganāyaṉ Pottappichōḷa (No. 136 of 1900).
Rājarājadēvaṉ Malaiyaṉ Vāḷavarāyaṉ (No. 447 of 1921).
Amudāṇḍai *alias* Vāḷuvarāyar son of Añjādaperumāḷ Gāṅgayarāyar—a *muḍali* of the *uḷkōḍu* of the king (No. 95 of 1934-5).
Vīragaṅganāḍāḷvāṉ, above, Vol. VII, p. 167.
Śiṇattaraiyaṉ
Aḷagiyapallavaṉ Vīrarāyaṉ *alias* Kachchiyarāyaṉ (No. 62 of 1919).
Sundaranandipaṉmaṉ (No. 186 of 1892).

[2] Cf. his surname Khaḍgamalla or Sarvajñakhaḍgamalla,—Nos. 191 of 1904, 197 of 1905 and 286 of 1921.

[3] No. 419 of 1893 and Bharatamvalla-perumāḷ in inscription I below.

[4] No. 419 of 1893 notes also *Sarasa-sāhitya-sāgara-sāmyātrika*, *Sāhitya-ratnākara*.

[5] No. 85 of 1919.

[6] No. 418 of 1922 and Inscription No. I below. Compare also the expression *Śen-tamiḻ vāla-ppiṟanda-Kāḍava* in the Vailūr inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 180.

[7] No. 418 of 1922.

[8] Nos. 488 and 513 of 1902.

[9] No. 170 of 1918.

[10] No. 182 of 1919.

[11] No. 401 of 1903 dated in the 8th year of Peruñjiṅga (A. D. 1251). It records the sale of a land to Śōḷakōṉ, for building a temple to Piḍāriyār. No. 146 of 1902 states that the *gōpura* of the temple was erected by Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ. No. 518 of 1902 states that Naṅgaiyāḷvār, the wife of Nilagaṅgaraiyaṉ, built a shrine and called it Naṅgai-āḷvīchuram.

Pāṇḍya. Peruñjiṅga's son Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ is said to have ruled over Mallai (Mahābalipuram), Mayilai (Mylapore), Kāñchī, Taṇḍaganāḍi, Tirukkōvalūr, etc.[1] The inscriptions of Peruñjiṅga have been found in the South Arcot,[2] North Arcot,[3] Chingleput,[4] Godavari,[5] Kurnool,[6] Chittoor,[7] and Tanjore[8] Districts and in the French territory.[9] From a study of the dates of the records discovered in the various places the following facts become clear. Numerous inscriptions from his 2nd to the 36th years have been found in South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput Districts, and therefore these districts may be said to have formed the original possessions of this king. He seems to have extended his sway over the Chittoor[10] District in or before A. D. 1254. The utmost northern limit of his dominion was Drākshārāma in the Godavari District where an inscription of his reign dated Śaka 1184 (A.D. 1262) is found.[11] The inscriptions of Peruñjiṅga found in the Tanjore District are dated between A.D. 1245 and 1269.[12] Further south he maintained friendly relationship with the Pāṇḍyas.

We shall now refer to some facts which are useful to students of Tamil Literature. The mention of the name *Pērambalam-poṉ-mēyṉda-perumāḷ-nallūr* in Inscription No. III, is of great interest as it enables us to fix the date of composition of the Tamil work *Periyapurāṇam*. Umāpati-Śivāchārya[13] tells us that the Chōla prince of Śēkkiḻār's time, showed at first a leaning towards the heretic faith of Jainism, owing to the influence of the work called *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*,[14] and that Śēkkiḻār by narrating the life-history of the 63 Śaiva Saints, changed the bent of the prince's mind so much so that he thenceforward became a staunch Śaiva and requested Śēkkiḻār to prepare a succinct and truthful account of the lives of the great Saints.[15] Accordingly Śēkkiḻār wrote his immortal work in verse at Chidambaram to which the god himself is said to have given the starting line. On the completion of this work, the king repaired to Chidambaram with his royal retinue and had the whole work read and explained by the author himself. The king endowed the temple with numerous rich gifts and plated with gold the sacred *Pērambalam*[16] of the god (Naṭarāja) at Tillai (Chidambaram)

Two points that call for special note in the above account are that Anapāya was a prince at the time he came under the influence of Śēkkiḻār, and that the name of the hall which he plated with gold was Pērambalam. The temple at Puliyūr in Tamil and Vyāghrāgrahāra in Sanskrit had in it two pavilions, one small and the other large, which from their size were named respectively Śirrambalam and Pērambalam. Śirrambalam was next to the holy of holies. On account of the importance of this small hall, the temple itself and the village acquired the name Chidambaram.[17] The writer of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant calls Śirrambalam by the Sanskrit name *Dabhra*-

[1] Inscription No. I below.

[2] At Chidambaram, Vriddhāchalam, Brahmadēśam, Tirukoilūr, Cuddalore, etc.

[3] Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Wandiwash, etc.

[4] Tribhuvani, Conjeeveram, Āttūr, etc.

[5] Drākshārāma.

[6] Tripurāntakam.

[7] Mēlpāḍi.

[8] Māyavaram, Kumbakōṇam, Shiyāli.

[9] Villivanūr.

[10] Peruñjiṅga claims supremacy over the Āndhra kings as early as his 5th year (A. D. 1248). No. 286 of 1921 noticed in para. 39, part II, of the *An. Rep. on S. I. E.* for 1922.

[11] No. 419 of 1893.

[12] No. 53 of 1930-31 dated A. D. 1245; No. 395 of 1918 dated A. D. 1262; Nos. 192 and 194 of 1927-8 dated A. D. 1267; No. 226 of 1927 dated A.D. 1268; No. 432 of 1924 dated A. D. 1269.

[13] He belonged to the latter half of the 13th century A.D.

[14] *Tiruttoṇḍarpurāṇam* vv. 20 and 21.

[15] *Ibid.*, v. 22.

[16] *Kulōttungaśōḻan-Ulā*, II. 93-116.

[17] Chidambaram may also be derived from *chit* and *ambaram*; the god here is said to be in the form of *ākāśa*.

sabhā. Pērambalam, it may be noted, was, according to the *Periyapurāṇam*, in the outer portion next to *Poṉmāḷigai* (golden palace) with high walls, and one had to pass through a gate called Tiruvaṇukkaṉ-tiruvāyil to reach Śiṟṟambalam where the god Naṭarāja is said to perform his sacred dance.[1] The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant tells us that Parāntaka I, by the munificence of his wealth, made the residence called *Dabhrasabhā* of Purāri consist of gold, *i.e.*, by covering it with gold.

During the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the chief Naralōkavīraṉ is again said to have covered the roof of Śirrambalam with gold.[2] The same chief is also stated to have covered Pērambalam[3] with copper. To Vikrama-Chōḷa[4] is attributed the gilding of Śiṟṟambalam. *Kulōttuṅga-śōḻan-Ulā*,[5] a quasi-historical poem composed by Oṭṭakkūttaṉ, in honour of Kulōttuṅga II, and *Periyapurāṇam* speak to the fact that he (Kulōttuṅga II) gilded the Pērambalam. Perhaps he did so by removing the copper covering put up by Naralōkavīraṉ. The fact that Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga II gilded the Pērambalam is affirmed by some of the inscriptions of the king.[6]

The mention of Pērambalam-poṉ-mēynda-perumāḷ-nallūr, in Inscription No. III shows that already in or before the 3rd year of his reign, the king had accomplished this meritorious task, and if this act had been undertaken and accomplished just after hearing the *Periyapurāṇam* of Śēkkiḻār, which is very natural, the work must have been written in or before A.D. 1135.

The fact that the village of Pērambalam-poṉ-mēynda-perumāḷ-nallūr had been in existence in A.D. 1135—having shown that it must have been founded sometime prior to that date—the use of the suffix Perumāḷ, which is generally employed in inscriptions to denote a prince, instead of Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa which was the name assumed after actual accession, might be taken to show that the founding of the village must be earlier than A.D. 1134, corresponding to the 2nd year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga II of which date we have several inscriptions of his and upto which year Vikrama-Chōḷa's inscriptions are found. Thus the *Periyapurāṇam* **was probably composed in the year A. D. 1133-4.**

A word may now be said about Naṉṉan-Verpu where the chief Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ is said to have engraved *cāpai*, *kuraṅgu* and *risaiyam*. The action of the chief is similar to the claims of the early Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings in carving their royal emblems on the mount Mēru. Naṉṉaṉ-Verpu means the 'hill of Naṉṉaṉ'. Ancient Tamil works speak of two Vēḷ chiefs bearing the name Naṉṉaṉ who stood in the relation of father and son.[7] While the elder was infamous and cruel and turned away bards and showed no sympathy for art or literature, the other is celebrated as a just ruler and as a patron of learning.[8] The elder is said to have taken the country of a certain Chēra named Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi-nārmuḍi-Chēral and held sway over it until it was recovered by the owner by defeating the aggressor in a battle fought at Perunduṟai;[9] the younger is said to have been the commander-in-chief of the very Chēra king and to have been called Udiyaṉ.[10] He

[1] *Tiruttoṇḍarpurāṇam*, v. 104.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 225, II, 11-2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1. 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 458.

[5] *Kulōttuṅgaśōḻan-Ulā*, 1. 93 ; *Rājarājaśōḻan-Ulā*, 1.58.

[6] No 350 of 1927, 315 of 1928-29, 349 of 1928-29 and No. 1041 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII.

[7] *Pattuppāṭṭu* 10 : 1.64 and *Agam*, 97.

[8] *Puram*, 151 ; *Kuṟuntogai* 292 ; *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷ.*, p. 686 and *Agam*, 152.

[9] *Agam*, 199.

[10] *Ibid.*, 44 and 258.

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is said to have gained victory over a certain Piṇḍaṉ.[1] Palguṉṟak-kōṭṭam[2] was the tract of country over which these Vēḷ chiefs ruled and Cheṅgama was the principal city in it.[3] This country had in it the two famous hills Naviram and Pāḷichchilambu and the towns Pāḷi, Pāram, Pirambu, and Viyalūr.[4] The river Cheyyāru flowed through it.[5] Naviram is identified with the Triśūla hill referred to as an off-shoot of a hill near the village Teṉmahādēvimaṅgalam in the Polur Taluk of the North Arcot District.[6] The hill of Naviram is said to have had on its top a Śiva temple and the deity there was named Kāriyuṇḍikkaḍavuḷ.[7] This hill of Naṉṉaṉ might be the one referred to under the name Naṉṉaṉ-Verpu in Inscription No. 1 below.

An ornament called *Ēkāvallivaḍam* is mentioned as the main item of gift by more than one Kāḍavarāya chief, as was the case in the royal gifts to the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tanjore. Tamil works refer to this ornament.[8] It was worn round the neck loosely and comprised mainly of a large number of pearls. These with other items mentioned below were strung together by means of a thick gold string, sometimes worked so as to resemble a snake in form.[9] Pearls, sapphires, gems, corals, *lapis lazuli* and gold pendants formed the main items in this neck ornament. The *Ēkāvallivaḍams* presented by the Kāḍavarāyas appear to have been very costly, as can be gathered from the mention of the total weight, size, and number. *Ēkāvallivaḍam* was known as *Tāragaikkōvai* in ancient days.[10]

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the records, **Geḍilam** is a river that flows through parts of the South Arcot District. On its banks the villages Tiruvadi and Tirumāṇikuḷi are situated. **Udavi-Tirumāṇikuḷi** is the name by which the modern village of Tirumāṇikuḷi, not far from Cuddalore, is called both in inscriptions and in the *Dēvāram*. Here the ancient Chōḷa king Śeṅgaṇṇān is said to have worshipped the god Śiva. It was situated in Mērkā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu,[11] like Ādanūr whence the Śaiva saint Tirunāḷaippōvār hailed.[12] A part of Tirumāṇikuḷi was constituted as Pērambalampoṉmēyndaperumāḷnallūr. **Ālappākkam** is a village in the Cuddalore Taluk of the South Arcot District. Śōḷakulavallinallūr was a subdivision of Paṭṭāṇpākkam or Paṭṭāṇpākkai-nāḍu[13] and was also called Śōḷakulavalli.[14] It had the

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[1] *Agam*, 44, 152 and 208.

[2] The Palguṉṟak-kōṭṭam of Naṉṉaṉ was situated in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōlamaṇḍalam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I. No. 72. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Nos. 64 to 74 and 442. No. 297 of 1939) and comprised North and South Arcot Districts. A few of its subdivisions were Śingapura-vaḷanāḍu (297 of 1928-29), Śeṅguṉṟa-nāḍu (No. 442 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII), Teṉṉāṟṟūr-nāḍu (*ibid.*, Nos. 64 to 74 and No. 440), Maṇḍaikuḷa-nāḍu (*ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 72), Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu (*ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 72), and Vālaippandal-nāḍu (No. 232 of 1923). A village in the main division was Niṉṟavūr (No. 176 of 1929-30). Śīyamaṅgalam in the Wandiwash taluk was in Teṉṉāṟṟūr-nāḍu, Kaḷavaḷi of the Walajapet Taluk was in Śeṅguṉṟa-nāḍu. Kuṉṟa-nāḍu had Neduṅguṉṟam (No. 73 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII), Maṇḍaikuḷa-nāḍu had Murugamangalam (No. 72, *S. I. I.*, Vol. I) and Pangala-nāḍu had Naḍuvil. . .kuṉṟattūr (*ibid.*, No. 74). The capital of Naṉṉaṉ was Śengama which is the same as Chengama in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Taluk of the North Arcot District (Nos. 117, 120, and 124 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII). It is called Śengaimānagar (*ibid.*, No. 124). It seems that the nucleus of the territory of Peruñjinga and the Kāḍavarāyas was almost the same as the original possessions of Naṉṉaṉ.

[3] *Pattuppāttu* 10 : p. 372 : *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 102 and 105.

[4] *Pattuppāṭṭu* 10 : ll. 82 and 579 : *Agam*, 97, 152, 208, 258, 375, 396.

[5] *Pattuppāttu* 10 : ll. 475, 555.

[6] No. 50 of 1933-4. See *A. R.*, 1933-4, p. 33.

[7] *Pattuppāttu* 10 : l. 84.

[8] *Ēkavaḍukoḍi* (*Perungadai*, 1.34.1.201) ; *Ēkavāram* (*ibid.*, 5.2.1.26) ; *Ēkavattam* (*ibid.*, 2.5.1.139) ; *Muttuvaḍam* (*ibid.*, 5.2.1.26) ; *Orraivaḍam* (*ibid.*, 1.4.1.211) and *Agam*, 73 · and *Perungadai*, 2.7.1.22.

[9] *Ibid.*, 3.9.1.67 ; 5.2.1.26 ; 1.34 ; 1.201 ; 1.46 ; 1.212-3.

[10] *Śilappadigāram*, 13. l. 19.

[11] In the same division was Iruṅgōḷappāḍi which had in it Tirumudukuṉṟam (Vriddhāchalam).

[12] *Tirunāḷaippōvārpurāṇam*, v. 1.

[13] Nos. 406 of 1921 ; 517 of 1922 ; 138 of 1932-3 ; 141-5 of 1933-4 and Nos. 761-775 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII.

[14] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 761

constituted assembly of *ūr*, one of whose *vyavasthās* is available.[1] Some of its suburbs are mentioned in a record from Tiruvadi.[2] It had Eydanūr in it. Śōḷakulavallinallūr must have been named after Śōḷakulavalli, the queen of Kulōttuṅga I.[3] Inscriptions of Eydanūr reveal that several temples existed in Śōḷakulavallinallūr in the days of Kulōttuṅga I and numerous gifts and endowments were made to them, the majority of which came from the Chief of Eydanūr named Tiruvayindiraṉ Vīraiyan Śēnan.[4] The service referred to in Inscription III by the term *Eydanūr-kaṭṭaḷai* was most probably instituted by this Chief. The extent and boundaries of Vikramaśōḷanallūr are specified in a record and from the descriptions it is clear that both Vikramaśōḷanallūr and Tiruppērambalamponmēyndaperumāḷnallūr[5] were contiguous to each other, having a common boundary.[6] **Śōḷakulavallinallūr**, of which **Villiyanallūr**[7] and **Vikramaśōḷanallūr** formed parts, may be identified with the modern Śōḷavalli, a village in the Cuddalore Taluk. **Eydanūr** (mod. Eidanur) still bears the same name and is in the same taluk.[8] **Tiruvayindirapuram** is the modern Tiruvēndipuram in the Cuddalore Taluk. **Ādhirājamaṅgalliyapuram** in Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāḍu in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu is Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore Taluk. It is 14 miles West by North of Cuddalore and one mile South of Panruti railway station.[9] It is called Adigaimānagar in a hymn of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār and Adiyaraiyamaṅgalam in a hymn of Appar. It is situated on the north bank of the Gedilam. The Śiva temple in this village is called Vīraṭṭānēśvara and is associated with the life of Appar. It was here that the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I built the temple called Guṇabharavīchchuram.[10] **Kūḍalūr** in Peruganūrnāḍu may be Gūḍalūr in the Tirukōilūr Taluk. In this taluk there is a village called Periyanūr which may be identical with **Peruganūr** of the inscriptions. In the same taluk is **Dēvanūr,** a village two miles North by East of Tirukōilūr. **Kīḻ-Kumāramaṅgalam** and **Toruppāḍi** are villages in the Cuddalore Taluk. **Ānāṅgūr,** 2 miles South-East of Villupuram, must have been the principal place in Ānāṅgūr-nāḍu. **Tirunāvalūr** is now called Tirunāmanallūr and is 19½ miles South-East of the Tirukōilūr Taluk.

Tirumuṇaippāḍi, in which Kūḍal the native place of the Kāḍavarāya chiefs was situated, is famous in Tamil Literature, as the country over which Naraśiṅga-Muṇaiyaraiyaṉ, one among the Śaiva saints, had been ruling. He was an elder contemporary of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār. Tirumuṇaippāḍi formed one of the biggest districts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. It had in it several subdivisions such as Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāḍu.[11] Mēl-Āmūr-nāḍu.[12] Mērkā-nāḍu,[13] Peruganūr-nāḍu,[14]

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 761.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 315.

[3] No. 39 of 1921 ; *A. R.*, 1933-4, p. 34.

[4] Nos. 141, 143 and 145 of 1933-4.

[5] That the village Peruṅguḍi also bore this surname is learnt from a Tirukkalukkunram record (No. 134 of 1932-3).

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 774.

[7] It was called Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimangalam in the days of Rājarāja I (*S. I. I.*, Vol VIII, No. 748).

[8] It is 10 miles North-West of Cuddalore (Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol I, p. 211).

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[10] *Tirunāvukkaraśupurāṇam*, v. 140.

[11] In Kīl Āmūr were Tiruvadigai *alias* Ādhirājamangalliyapuram (No. 384 of 1921), Kaṇichchampākkam (No. 515 of 1921). Ānattūr *alias* Śiruveṇṇainallūr (No. 372 of 1909), Kaṇṇamangalam, Māṇinallūr, Koṭṭiḷampākkam, Toruppāḍi (No. 45 of 1903), Śiruputtūr (No. 32 of 1903), Dēvanūr, Kīḻ-Kumāramangalam, Śiruvāgūr (No. 46 of 1903), Kūḍal and Avaṇikarpagaviḷāgam (No. 45 of 1903). Eṭṭāppanai was a southern hamlet of Tiruvadigai (414 of 1921).

[12] Kiḷiyūr was a village in it (No. 85 of 1935-6).

[13] In it were Kūḍal (No. 133 of 1900 ; No. 67 of 1918 : No. 123 of 1932-3), Tirumāṇikkuli and Vṛiddhāchalam.

[14] 45 and 46 of 1903

Mēlūr-nāḍu,[1] Ānāṅgūr-nāḍu,[2] Araśūr-nāḍu,[3] Aviyaṉūr-nāḍu,[4] Dāmar-nāḍu,[5] Ēmappērūr-nāḍu,[6] Pēṟiṅgūr-nāḍu,[7] Kayavapākkai-nāḍu,[8] Iḍaiyāṟu-nāḍu,[9] Paṉaiyūr-nāḍu,[10] etc. Of these Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāḍu, Mēṟkā-nāḍu, and Peṟugaṉūr-nāḍu occur in our inscriptions. The main division in which Tirumuṉaippāḍi was situated is called differently in different inscriptions.[11]

TEXTS

I[12]

1 Svasti Śrī ||* K[ā]r-vaḷar mēṉi=kkamala=kkaṇṇaṉ pār-vaḷar=undi=p**Pallavar**-perumāṉ Sa[ka]labuva[ṉa]chakkaravatti **Kūḍa[l-Avaṉi]-yāḷappiṟandāṉ Kō-pPeruñjiṅgaṉ** kurai-kaḻaṟ-Kāḍavaṉ Śoṉmaṟaiy-ākkaṉ śuḍar-vāḷ=eḍuttu=ppiṉvara-naḍandu pilan=tiṟand=aruḷiya kāvalar-tambirāṉ kaṇṇār-amudar-Aruṇamālvarai-pperumāḷ tamakku=chcheyda tiruppaṇi terind-eḍutt-uraippiṟ-kādiṟ-ka[m]biyuṅ=kadir-maṇi maku[ṭa]muñ-cheṅ-kadir=e[ṟi]kkum=aṅgaśuttamum bākuvalaiyamum [pa]impoṟ-palatoḍi[ṟ]-[13] tiruvuḍaiy-āḍaiyun=tiru=kkaḻar=kiḻ-i[ḍu]m

2 pēdaipādamum [pi]ṟaṅg-iruṭ-kaṇṭamum-iḷa-ñāyiṟṟin-oḷi-[ṉi]ran=tōṉṟa vaḷar-māṇikka-vāḷi[14] veyil-arumbiya viri-kaḍal=Avaṉiyāḷappiṟandāṉ-tiruvāśigaiyuñ-chiṅgāsanamuṅ=kaṟpaga-virukkamu-muttiṉ-pandalum=ōḍari-maikkaṇ=Umaiy-iśai-pāḍi āḍiyav=adiruṅ=kaḻar-Perumāḷukk=ṇa-māṇikkam-ilaṅga-chcheyda Baratamvalla-Perumāḷ=eṉṉun=tiruvāśigaiyuñ=chiṟanda śeṅ-kadir-oḷi-viḷaṅgu māṇikkamun=tuḷaṅgum vayiramuṅ-kaṭṭiya polaṉ=kKūḍamañjanamuṅ=kaṇṇār-amudar Kāmakkōṭṭatta=Uṇṇāmulaiyām-Umaiyavaḷ tanakku-pparumaṇi niraitta tiruvuḍaiyā-

3 ḍaiyum veṉṟi-vēl-koṇḍu kuṉṟ-eṟi Murugan chchenniṟa-mēṉiyun=dēviyar mēṉiyu=maiññiṟa-ttōgai vaṇṇamum-aḍai[ya]-pponniṟam ākkiya poṟ-paṇi palavu[m*] Mallai-Kāvala-Niśśaṅkamallaṉ Pallavar-vēndaṉ Barata[m]vallaṉ Kūḍal-Avaṉiyāḷappi-ṟandāṉ śeydanav-ippaṇiy-aḍaṅgavum ivaṉ śiṟand-ūḻi-kālam vāḻi[*||] Ivaṉ magaṉ vāḍā-vāgai kKāḍavakumāraṉ vāṉ-pugaḻ Mallaiyu-Mayilaiyuṅ-Kāñchiyun=Ta[ṇḍaga]-nāḍun taṉ-puṉaṟ-Pā[li]yum Peṇṇaiyuṅ-Kōvalum Peṟugaiyum[15]-uḍaiyavaṉ=eṉṉaruñ chiṟappil yāvaru-maditta

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[1] Ārvalam (Nos. 350 of 1902, 275 of 1936-7) and Tirunāvalūr *alias* Rājādittapuram (Nos. 355, 357, 374 and 375 of 1902) were situated in it.

[2] Kāttuppākkam was a village in it.

[3] It had the *brahmadēya* Araśūr (No. 414 of 1921).

[4] Raṇadhīramaṅgalam was in it (Nos. 419 of 1921 and 30 of 1903).

[5] Kiḷiyūr was a village in it (Nos 382 and 388 of 1909).

[6] In Ēmappērūr-nāḍu were Ēmappērūr (Nos. 123 of 1932-3 ; 515 of 1921) which comprised portions of Tirukkōilūr and Siddhaliṅgamaḍam, Nālūr (No. 513 of 1921), Semmāṟṟūr (No. 81 of 1909) and Kuduppañjiṟṟūr *alias* Muṉaiyarāditta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (No. 527 of 1921). Ēmappērūr was called Rājēndraśōlanallūr (No. 123 of 1932-3 ; No. 515 of 1921) while the same name was given to Pālaiyūr in Pālaiyūr-nāḍu in the same *maṇḍalam* (No. 409 of 1921).

[7] In it was Pēringūr (Nos. 378 of 1909, 271 of 1936-7).

[8] No. 31 of 1903. Aggaḷanemmaḍi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam was a *brahmadēya* in it.

[9] No. 323 of 1921. It had Iḍaiyāṟu in it (No. 278 of 1928-9).

[10] Within it was Vāvalūr-nāḍu, and Jananātha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam was a *taṉiyūr* in it (No. 271 of 1936-7).

[11] Rājēndraśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu (Nos. 123 of 1932-3 ; 517 of 1921), Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu (No. 115 of 1932-3) ; Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu (No 414 of 1921 ; No 515 of 1927 ; No. 402 of 1909 ; 312 of 1902) ; Gangaikoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu (No. 378 of 1909 ; No 381 of 1909) ; Virudarājabhayaṅkaravaḷanāḍu (No. 67 of 1918).

[12] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No 69. The inscription is engraved on the west wall of the first *prākāra* of the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Taluk, North Arcot District.

[13] Read °*ṟiru*°.

[14] The syllable *yum* is omitted here.

[15] The reading *mevugaiyum* given in the *S. I. I.* is wrong. It has been ascertained that the above reading *Peṟugaiyum* is correct.

4 virudaril vîraṉ viṟal Vīrāśaṉi Kariyanādaṉ Kādaṟkumaran Ku[ḍa]-tiśai=kKaru[nāḍa]r teṉpulaṅ=kuṟugavum Vaḍa-tiśai-tTeluṅgar vaḍakk=irund aḻiyavum pōr pala kaḍandu porundā maṉṉavar-ār=eyiṟ-chērnd-ūr malaiy-araṇ-aḻittu nall-iśai-kkaḍām-puṇai Naṇṇaṉ-veṟpil vel-pugaḻ=aṇaittu-mēmpaḍa-ttaiṅ=kōṉ Vāgaiyuṅ-kuraṅgum viśśaiyamun=[tī]ṭṭiyav=aḍal-pu[ṇai] neḍu-vē[l-Ā]ṭkoṇḍadēvan-kaḍa-kari-muṇai-mugaṅ-kaḍanda Gāṅgayaṉ Kaṇṇār-amudar kanaṅ-kulaiy-āgatt-Aṇṇāmalaiyaṟk=aṉbu-keḻu neñjil

5 viruppuḍaṉ śeyda tiruppaṇi=[k*]kōvai yāvaiyum=eḍuttu-ppāvalar=uraippil ninṟa tol-pugaḻ mila-muḻud=aḻitta veṇḍi-punai tōḻ=Āṭkoṇ[ḍa]dēvan Vēṇā[vu]ḍaiyāṉ=eṇṇum peyarā=ṉīṉāḻ vāḻa nilaipeṟa=chcheyda perumāḻ=amarun=tiru-[ma]ṇḍapamum-aruk-kama[ḷ] kaṇaka=ttiruppaḷiy=aṟaiyun=tiruvamud-ēṟrum peru-maṇḍapamum viriv uḍan śey Tirukkākkaḷḷiyum peru-viṟal=Avaṇiyāḷappiṟandāṉ tirumaṇḍapamuñ=cheḻu-malar-toḍutta Kaṇ-

6 ṇi vāḍādu kaṇṇ=imaiyādu maṇmiśai naḍavā vāṇōr valam-vara veṇ-madi-nilavil viḷaṅgu śuḍar=eṟikkum paḍittaḷam=eṇṇavum paḍi mūṉṟukkum=aḍittaḷam-eṇṇavum-aḍaiyā-ma[n]ṇavar malaittaḷam-paṟitt=am=maṇṇavar śumanda=chchilaittaḷaṅ=koṇḍu śeyda śilaittaḷamum-ellaiyil=ugan=tōṟuñ=chelvan-tolaiyādu varumpaḍi vagutta Niśśaṅ(ka)-mallaṉ perum-paṇḍāramum piṟai-muḍi=pperumāḷ=iṉṉāḷ va[n]dirun[da] mai tōṉ[ṟa]vu-muṉṉāḷ=a[ḷan]da muṟaimai-

7 kāṇavum vāṭ-ṭaḍaṅ-kaṇṇiyar maṇai-toṟum pali koḷa-kkā[ṭṭi]ya vaḍivir-Kaṅgāḷa vēḍamum vāṇmugatt-amarar vaṇaṅga=chcheyda nāṉmuga-ttērū[1]nāyagi taṉakkum appaḍi vaguttav=aṇi-neḍun=[1]teruvuñ=cheppiya [ka]diravar tiśaivaḷam-pōduñ jōti-naṇmaṇi vītigaḷ [yi]laṅga=[kka]lai-payil tavattōr nilaipeṟav irukka [malai]-vagutt aṇaiya Gāṅgayaṉ-maḍamuṅ=kāṇiṟ-payiluṅ=ka[ḍa]vuḷar-tamakku vē-

8 ṇir[2]teṉṟal viyan-peruṅ-kavariy=iru=maruṅg=iraṭṭavum=imaiyavar tudikkavum arumaṇam perugiya Vāḷvalaperumāḷ tiru-oḍun=tōppun-[3]ētīttamāgiyav-amuda nannadiy-aṇaittilun-tūyua Tamiṉāḍukāttaperumāḷ-taḍāgamum vaṇḍ-iśai-pāḍal madu-malar vāśaṅ-koṇḍa Kāḍavakumāraṉ tōppuṅ=kaviṉ vem-pari=kkadir-vaḻi taḍuttav-Avaṇiyāḷappiṟandān-tōppun=tala-niga-

9 [ḻ] Sēṇaittalaivaṉ-tōppum vemmai-nāḷil veñchura-ṉaḍandavar tam-maṉaṅ kuḷira ttaṇḍalai niḷaṟ=cheyum-Ammaimaḍamum=Aiyaṉēriyum veṟp-agan tuḷaitt-ena kkaṟpuḍaiyar-āgiy-aḍa-neḍum pilattil-amudu-vandeḻunda-vaḍi-Vāḷvallaperumāḷ-kiṇarum aḷi-mural kama-lamum=āmbalum-alarndu kuḷir-puṉaṟ-Kāḍavakumāran-taḍāgamuṅ kuṉṟu-ka[ṟai]y-aṉṉa kōḍuyar neḍuṅ-karai Veṇṟuma-

10 laikoṇḍaperumāḷ-ēriyuñ=churar-taru neruṅgiya sōlaiyu[m]=ovvā-pParatamvallapērumāḷ-tōppum vaḷa-ñimiṟārkku-maḍal-iḷam-pāḷai virai-kamal Vīrarāyan-tōppun tava-neṟi-ch-Chundarar tam peruṅ-kulattir ta . . . . . . iku-chcheydu-kuḍutta kaḍal ena niṟaindu kār-vayal viḷaikkum vich . . chai Niśśaṅkamallaṉ-ēriyuṅ=Gāṅgayan-taḍāgamuṅ-Gāṅgayaṉ-maḍamum pūṅ-kamaḷ sōlaiyum

11 poipuḍaṉ [vi]ḷaṅga y-ivvagai yāvaiyuñ cheydaṉaṉ aḍaṉār Pāvai pāgaṉ śēvaḍi ttāmaraiy=aṇṇda śēṇṇiyar pāṟkuṅ-kaṇṇinar=aṇṇda niṟṟiṇar-āgama-nanneri paḍinda neñjiṉar para-śśmaiyankaḍaṇai kaḍindav-āṇaiyar Kaṇṇuḍaiperumān-Ādināḍanāy vēḍaṅ-koṇḍu pāy-puṇaṟ=Gaṅgaiy-āyira-mugaṅ-koṇḍ-ārtt-eḻum aṇṇāl ēṟṟukkoṇḍa tirundiya piṟaimuḍiy-arun-tava-chchaḍātarai=āḍiyil=añjeḻutt=

[1] Read *teru[m*]* or *teru[vum*]*; see p. 105, fn. 6.

[2] Read *-ṟeṉṟal*.

[3] Read *-tīrttam'*.

12 ōdiya toṇḍar=enṟ=eṇṇiya Nāṟpatt-eṇṇāyiravarum=tiruvaruḷ=ivaṉ-mēl] vaittaṉar=iru-nilan= taṉṉil=iṉidu-vāḷk-enavē

II[1]

1 [Svasti] Śrī[2] Sakalabhuvanachchakrava[r*]ttigaḷ śrī-**Ko-pPeruñji[ṅ]gadēvar[k*]ku yāṇḍu 7-vadu** Siṁha-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu chaturtthiyum Veḷḷikkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rēvati-nāḷ Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu=tTirumuṉaippāḍi . . . .

2 **bhuvanavīradēvar[k*]ku 29-vadu** nāḷil i-śrī-vimāṉam purachchāraṇaiyāy idu iḻichchi śēgiṟapōdu idil kal veṭṭi-kkiḍanda kalveṭṭu=kkaṇḍu iṭṭu=ttaṭṭi ivv=emberumāṉ tiruvi[ḍa]i . . . .

3 vi-Bhaṭṭaṉ-tōṭṭattukku mēṟku Miḻalai Nambippiḷḷai-tōṭṭattukku=tteṟku Pālkuḷattu Śrīrāma-Bhaṭṭaṉ-tōṭṭattukku kiḻakku i-nnāṅg=ellaikk-uḷppaṭṭa Āḷkoṇḍavilli-tirunanda . . . .

4 kkiḻakku Ko[m*]maṟai-Viṟṟirundāḷvāṉ-tōṭṭattukku-tteṟku Pālkkuḷattu Nāyakappiḷḷai-tōṭṭattukku mēṟku girāmattār-kālukku vaḍakku i-nnāṅg=ellaikk=uḷppaṭṭa Uṟaṅgāvilli-tirunan . . .

5 . . . tōṭṭattukku [kiḻa]kku ma . . . . . . yāḷvāṉ-uḷḷiṭṭār tōṭṭattukku mēṟku Pālkuḷattu=pPeri . . . . ṭṭu-Nambi-tōṭṭattukku teṟku . . . . kālukku vaḍakku[3]

III[4]

1 Svasti Śrī [।*] Tribhuvanachakrava[ttі]gaḷ **śrī-Kulōttuṅgaśōḻadēvaṟku yāṇḍu mūṉṟ-āvadu** Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu Mēṟkā-nāṭṭu Udavi-Tirumāṇikuḻiy-Āḷuḍaiyāṟku tiruppaḍi-māṟṟukkum tiruviḷakkukkum tiruppaṇigaḷukkum Mōgaṉ

2 Āḷkoḷḷi-āṉa Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa-kKāḍavarāyaṉēṉ i-ttēvar ti[ru]nāma[t*]tu[k*]kāṇi uḷḷūr Tiruppērambalamponmē[y]ndaperumāḷnallūr vaḍa[pā]ṟk-ellai tiru-kKeḍilattu nīr-ōḍukālukku teṟkum kīḻpāṟk-ellai Tiruvayindirapurattu-āḷ-

3 vār-dēvadānam Pirēgam=eṉṟu pēr-kūvappaṭṭu-ttiruvariyil=iṭṭa nilattukku mēṟkum ten-pāṟk-ellaiy=Añjāṅ-kaṇṇāṟ=eṉṟu pēr kūvappaṭṭa kaṇṇāṟṟukku vaḍakkum mēlpāṟk-ellai Māṇakkāntaṉ=eṉṟu pēr kūvappaṭṭa-

4 v-ōḍaiyil mēlāśaṟidikku kiḻakkum yi-nnāṅg=ellai uṭpaṭṭa nilattu[l*] nīr-nilamum=kollaiyum nattamum tirunandanavanaṅgaḷum kamugu-tirunandanavanaṅgaḷum Poṉmēynda-perumaṉallūr=ellai uṭpaṭṭa nila[m*] irupattunālu māvum Kulō-

5 ttuṅgaśōḻanallūr=ellai uṭpaṭṭa nila[m*] nāṟpadu māvum Ālappākkattil pirinda Edirilisōḻanallūr nilam arupattu-iraṇḍu mā mukkāṇiyum i-nnatta-nilam irupattu-nālu māvum Śōlakulavallinallūr=tte[n*]-piḍāgai Villiyanallūr-

6 [5]ril Vikkiramaśōḻanallūr eṉṟu pirinda ūrkkīḻ-iṟaiyili nila[m*] nāṟpadu māvum ivv-ūril Eydaṉūr-kkaṭṭaḷaiyil iraṇḍāyiravar tirunundāviḷakku[p*]pura[m*] mūṉṟu māvum Paṭṭāṉpā[kkat]tu-kkaṭṭaḷaiyil nila[m*] mūṉṟu māvum Tiripuvanamā-dēvi-chchaturvēdimaṅgala-

7 ttu-tten-piḍāgai Śembiyanmādēvi-vaḷanāṭṭu[l*] Peruñjāṉpākkattu nattattukku=kkiḻakku Āmaipaḷḷam=eṉṟu pēr-kūvappaṭṭa nilattu nilam ambadumāvum ivv-ūrgaḷil perum-pāḍikāvalāl iḍakkaḍaviyinav-ellām i-ttēvaṟku tiruppaḍi-

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 949. On the west wall of the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ shrine in Tiruveṇṇainallūr, Tirukoilur Taluk, South Arcot District.

[2] The *visarga*-like symbol stands for punctuation.

[3] Incomplete.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 782. On the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Vāmanapurīśvara shrine at Tirumāṇikuḻi, Cuddalore Taluk, South Arcot District.

[5] This *r* is superfluous.

8 mārṟukkun=tiruviḷakku[kku*]m tiruppaṇigaḷukkum maṟṟum vēṇḍu[m*] nimandaṅgaḷukkum perumpāḍikāval tavirttu i-ttēvarkku=kkalveṭṭi=kkuḍuttēn Mōgan Āḷkkoḷḷiy=āna Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa=kKāḍavarāyanē[n] i-ttanmam aḻippār tiruvā[ṇai]
9 Tiripuvanamuḻuduḍaiyār=āṇai Tiruviraiyākkali naḍuvu kōttu vil [pi]ḍiśār[1] i-ttanmam=aḻippā[ṉ] Vallavaraiyan śattiyam [2]v[ā]t[ā]viga[ḷuk]ku piḻaittār-āvār [||*] idu Panmāhēśvara-rakshai [||*]

IV[3]

1 Svasti Śrī[||*] Pū-mē[vi]-vaḷar Tiru-pPoṉmādu puṇara nā-mēvu Kalaimagaḷ nalam peṟiduśiṟappa Vijaiya-mā-magaḷ vel-puyatt=iruppa iśaiyuñ=chelviyum
2 eṇ-diśai [vi]ḷaṅga nirupar vand=iṟaiñja nī-Nila-maḍandaiyai=ttirumaṇam puṇa[r*]ndu śīr-vaḷartarum maṇi-muḍi kavitt-ena aṇi-muḍi śūḍi mallai=ñālattu=ppalluyiṟk=ellām el-
3 lai[yi]n=iṉbam iyalvinil=eyda veṇ-kuḍai niḻaṟṟa=chcheṅkōl=ōchchi vāḻi pall-ūḻi āḻi naḍappa-chchempon-vīrasiṅṅā-anattu=pPuvanamuḻuduḍaiyāḷ=oḍum vīṟṟirund-a-
4 ruḷiya **Kō-Irājakēśaripaṉmar**-āna Tiripuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ **Śrī-Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-dēvaṟku yāṇḍu padiṉ-mūṉṟāvadu** Irājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu-tTirumuṇai-
5 ppāḍi-kKīḻ-Ā[n*]mūr-nāṭṭu Ādirājamaṅgalliyappurattu Uḍaiyār Tiruvīraṭṭāṉam-Uḍaiyāṟku=ppūśaikkun-tiruppaḍimāṟṟukkum Tiru-
6 muṇaippāḍi-pPeṟugaṉūr-nāṭṭu-k[Kū]ḍalūr. Paññāga-Muttaraiyan Āḷappiṟandān Ēḻiśai-mōgan-āna Kulōttuṅga-
7 ga[4]śōḷa=kKāḍavarāyanēn i-nnāṭṭil en-kāvalāna i-ttēvar-dēvadānam=āna ū[r]gaḷil Śiṟuvāgū[rum] [Dēvanū]ruṅ-Kīḻ-kkumāramaṅgalamu-
8 maṅgalamu[5]m=āna ivv-ūr mūnṟinālum naṉśaiyum punśaiyum taṟi-irai taṭṭār-ppāṭṭaṅ-gaḷuñ-chekkukkaḷum tirunandavanaṅgaḷālum nā[n]
9 koḷ[ḷ]um perumpāḍikāval [śi]ṟupāḍikāva[6]

V[7]

1 to 5 Same as in No. IV.
5 * * * * **yāṇḍu pannirand-āvadu** Irājarāja-vaḷanā-
6 ṭṭu-tTirumunaippāḍi kKīl-Āmūr-nāṭṭu Ādirājamaṅgalliyapurattu Uḍaiyār Tiruvīraṭ-ṭānam-Uḍaiyārku=ppūjaikkun=tiruppaḍimāṟṟu-
7 kkum Tirumunaippāḍi pPeruga[nūr]-nāṭṭu Kūḍalūr Pa[ññ]āgamuttaraiyaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ Araiśanārāyaṇan āna Kulōttuṅgaśōla-Kachchiyarā-
8 yanē[n] Rājarājan-peruvaḻikku mērku en kūṟupaḍiyāna ūrgaḷil i-ttēvar-dēvadāṇamāna Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāṭṭu Kaṇṇamaṅgalamum Māṇi-
9 nallūruṅ-Koṭṭiḷampākkamum To[ṟu]ppāḍiyum Ānāṅ[gū]r-nāṭṭu-kKāṭṭuppākkamum Ādirājamaṅgalliyapurattu Avanikarpagaviḷāgamum ivv=ūṟ=Tirunāvukkaraiyadēvar-
10 tirumaḍappuramum Uḍaiyār-tirumaḍaiviḷāgamum ivv-ūrgaḷāl vanda [i]-ppāḍikāva-[lum] tari-iṟai taṭṭār-ppāṭṭam [ka]ḍaitte[ruvu]gaḷum śekkukkaḷum kamugu-[nanda]-vanaṅgaḷum utpatta punśai

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[1] Read *ttār*.

[2] Read *mātāpitākkaḷukku* as in No. V. l. 13.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 320. On the north wall of the kitchen in the Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruvadi, Cuddalore Taluk, South Arcot District.

[4] The letter *ga* here is superfluous.

[5] Delete *maṅgalamu*.

[6] The inscription is left unfinished.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 319. In the same place as No. IV.

11 uṭpaṭṭa perumpāḍikāvalum maṟṟ=eppēṟpaṭṭa perumpāḍikāvalum i-nnāyanāṟku=[ppū-śai]kkun=tiruppaḍimāṟṟukkuñ=chandirādittavaṟ=chella-kkaḍavadāga viṭṭu pannira-ṇḍāvadu-mudal kalveṭṭi-kkuḍut[tēṉ]

12 Āḷappiṟandān Araiśanārāyaṇaṉ=āna Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa=kKachchiyarāyanēṉ [|*] ippaḍi nāṉ śeydadē eṉ tamaiyanukkum eṉ vaṅ(ṁ)śattāṟkum iduvē [śelōvu]dāgavuñ[1]=cheydēn [|*] i-ttanmam=aḻip .

13 tiruvāṇai [|*] Bu[va*]namuluduḍaiyār=āṇai [||*]Ti[ru]viraṇākkali Tirukkaṇṇappadēvar śrī pāda[m] naḍuvu kōttu viṉpiḍittān i-ttarmam=aḻippāṉ Vallavaraiyaṉ sattiyam [|*] mātā- pi[tāk]kaḷukku=ppilaittār [||*]Gaṅ-

14 gaiy-iḍai Kumari-iḍai[2]

VI[3]

1 to 4 Same as in No. IV, except for slight differences in spelling.

4 . . . . . **Śrī-Kulōttuṅgaśōḻadēvaṟku yāṇḍu ēḻ-āvadu** Irājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu Tirumuṇaippāḍi Mēḻūr-nāṭṭu=tTirunāvalūr-āṇa Irāśādittapurattu Uḍaiyār Tiruttoṇḍīśvaram=Uḍaiyāṟku Peruganūr-nāṭṭu

5 Kūḍalūr-Paḷḷi Āḷappirandāṉ Mōgan=āṇa Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa=kKachchiyarāyaṉ iṭṭa makaratōraṇam onṟināl onpadē-mu[kkāl mā]ṟi poṉ nūṟṟu-[k*][kaḻañjum piṟai onṟināl eṭṭē-mukkāl māṟi

6 poṉ mukkaḻañjum Kūttāḍu[n]dēvaṟku śātti aruḷa iṭṭa abhishēkam onṟināl onpad-arai māṟi poṉ irupadin-kaḻañjum amudu śeydaruḷa iṭṭa veḷḷi-ttaḷigai onṟināl iḍai

7 āyirattu aiññūṟṟu nāṟ kaḻañj araiyēy iraṇḍumañjāḍiyu[m*] nālu-māvum Araśanārāyaṇan veḷḷi kkachchukkōram onṟināl iḍai irunūṟṟu-irupattu-nā-

8 ṟ-kaḻañjum veṇkalam Āḷappirandāṉ-taḷigai onṟināl iḍai irunūṟṟu-ppalamum tiru aṭṭaṇai-kkāl tarā onṟināl iḍai nūṟṟu eṇpattu aim-palamum

9 kombu [4]ōrāṇaiyāl tarā iḍai [muppat]t-aṟu-palamum Tirunāvalūr=āṇa Irāśāditta-[pu]ramum it[t]ōḍu[m] kūḍina Kārāṇai-āna Vīraśōḻanallū[ru]m ivv=irraṇḍ-ūril pāḍikāvaluḍai-

10 yār Tiruttoṇḍīśvaramuḍaiyāṟku vēṇḍum nimandaṅgaḷukku viṭṭēn Āḷappirandāṉ Mōgan=āṇa Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa-Kachchiya[r]āyanēṉ villiḍai piḍittān idu aḻivāṉ Geṅgai-iḍai Ku[ma]ri-i[5]

VII[6]

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] [Sau]tti (Svasti) [Śri] [||*] Tiribhu[va*]nachchakkaravattigaḷ

2 [Śrī]-**Kulōttuṅgaśōḻadēvarkku yāṇḍu 13-ṟāvadu**[Uḍai]-

3 yār Tiru-Aṇṇāmalai-Uḍaiya-Nāyanārkku śātti-aruḷa

4 Kūḍal Araśanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappirandān āṇa Vīraśē-

5 kara=kKāḍavarāyar iṭṭa ēkāvalliyaḍam onṟināl nel-

6 likkāy-muttu nūṟum kaḍaittoḍil iraṇḍum ivai kōtta

7 nūlum uḷppaḍa iḍil alagu nilai[p]paḍi eḍai nūṟṟu-mu[p*]-

8 padiṉ kaḻañju [|*] idu Pan-māyēśura rakshai ெ

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[1] Read *śelvadāgavum*.

[2] Incomplete.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 1004. On the east wall of the *prākāra* of Bhaktajanēśvara shrine at Tirunāmanallūr, Tirukōilūr Taluk, South Arcot District.

[4] Read *ōraṇai* .

[5] Incomplete.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 121. In the *Kīḻ-gōpura* in the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Taluk, North Arcot District.

VIII[1]

1 Śvasti Śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Śrī-**Kulōttuṅgaśōḻadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 13-vadu** Tiruvadigaiy=Uḍaiyār Tiruvīraṭṭāṇamuḍaiya-Nāyanāṟku [Kūḍa]l

2 Achalakulōttamaṉ Āṭkoṇḍanāyakaṉ Kāḍavarāya[ṉ*] iṭṭa ēkāvallivaḍam 1 nāl muttu 50 . . . . [āṇi] 49 agalamaṇi 101-[m] māṅgā-

3 y=kkaḍaittoḷil 2-m kokkuvāy paḍukaṉ agappaḍa eḍai $104\frac{1}{360}$ nilamu[m*]- muttuṅ-kōtta ēkāvallivaḍam 1-nāl muttu 23 nīla-

4 m 22 karkaṭṭiṇa iḍaimaṇi 44 kaḍaittoḷil 2-m kokkuvāy=uṭpaḍa eḍai $120\frac{1}{2}$ [||*]

TRANSLATION

I

Hail! Prosperity! If we select and describe the sacred services to the nectar-eyed god of the big (*mountain*) called Aruṇāchala, that had been rendered by Sakalabhuvanachakravartin **Avaniyāḷappiṟandāṉ Kō-Peruñjiṅgaṉ of Kūḍal,** the lord of the **Pallavas,** whose loftiness made the Earth grow, the Kāḍava that wore sounding anklet-rings, the lord of rulers, who, taking a brilliant sword, (*others*) marching with (*him*), opened up the *bila,* whose growing body was like that of the cloud, whose eyes were like lotuses[2] and whose wealth was the (*highly*) praised *Vēdas,* (*it will be as follows*) :—

(*one*) ear-string, (*one*) crown set with beaming gems, (*one*) *aṅgaśuddha* (*kavacha*) emitting red rays, (*one*) *bāhuvalaya* (armlet), (*one*) sacred wearing-cloth (*containing*) several artistic designs (*made of*) fine gold (*threads*), (*one*) foot-(*cover*) to be placed under the sacred anklet-rings of *pēdai* (the goddess Umā), (*one*) neck-cover with a brilliant dark (*spot*), (*one*) ear-ornament (*vāli*) made of big gems having the fine lustre of the rising sun, (*one sacred ornament*) called *Avaniyāḷappiṟandāṉ-tiruvāśigai* (*resembling*) the sun appearing on the vast ocean, (*one*) lion-throne, (*one*) wish-fulfilling *Kaṟpaga* tree, (*one*) canopy of pearls, (*one*) ornament called *Bharatamalla-perumāḷ* finely set with high class rubies, to the god dancing with anklet-rings to the accompaniment of the tune sung by Umā, whose eyes with spreading lines are smeared with collyrium.

(*one*) *kūḍamañjanam* made of gold and fastened with fine rubies resplendent with the lustre of beams of red rays and brilliant diamonds.

(*one*) sacred wearing-garment profusely filled with big gems, to the goddess Uṇṇāmulai *alias* Umā of (*the shrine of*) Kāmakkōṭṭam in (*the temple of*) the nectar-eyed (*god*), (and)

(*one*) fine image of Muruga (*i.e.,* Subrahmaṇya) who destroyed hills with his victorious spear, with the images of his consorts together with that of the peacock filled with plumes.

All these works of gold which rendered the temple a golden one were made by the lord of Mallai, Niśśaṅkamallan, the king of the Pallavas (*entitled*) Bharatamalla-Perumāḷ and Kūḍal Avaniyāḷappirandān. May he live for aeons with all splendour!

His son Kāḍava Kumāraṉ (*who wore garlands of*) unfading *vāgai* (*flowers*), who was the lord of the highly extolled Mallai, Mayilai, Kāñchī, Taṇḍaga nāḍu, the icy watered Pāli, the Peṇṇai (*region*), Kōval (*and*) Perugai; who had acquired endless fame, who was the one hero among warriors that was held in high esteem by all; (*who was*) a mighty thunderbolt to all heroes; (*who was*) the beloved son of Kariyanādan;[3] (*who*) waged many wars as a result of which the southern

[1] *S. I. I.,* Vol. VIII, No. 329. In the same place as Nos. IV and V.

[2] In speaking of Peruñjiṅga, the inscription uses the words *Kārmēni* and *Kamalakkaṇṇan* thus comparing him with Vishṇu, and in describing his son, it suitably calls him the 'son of *Kariyanādan*'.

[3] With Kariyanādan compare Kārmēni and Kamalakkaṇṇan, occurring in the description of Peruñjiṅga in the earlier part.

possessions of the Karṇāṭas of the western region were diminished,[1] and the Teluṅgas of the northern region perished in their own quarter ;[2] reaching the high walls of the enemy kings destroyed their cities, hills and fortifications ; who had carved his king's *vāgai*,[3] *kuriñji* and *victory* on the Hill of Nannan fitly extolled (*by bards*) and filled with rutting elephants in order that all the fame of conquests might appear prominently ; and who was the Gāṅgaya who marched in the van of the rutting elephant forces of Āṭkoṇḍadēvan of long spear used in waging battles. If a poet has to recount all the benefactions which he had willingly made, out of great devotion which filled his mind, to the nectar-eyed god of Aṇṇāmalai, who has his consort in his body (*they would be as follows*) :—

one sacred pavilion (*maṇḍapa*), wherein was accommodated the god, was firmly constructed under the name of Āṭkoṇḍadēvan Vēṇāvudaiyān of victorious arms, who had won lasting ancient fame and who had protected the whole world, that it might endure for a number of years ;

one finely scented sacred bed-chamber made of gold ;

a big pavilion where the sacred offerings had to be placed ;

one elaborately made *Tirukkākkaḷḷi* ;

one sacred pavilion called after Avaniyāḷappirandān of great power ;

one *śilātala* made with stones cut from the hills of kings that did not submit themselves and carried on the heads of those kings ;[4] which *śilātala* formed as it were the lowest of the three worlds and emitted such lustre as that which issues from the white moon[5] and which was circumambulated by the Dēvas whose beautiful flower garlands do not fade whose eyes do not wink and whose feet do not touch the ground ;

one great treasury called after Niśśaṅkamallan so formed as to receive in it such wealth that could not be exhausted even in numberless *yugas*.

In order to show the form which the crescent-headed god had assumed now, in settling down here and also his former form, (*one*) image of Kaṅkāḷa, in which form the god begged his food from house to house from the damsels whose proud eyes resembled the blade of a sword, was made ;

(*one*) car[6] with four faces so made that the gods of the celestial region might offer their obeisance and (*one*) long street[6] similarly formed for the goddess ;

the *Gāṅgayan-maḍam* (*was so*) constructed like a hill for the permanent residence of the ascetics studying the arts that it made resplendent the street which was ornamented with gems lustrous like the sun in its circumambulatory course through the quarters ;

(*one*) large sacred garden (*called*) *Vāḷvallapperumāḷ-tōppu* with an exuberance of fine fragrance, which produced the south wind during the summer season, like the breeze caused by the waving of *chowries*, on either side of the god who resides in the forest, and to whom the Dēvas offer their prayers ;

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[1] It may also be translated as 'made the Karṇāṭas of the western region to go to the southern quarter, *i.e.*, made them die'.

[2] This may also be rendered as 'made the Teluṅgas of the northern region to meet with their end by taking to *prāyōpavēśa*'.

[3] *Vāgai* is a particular kind of garland usually worn by kings. In the case of the Pāṇḍya it was made of *vēmbu*, in the case of the Chōḷa it was made of *ātti*, and in the case of the Chēra it consisted of *vañji* flowers.

[4] See for a similar action in *Śilappadikāram*, 27, l. 41.

[5] *veṇ-madi-nilavil*, etc. This may also be rendered 'that the pavement emitted brilliance during moon-light'.

[6] That an object similar to the one made for the god was also made for the goddess is clear from the adjunct *oppaḍavagutta*. If so, the words *tēru* or *tēra* in the first instance and *teruvu* in the second instance must refer to one object which may be either *tēr* (car) or *teruvu* (street). As such we have either to consider that if a street (*teru*) is meant we must suppose that *vum* is omitted in the first instance, and if a car (*tēr*) is intended *vu* is wrongly inserted in the second instance. The translation given here follows the words that occur in the text, *i.e.*, *tēr-m* and *teruvu-m*. Since the reading *teruvum* is clear, it seems to me that in all likelihood *vum* is omitted after *teru* in the first instance.

(one) tank *(called)* *Tamiḻpāḍal āttaperumāḷ-taḍāgam* whose water was held more sacred than the nectar-like water of all rivers usually considered very sacred :

(one garden called) *Kāḍavakumāran-tōppu* having the fragrance of honey-stored flowers with the humming of beetles :

(one) garden *(called after)* Avaniyāḷappirandān which impeded the course of the sun having fine swift horses :

(one) garden *(called after)* Śēnattalaivan *(the commander-in-chief)* well-known in the world :

(one) *Ammaimadam* which afforded shade of flower-bearing trees that cooled the minds of persons who had walked through dreary forests on hot days :

(one tank called) *Aggapēri* :

(one well called) *Vaḍi-Vēlvallaperumāḷ-kiṇaṛu*, which as if by breaking open the interior of a hill, admitted the flow of nectar-like water from a deep cavity :

(one) tank *(called after)* Kāḍavakumāran with cool water in which blossomed lotuses and water-lilies *(frequented by)* humming bees :

(one) lake *(called after)* Venrumalaikoṇḍaperumāḷ whose long bund was so raised as if it were a range of hillocks :

(one grove called) *Bharatamallaperumāḷ-tōppu* which excelled the forest thick-set with celestial trees :

(one) garden *(called after)* Vīrarāvan, filled with fragrance issuing from very tender flower-sheafs where the beetles ever hum :

(one) lake *(called after)* Niśśaṅkamallan which was so filled with water that it resembled the sea and which made the fields yield in the *Kār (season)* : it was given to . . . , in the high lineage of Sundara who followed the way of the ascetics :

(one) tank and *matha* *(called after)* Gāṅgavan :

(one) grove filled with fragrant plants.

All these he made so well as to present a beautiful appearance. On account of these acts, the Assembly of the 18,000,—who ever looked with favour upon those that bore on their heads the lotus feet of Ardhanārīśvara, who ever smeared their bodies with sacred ashes, whose minds were filled with righteous ways dictated in the *Āgamas*, whose commands drove off the heretical faiths and who were considered to be the devotees that learnt the *mantra* of the five letters direct from the god Jaṭādhara (Śiva) wearing the crescent and a plait of hair on his head and assuming the form of Ādinātha received on his head Gaṅgā when she rushed forth in thousand faces making great noise,—were graciously pleased and blessed him saying "Let him ever live peacefully in this world."

ABSTRACTS OF CONTENTS

II

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the **seventh year** *(of the reign)* of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Śrī **Kō-pPeruñjiṅgadēva**, on the day of Rēvatī corresponding to Friday, the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Siṁha *(this was engraved)* . . .

In the 29th year *(of the reign)* of [Tri]bhuvanavīradēva, when this *Śrīvimāna*, having become dilapidated, had been pulled down and reconstructed, the old inscriptions that were found there, had been *(re-engraved)*. . . . .

Details of boundaries of several fields : left unfinished.

III

In the **3rd year** of (*the reign of*) Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrī-**Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa**, Mōgan Ālkoḻḻi *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla-Kādavarāyan assigned to the temple of Udaiyi-Tirumāṇikuḻi in Mērkā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu, for offerings, sacred lamps and services, all the taxes that were being paid to him as *pāḍikāval* on the following items of lands and villages:—

twenty-four *mā* of land (*comprising*) wet-lands, fields, *nattam* lands, sacred flower-gardens, sacred areca-groves, and border lands of Ponmēyndaperumāḷnallūr. The northern boundary of this piece of land lay to the south of the water channel running from the sacred (*river*) Geḍilam; the eastern boundary lay to the west of the land which was called and entered in tax-registers under the name Pirēgam and which was a *dēvadāna* of the temple of Tiruvavindiapurattu-Āḻvār; the southern boundary lay to the north of the channel called the *pith-kaṇṇāru*; and the western boundary lay to the east of the western end of the stream called Mānakāntan;

forty *mā* in Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallūr including (*its*) border-lands; sixty-two *mā* and three *kāṇi* of land in Edirilisōlanallūr which was separated from Ālappākkam; twenty-four *mā* of *nattam* lands in the same place; forty *mā* of *ūrkīl-iraiyili* land in the village which became separated from Viliyanallūr, under the name Vikramaśōlanallūr, the southern hamlet of Śōlakulavalli-nallūr; three *mā* of land in this village which were given for sacred lamps called after Iḷaṇḍāyiravar to be burnt during the service called *Eḻlanāi-kattaḷai*; three *mā* of land from the *kattaḷai* land in Paṭṭānpākkam; fifty *mā* of land in the land called Āmaipaḷḷam which lay to the east of the *nattam* of Peruñjānpākkam in Śembiyanmādēvi-vaḷanāḍu, a southern hamlet of Tribhuvanamādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

IV

In the **13th year** of (*the reign of*) king Rājakēsarivarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrī-**Kulōt-tuṅgachōḻadēva,** Paññāgamuttaraiyan Āḷappirandān Ēḻisaimōgan *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kāda-varāyan of Kūḍalūr in Peruganūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Tirumunaippāḍi gave for worship and offerings (*tiruppaḍimāṟu*) to the temple of Tiruvīraṭṭānam-Udaiyār at Ādhirājamaṅgaliya-puram in Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāḍu in Tirumanaippāḍi-nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu, the incomes accruing from the taxes on *nañjai* and *puñjai* lands, *tari-irai*, *tattār-pāttam*, tax on oil-mills and gardens, *viz.*, *perumpāḍikāval* and *sirupāḍikāval*, which he was receiving from the three villages Śiruvāgūr, Dēvanūr and Kīḻkumāramaṅgalam placed under his protection.

V

In the **12th year** of the reign of King Rājakēsarivarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrī-**Kulōt-tuṅgaśōḻadēva,** Paññāgamuttaraiyan Āḷappirandān Arasanārāyaṇan *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōla Kachchiyarāyan of Kūḍalūr in Peruganūr-nāḍu in Tirumunaippāḍi gave the incomes arising from the *pāḍikāval* of the villages Kaṇṇamaṅgalam, Māṇmallūr, Koṭṭiḷampākkam, Toruppāḍi of Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāḍu, Kāṭṭuppākkam in Ānāṅgūr-nāḍu and Avanikarpagaviḷāgam in Ādhirājamaṅgaliyapuram, the sacred *maḍappuram* (lands) of the god called after Tirunāvukkaraśu of this *ūr* and the *perumpāḍikāval* in *puñjai* lands, *tari-irai*, *tattār-pāttam*, incomes from bazaar-streets, tax on oil-mills, areca-palms and flower-gardens and all the other *perumpāḍikāval* for the worship and offerings in the temple of Udaiyār Tiruvīraṭṭānam-Udaiyār at Ādhirājamaṅgaliyapuram in Kīḻ-Āmūr-nāḍu in Tirumunaippāḍi a subdivision of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu.

VI

In the **7th year** of the reign of **Kulōttuṅgaśōladēva**, Paḷḷi Āḷappirandāṉ Mōgan *alias* Kulō-ttuṅgaśōla Kachchiyarāyan of Kūḍalūr in Peruganūr-nāḍu (*made the following gifts*) to the god

Tiruttoṇḍiśvaram-Uḍaiyār of Tirunāvalūr *alias* Rājādittapuram of Mēlūr-nāḍu in Tirumunaippāḍi, a subdivision of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu :—

One *makaratōraṇa* weighing 100 *kalañju* of gold : nine and three-fourths fineness :

One crescent weighing 3 *kalañju* of gold : eight and three-fourths fineness :

One *abhishēka*(-vessel) for the dancing god weighing 20 *kalañju* of gold nine and a half fineness .

One silver dish for offering food weighing 150¼ *kalañju* and 2 *mañjāḍi* and 4 *mā* :

One *kachchōlakkōram* of silver called after the name Araśanārāyaṇan weighing 224 *kalañju* .

One dish in bell-metal called after Āḷappirandāṉ weighing 200 *palam* :

One *tiruvattaṇaikkāl* in *tarā* weighing 185 *palam* , and one pair of horns (*ōraṇai*) in *tarā* weighing 36 *palam*. Besides the above, the same chief gave to the god Tiruttoṇḍiśvaram-Uḍaiyār the *pāḍikāval* incomes from the lands of the two villages Tirunāvalūr *alias* Rājādittapuram and Kārāṇai *alias* Viraśōḷanallūr.

VII

In the **13th year** of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrī-**Kulōttuṅgaśōḷadēva**, Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappirandāṉ *alias* Viraśēkharan Kāḍavarāyaṉ of Kūḍal gave to the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, one *ēkāvalliraḍam* It had in it 100 big pearls of the size of embellic myrobalans, two pendants and one gold string in which they were strung together weighing 130 *kalañju*.

VIII

In the **13th year** of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrī-**Kulōttuṅgaśōḷadēva**, Achalakulōttaman Ātkoṇḍanāyakan Kāḍavarāyan of Kūḍal gave an *ēkāvalliraḍam* to the temple of Tiruvīrattānam-Uḍaiyār at Tiruvadigai It had in it 50 pearls 49 . . . . nails, 101 broad gems, 2 mango-shaped pendants with a hook (*kokkuvāy*) and an eye (*paḍukay*). The whole weighed $101\frac{1}{360}$ [*kalañju*] Another *ēkāvalliraḍam* in which sapphires and pearls were strung containing 23 pearls, 22 sapphires 14 gems fastened in the middle, 2 pendants in gold and a hook (*kokkuvāy*), presented by the same chief, is said to have weighed 120¼ [*kalañju*]

No. 19—PHERAVA GRANT OF SAMANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA, YEAR 185

(*1 Plate*)

R. C. MAJUMDAR, CALCUTTA

This is a set of **three plates** which were dug up from a field nearly a furlong west of **Chidivalasa** (near Narasannapeta) in the Ganjam District, and are now in the possession of the *Mohant* or Pontiff of Balaga *matha* at **Chicacole**. Mr. M. Narasimham kindly brought the grant to my notice and sent me estampages of the plates Subsequently a fresh set of estampages was supplied by the Government Epigraphist. The grant was noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1937-38 (p. 80), and referred to by Dr B. Ch. Chhabra in this Journal (above Vol. XXIV, p. 132). Mr. M. S. Sarma edited the grant in the *Journal of Oriental Research* (Vol. XI pp. 55 ff.).

Each of the plates measures 5·8" 2·2". There is a ring-hole about the middle of the left hand side but neither the ring nor the seal was actually found. Each plate contains six lines of writing on each side, save that the third plate has only one line on the back side, and that one side of the first plate is blank.

The **alphabet** is of the southern type such as is used in the early Gaṅga records, and is very neatly engraved. For this reason it offers a great contrast to that of the Dhanantara plates[1] of king **Sāmantavarman.** In spite of slight differences the alphabets of these two plates show essentially the same characteristics, and may be referred to the **sixth or seventh century A. D.**

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the five imprecatory verses at the end (ll. 18-24) the inscription is written in prose. As compared with the other Gaṅga records, the language is fairly correct and the mistakes are very few.

As regards **orthography** the following points may be noted. Consonants are doubled after *r* with a few exceptions such as *prakarsha* (l. 5), *chaturbhyō* (l. 11), and *varsha* (l. 21). Consonants *k* and *t* followed by *r* are also doubled. The final *t* is indicated by a small-sized letter with a short horizontal stroke underneath. Same sign is used for *b* and *v*, but separate sign for *b* is used in the conjunct *mb* (ll. 1, 8). *Anusvāra* is used in place of final *m* in the imprecatory verses (cf. *phalaṁ* in l. 20, *pālanaṁ* in ll. 21, 23 and 24, and *bhaiṅgaraṁ* in l. 24).

The inscription records the grant of the village of **Phērava** in **Lauhaśṛiṅgāra** *vishaya* as an *agrahāra* to four Brāhmaṇas, *viz.* **Kīrttīśaśarmā** and his three sons **Dēvaśarmā, Raviśarmā** and **Divākaraśarmā** by the Gaṅga king *Mahārāja* **Śrī-Sāmantavarman,** Lord of **Kaliṅga,** in the year 185.[2] The grant was issued from the victorious city of **Śchētaka.**

King Sāmantavarman of the present grant may be identified with the king of the same name who issued the Dhanantara plates. The opening phraseology is the same in both with one important exception. The latter contain, as a qualifying phrase of the king, "who has the supremacy over the whole of Śvētaka, won by the strength of his own arms". But in the corresponding passage of the present grant, Kaliṅga is substituted for "the whole of Śvētaka" and this form is continued by all the kings of the dynasty, with the addition of 'whole' (*sakala*) before Kaliṅga. Further, the present grant adds the epithet "*sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati-Mahārājaḥ*" (*Mahārāja*, the Lord of the whole of Kaliṅga) before the name of the king, whereas the other simply refers to the king as "Śrī-Sāmantavarmā" without any royal epithet. These differences cannot but be regarded as being deliberate, and, therefore, of material significance. It is legitimate to infer that Sāmantavarman began his career as a local chief of Śvētaka, rose to political importance by dint of his own prowess, and possibly conquered a portion of the Kaliṅga territory. For, in spite of the phrase 'Lord of the whole of Kaliṅga' it is difficult to accept, without further corroborative evidence, that Sāmantavarman's authority extended over the whole of Kaliṅga, specially when we remember that similar claims are made on behalf of the other kings of Śvētaka, while a long line of Gaṅga kings with Kaliṅga-nagara as capital had been ruling in Kaliṅga both before and after the time of Sāmantavarman.

We know altogether twelve copper-plate grants[3] issued by the kings of the Gaṅga family from Śvētaka. They are connected by the conventional opening phrase, which practically

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, p. 275.

[2] The reading of the date has been discussed later.

[3] These are :—

1. Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman (above, Vol. XV, p. 275).
2. Phērava Grant of Sāmantavarman year 185 (the present Grant).
3. Gautami plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 180).
4. N. Ganjam plates of Jayavarman (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 261).
5. Vishamagiri plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XIX, p. 136).
6. N. Ganjam plates of Rāṇaka Jayavarman—year 100 (above, Vol. XXII, p. 258).
7. N. Ganjam plates of Bhūpēndravarman (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 265).
8. Svalpa-Velura Grant of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 129).
9. Ganjam plates of Pṛithivivarman (above, Vol. IV, p. 198).
10. Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 78).
11. Indian Museum plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 165).
12. N. Ganjam plates of Dānārṇavadeva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 263).

remains unaltered with a few unimportant verbal alterations, and were all found within a narrow circumscribed area of what may be called Northern Kaliṅga. This is all the more striking as these plates cover a fairly long period extending from the 7th to the 12th century A.D. The eleven kings, whose names are known from these records, certainly did not rule in an unbroken line of succession, but they probably belonged to one and the same branch of the extensive Gaṅga family which had established itself at Śvētaka.

Palaeographic examination of the plates enables us to place these Gaṅga kings within three broad chronological periods as follows.[1]

I. *About 7th and 8th centuries A.D.*

1. M. Sāmantavarman (Nos. I, II).
2. M. Indravarman (No. III).
3. M. Jayavarman (No. IV).[2]

II. *9th and 10th centuries A.D.*

4. M. Indravarman II (No. V).
5. Rāṇaka Jayavarman II (No. VI).
6. MPP. Bhūpēndravarman (No. VII).
7. MPP. Anantavarman (No. VIII).

III. *11th and 12th centuries A.D.*

8. Mahīndravarman (No. IX).
9. M. Pṛthivīvarman, son of No. 8 (No. IX).
10. MPP. Indravarman, son of No. 9 (Nos. X, XI).
11. PPM. Rāṇaka Dānārṇava (No. XII).

The family name Gaṅga and the reference to the deity Gōkarṇasvāmī on mount Mahēndra, in the records of the Śvētaka kings seem to connect them with the early Gaṅga rulers of Kaliṅga-nagara. At the same time there is hardly any doubt that they constituted an independent line of rulers[3] for a period extending over nearly five hundred years, *i.e.* almost during the whole period of the sovereignty of the other branch. As none of the localities mentioned in the records of the Śvētaka kings has been satisfactorily identified, it is difficult to define the boundaries of their kingdom. As most of the plates were found in the northern part of the Ganjam District, and the sanctity of Mahēndra hills is emphasised in all the records, the Śvētaka kingdom may be regarded as having comprised the northern and western parts of the Ganjam District, just outside and bordering on the Gaṅga kingdom of Kaliṅga-nagara, and adjoining territories towards the north and west. It is probable that occasionally this boundary was enlarged as some powerful kings aggrandised themselves at the cost of their neighbours. This explains, and is supported by, the assumption

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[1] The Roman numerals refer to the serial number of inscriptions in the preceding footnote. The following abbreviations are used:—

M—*Mahārāja*

MPP.—*Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka.*

PPM.—*Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja.*

[2] The grant published in *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, p. 492, was also probably issued by this king as a subordinate ruler.

[3] Dr. H. C. Ray does not distinguish the two branches but treats all the kings as belonging to one and the same line (*Dynastic Hist. of N. India*, Vol. I, p. 448). It should be remembered, however, that all the grants of the Gaṅga kings of the other line, with two exceptions, were issued from Kaliṅga-nagara, and begin with a set phrase which is different from that used in the Śvētaka records. Not a single king of Kaliṅga-nagara is known to have issued grants from Śvētaka or *vice versâ*.

of imperial titles by some of the rulers (Nos. 6, 7, 10, 11). It is significant that the grant of Rāṇaka Jayavarman was registered (*lāñchhita*) by the Trikaliṅga-Mahādēvī. This shows that Trikaliṅga was included in the kingdom, and may even be taken to indicate that the kingdom was also sometimes known by that name. As I have suggested elsewhere, Trikaliṅga probably designates the hilly tracts, lying to the west of Kaliṅga and separating it from the Central Provinces.[1]

For reasons stated above, it may be assumed that Sāmantavarman, originally a petty local chief of Śvētaka, laid the foundations of the independent kingdom. This is also supported by palaeographic considerations, as the alphabet of Sāmantavarman's grants is the earliest in the series of Śvētaka records. The date of Sāmantavarman may be fixed with a tolerable degree of certainty. It contains a date in three figures which was read by Mr. Sarma as *185*.[2] The first figure is undoubtedly *100*, and the last, *5*. "The middle one, however," as Dr. Chhabra has pointed out,[3] "answers neither to 8 nor to 80, as a comparison of it with the known symbols of these numerals will prove." On the other hand, it should be remembered that the symbol does not closely resemble any numerical symbol or figure used in the Kaliṅga records. Dr. Chhabra proposes to read it as *6*. But this figure, as used in the Kōmarti plates referred to by him, as well as in other records,[4] has a long horizontal line at the top, resembling medial *ā* sign, which is altogether wanting in the present case. The only instance known to me of a numerical symbol, similar to that used in the present record, is the figure for 8 in Column VI of Bühler's Chart. This, however, refers to the Kushāṇa period, and it would not be safe to accept it as of equal value five centuries later. But still, until more satisfactory identification is forthcoming, it would perhaps be better to interpret the symbol as 8, and read the date provisionally as *185*. It may be noted that the two other symbols, *viz.*, those for *100* and *5*, may also be traced to very old times.

Whether the date be read as *185* or *165* (or any other figure between *115* and *195*), it should be referred to the Gaṅga Era. For the alphabet of the present record closely resembles that of the Gaṅga records of Kaliṅga dated in the second century of that era. The epoch of the Gaṅga Era has not been finally determined yet, but there is a general consensus of opinion that it commenced towards the very end of the 5th or by the middle of the 6th century A.D.[5] Sāmantavarman may thus be placed towards the latter part of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara were at this time busy defending their territory against the Eastern Chālukyas who had already conquered Madhyama-Kaliṅga corresponding to the southern part of the Vizagapatam District. It is to be noted that almost all the records of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara refer to the region comprising the northern part of the Vizagapatam and the southern part of the Ganjam Districts. The territories immediately to the south were in possession of the Eastern Chālukyas during the latter part of the seventh and the first part of the eighth century A.D.[6] It is probable, therefore, that Sāmantavarman, taking advantage of the troubles of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara, founded an independent principality in the northern part of the Ganjam District. This view is supported by the fact that almost all the records of the line of kings founded by him have been found in this region.

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[1] *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. II, No. II, p. 19.

[2] *J.O.R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58. This is also the reading in the *Ann. Rep. S.I. Epigraphy*, 1937-38, p. 80.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 132. [Subsequently I had another occasion to study the formation of the symbols for *6* and *8*; see above, p. 30. I now accept the view that the disputed sign stands for 8. The reading of the year as *185* may therefore be taken as final. B. Ch. Chhabra.]

[4] Cf. *e.g.* Pedavegi C.P. (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, p. 94).

[5] For the different views on this subject, *cf.* above, Vol. XXIV, p. 181, f.n. 8. The latest view is that of Prof. V. V. Mirashi, according to whom the Gaṅga era commenced in A. D. 498-99; see above, Vol. XXVI, p. 330.

[6] This has been discussed by me with full reference to authorities in *Dacca Univ. Studies*, Vol. II, No. II, pp. 24 ff.

Sāmantavarman's task was also perhaps facilitated by the aggressive policy of the Śailōdbhava king Sainyabhīta II who ruled in the first half of the 7th century A.D. This ruler of Kōṅgōda claims to have exercised sovereignty over the whole of Kaliṅga,— a characteristic phrase also used later by Sāmantavarman and his successors. It is highly probable that the Kōṅgōda king defeated the Gaṅga ruler of Kaliṅga-nagara and conquered a portion of the Ganjam District in the north. But about the middle of the 7th century A.D., the Śailōdbhavas were defeated by Harshavardhana and they almost disappear from the political arena for nearly two centuries.[1] This was the period during which we find Sāmantavarman and at least three other kings ruling in Śvētaka as independent chiefs.

It may be presumed that the political events described above were not unconnected with each other. The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara were weakened by the aggressive policy of the Śailōdbhavas in the north and the Eastern Chālukyas in the south. This gave an opportunity to the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka to establish an independent principality in the northern part of the Ganjam District on the collapse of the Śailōdbhava power about the middle of the 7th century A.D., or shortly after that.

This historical review has a bearing on the location of the capital city **Śvētaka** about which different opinions have been expressed by scholars. The identification of Śvētaka with Śrīkūrmam, proposed by Mr. R. Subba Rao,[2] must be definitely ruled out, as it is too far south. Mr. Sarma identifies it with Chīkaṭi in the Sompeta *tāluk* of the Ganjam District,[3] but the philological ground, on which alone this is based, is not convincing. There is a village called Sadaka, not far from Chīkaṭi (Lat. 84°-6', Long. 19°-48', in Sheet Atlas No 74 A). This name resembles Śvētaka, but I am not aware if the place contains any antiquity. On the whole, the available evidence indicates that the site of Śvētaka is to be looked for in the northern part of the Ganjam District, but its exact identification must be left an open question.

The actual name of this capital city is also a matter of dispute. Mr. Sarma has expressed the view that the real name of the city is Śchētaka and not Śvētaka.[4] Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, after discussing the question at some length, has upheld the reading Śvētaka.[5] There is, however, no doubt that the present record, where the letters have been very carefully engraved, definitely gives the name as Śchētaka. This will be evident from a comparison of the first syllable of the name with the conjunct *ścha* in *bhagavataś=charāchara-* (l. 1), *sarvvabhūtaś=cha* (l. 11), *-ātmanaś=cha* (l. 13), *paśchimēna* (l. 14), *bhavishyataś=cha* (l. 16), and *gītāś=ch=ātra* (l. 18) on the one hand, and *śva* in *Gōkarṇēśvara* (l. 3), *Māhēśvaro* (l. 6) and *grāmō=śvattha* (l. 9) on the other. The grant No. V also gives the name in the form Śchētaka. On the other hand, there is no doubt that at least in some of the grants of the dynasty (Nos. I, VIII, III, IV) the name is definitely written as Śvētaka. But the difficulty does not end here. For, of the twelve known grants of this dynasty, while two give definitely Śchētaka and four others, Śvētaka, no less than four (Nos. VII, IX, X, XI) write the name as Śvētka, and in the two remaining cases we get Śēta (No. VI) and Śvēta (No. XII). It appears that all these differences in the form of the name are caused by an attempt to Sanskritize a vernacular name, and it would not, therefore, perhaps be wise to accept Śvētaka as the only correct form and reject others as mistakes.

Of the other **localities** mentioned, **Lauhaśṛiṅgāra** may be the origin of such village name as Loisinga in the feudatory state of Patna, but this identity cannot be regarded as certain or even

[1] The history of the Śailōdbhavas has been discussed by me with full reference to authorities in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. X, pp. 1 ff.

[2] *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, p. 184.

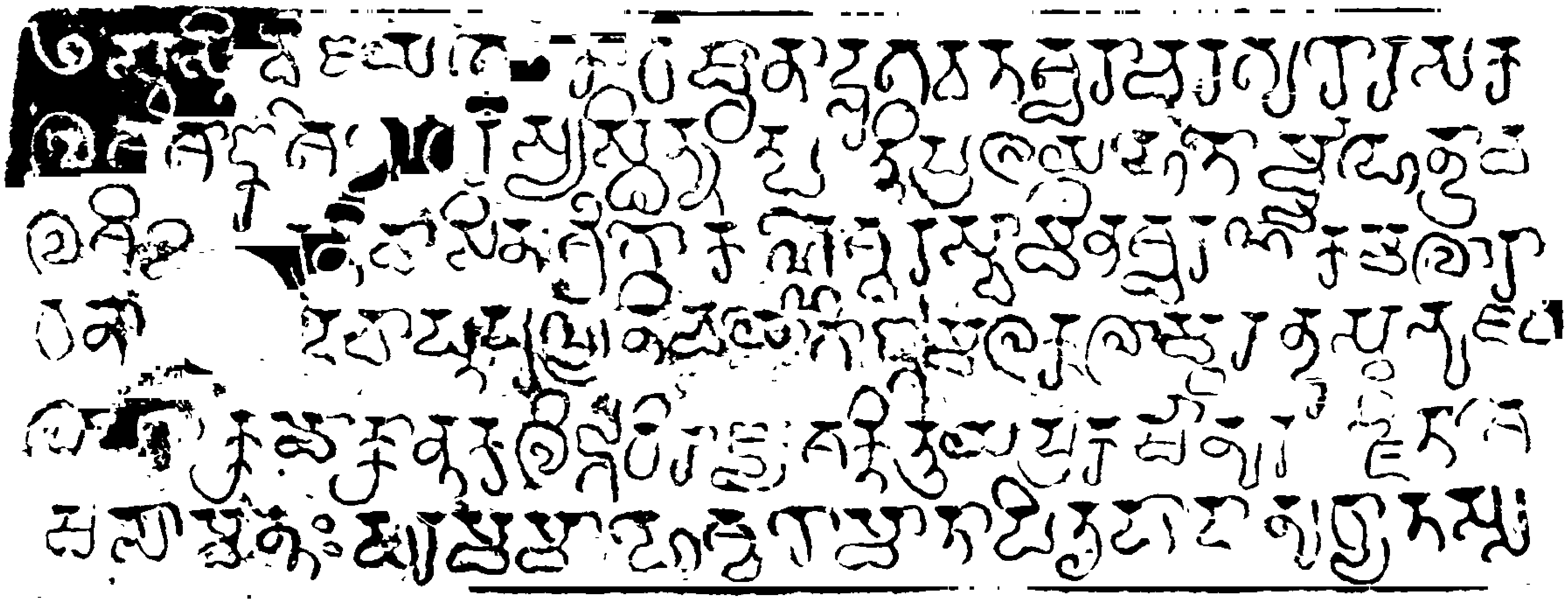
[3] *J.O.R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 59, f.n. 9.

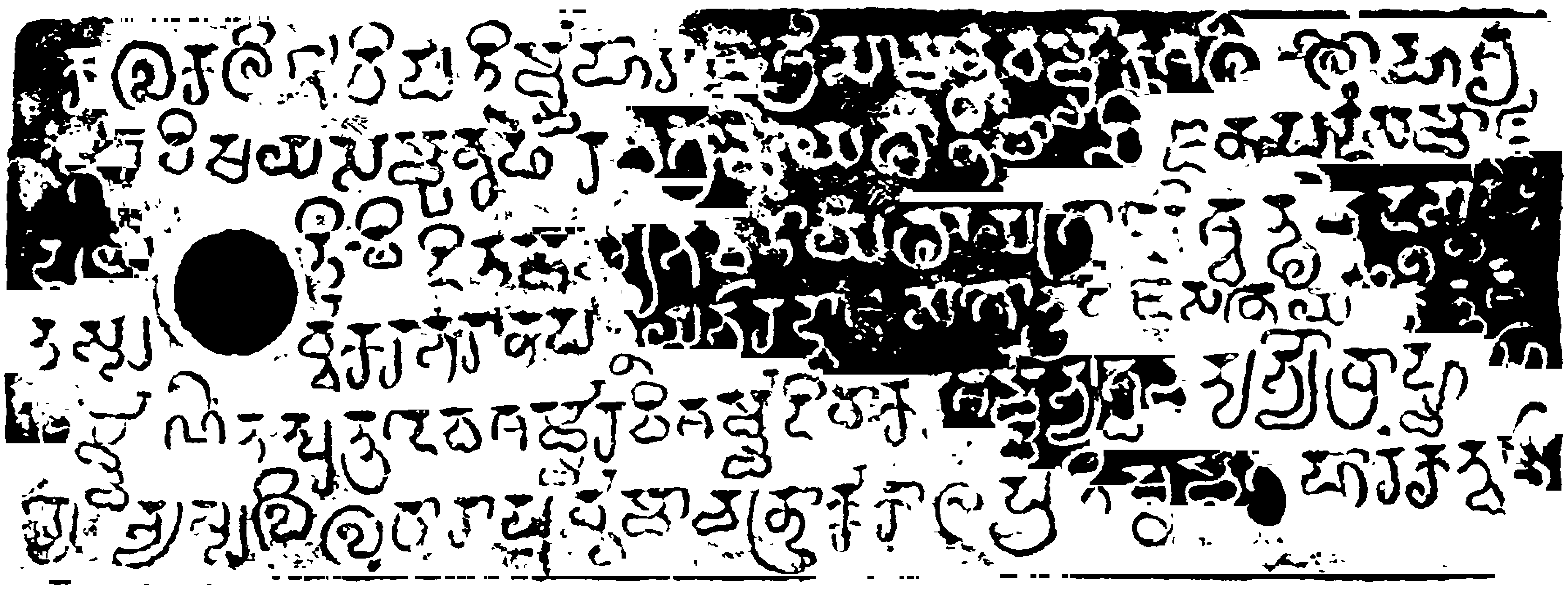
[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 131.

PHERAVA GRANT OF SAMANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA, YEAR 185

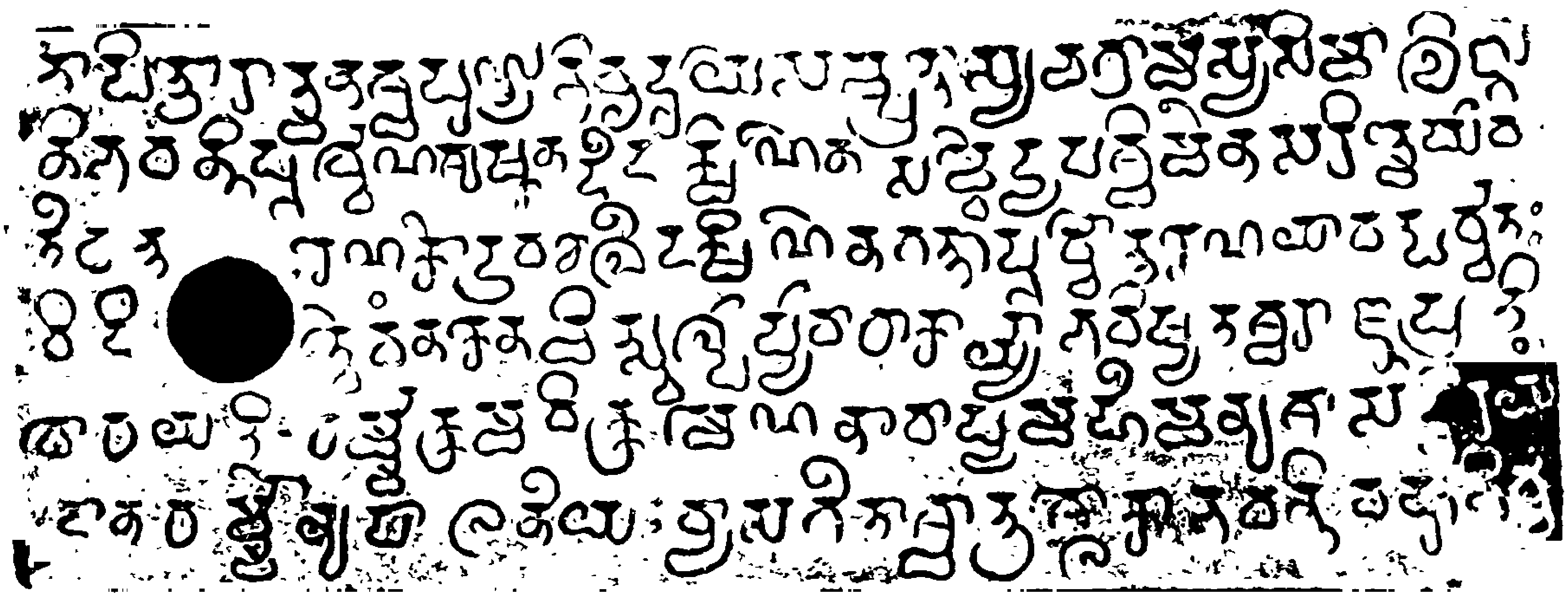
i.



ii,a.



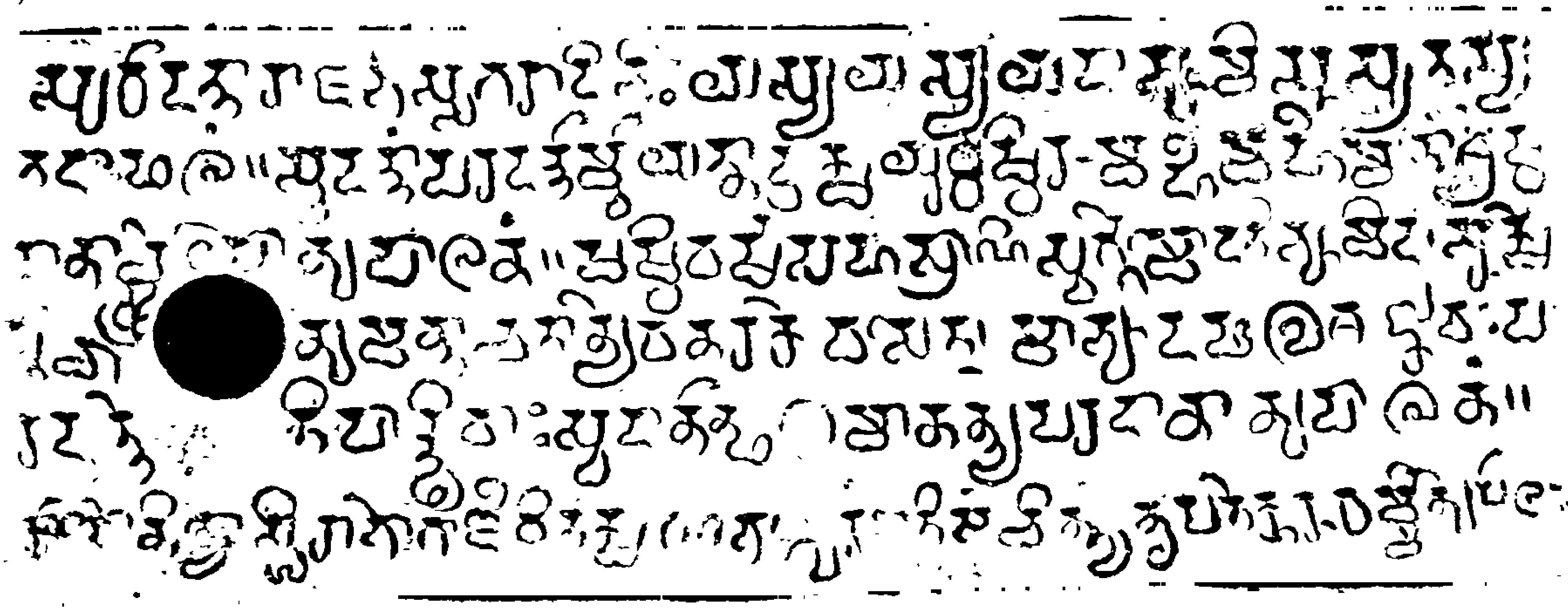
ii,b.



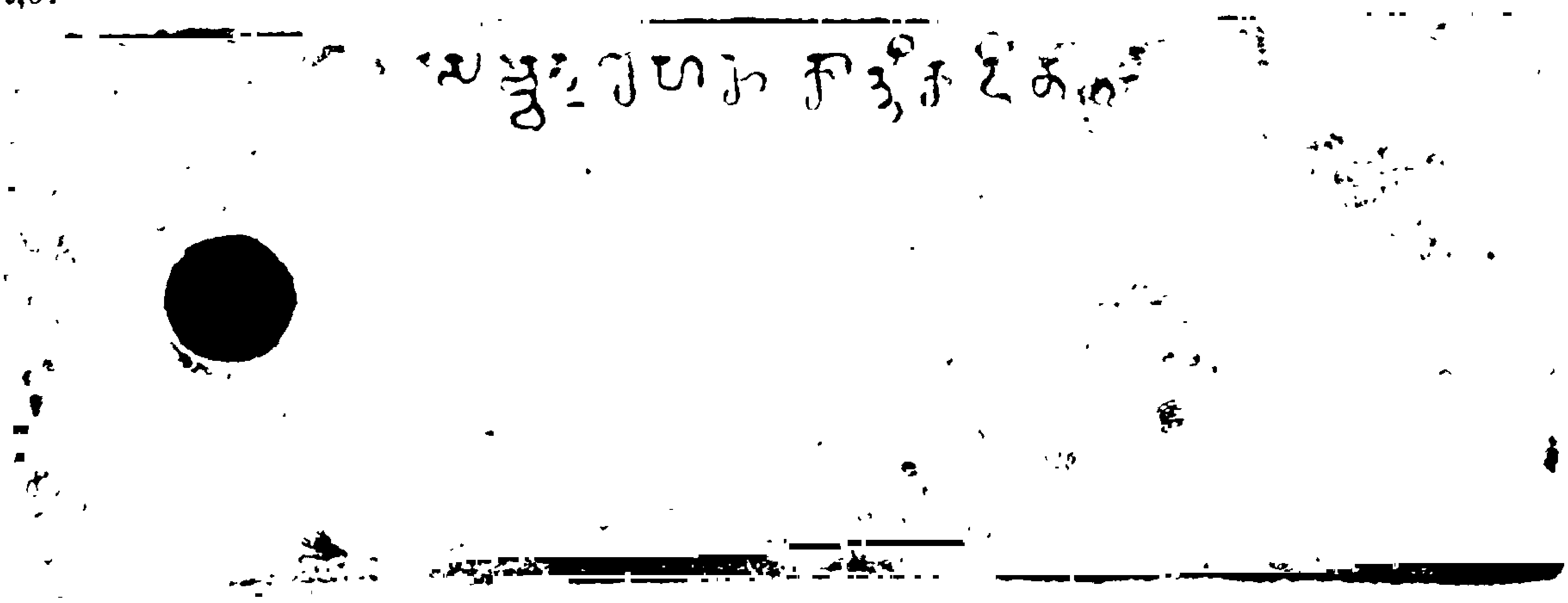
B. CH. CHHABRA. ACTUAL SIZE SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

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iii,a.



iii,b.



probable until we have more definite information about the location and extent of the Śvētaka kingdom. The village Phērava and the river Mēghāvatī cannot be identified, but the latter may be one of the small tributaries of the river Tel.[1]

In conclusion, reference may be made to two peculiarities in this grant. In the first place there is no reference to the officials of whom a long list is found in the grants of all other kings of the dynasty. In this respect the simple formula "*yathā-kāla-vyavahāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān*" of the grant No. I, and "*yathā-nivāsi-janapadaṁ*" of the present grant offer a striking contrast to the enumeration of officials in grant No. III. and the still longer list of officials in No. IV. This, also, may be regarded as an indication that Sāmantavarman flourished earlier than the other kings. Secondly, verse 5 in the imprecatory formula is a new one, and evidently replaces the well-known verse *Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-vindu-lōlām*, etc.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Ōṁ svasti [|*] vijaya-**Śchētak**[2]-ādhishṭhānād=bhagavataś=char-āchara-gurōr=a-**saka**-

2 la-śaśāṅka-śēkhara-dharasya sthity-utpatti-pralaya-hētōr=Mmahēndr-ācha-

3 la-śikhara-nivāsinaḥ Śrī-Gōkarṇṇēśvara-svāminaś=charaṇa-kamal-ārā-

4 dhanād=avāpta-puṇya-nichayō **Gāṅg**-āmala-kul-āmbara(r-ē)ndu[ḥ*] sva-bhuja-va(ba)-

5 la-parākkram-ākkrānta-**Kaliṅg**-ādhirājyaḥ śakti-ttraya-prakarsh-ānurañjit-āśē-

6 sha-sāmantaḥ parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātas=sa-

Second Plate ; First Side

7 kala-Kaliṅg-ādhipatir=mmahārājaḥ **Śrī-Sāmantavarmmā** kuśalī **Lauhaśṛi**

8 **ṅgāra**-vishaya-sambandha(ddha)-**Phērava**-grāmē yathā-nivāsi-janapadaṁ samājñā-

9 payati [| *] viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=āyaṁ grāmō=śvatthachchhēda-sahi-

10 tas=sarva-kara-bharān=apanīya Bhāradvāja-sagōttra-Vājasanēya-**Kīrttiśa**-

11 **śarmmaṇē** tat-puttra-**Dēvaśarmma-Raviśarmma-Divākaraśarmma**bhyaś=cha chaturbhyō brāhmaṇ-ā-

12 grēbhyas=salila-dhārā-pūrvvam=ā-chandr-ārkka-kāla-pratishṭham=agrahāraṁ kṛitvā **mā**-

Second Plate ; Second Side

13 tā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē samprattō=sya cha grāmasya sīmā-liṅgā-

14 ni bhavanti pūrvvēṇa śushka-nadī dakshiṇēna samvaidya paśchimēna sarit=**Mē(n=Mē)ghāva**-

15 **tī** uttarēṇa kōdrava-khālī[3] dakshiṇēna ga[r*]ttā pūrvv-ōttarēṇa yāvat-parvvataḥ [|*]

16 viditv=aivaṁ na kēnachit=svalp=apy=āvā(bā)dhā kāryyā bhavishyataś=cha rājña[ḥ*] prati-

17 vō(bo)dhayati [|*] dharmma-kkrama-vikkramēṇa n=āvāpya[4] mahīm=anuśāsadbhir=ayaṁ

---

[1] According to Mr. Sarma, "Phērava is no doubt the modern Barua in the Sōmpēṭa taluq and the river Mēghāvatī is no other than the Mahēndratanayā that rises in the Mahēndragiri mountains and falls into the sea near Barua". (*J.O.R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58.) These identifications are doubtful, particularly as there is no hill in the immediate neighbourhood of Barua as we would expect from l.15 of the present grant.

[2] See introductory remarks.

[3] Mr. Sarma reads '*khali*' and translates it as a threshing floor. He has also drawn from it important references about the system of land-tenure (*op. cit.* p. 57). The reading *khālī* is, however, quite clear.

[4] Read *vikkramēṇ=āvāpya.*

18 dāna-dharmmō=nupālanīyaḥ Vyāsa-gītāś=ch=ātra ślōkā bhavanti [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir vva-

Third Plate ; First Side

19 sudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya

20 tadā phalaṁ(m) || [1 || *] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā (ttāṁ vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahī[ṁ*] mahī-matāṁ śrēshṭha

21 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(m)|| [2 || *] Shasthi(shṭiṁ)varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida[ḥ*] | ākshē-

22 ptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [3 || *] Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ pa-

23 ra-datt=ēti pārtthivāḥ [|*] sva-dānān=pha(t=pha)lam=ānantya[ṁ*] para-dān-ānupālanaṁ-(nē) || [4||*]

24 Kāyō[1]=nityō=sthirā bhōgā jīvitaṁ kshaṇa-bhaṅguraṁ(m) [|*] iti saṁchintya nṛipatē kuru dharmm-ō(rmm-ā)nupālana[|m*] [|| 5 || *]

Third Plate ; Second Side

25 Samva(Saṁva)t 100 85[2] Kārttika-dina 30

TRANSLATION

(L l. 1-8) Ōṁ Hail ! From the victorious city of **Śchētaka**[3] the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Sāmantavarmā,** who has acquired a store of religious merit by worshipping the lotus feet of the illustrious Lord Gōkarṇṇēśvara,—the master of the animate and the inanimate, who[4] wears the crest ornament of the half-moon, is the source of creation, preservation and destruction, and resides on the summit of mount Mahēndra :—
who[5] is the moon in the clear sky, *viz.* the pure family of the **Gaṅgas** ; who[5] has won the supremacy over **Kaliṅga** by the strength of his own arms : who[5] has the entire circle of feudatory chiefs attached (*to himself*) through the excellence of his three-fold powers ; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara ; who[5] has meditated on the feet of his parents ; and who[5] is the ruler of the whole of Kaliṅga :

being[6] in good health, commands the people concerned in the village of **Phērava** in the *vishaya* (district) of **Lauhaśṛiṅgāra** (*as follows*) :—

(Ll. 9-13). " Be it known to you that this village, with the (*right of*) cutting[7] Aśvattha trees, and exempted from all taxes, has been given (*by me*), for the sake of increasing the religious merit of myself and of my parents, with libations of water, as an *agrahāra*, to last as long as the moon,

[1] Mr. Sarma reads *yaśō*.

[2] See introductory remarks.

[3] For the name of the city, see introductory remarks.

[4] Refers to Gōkarṇṇēśvara.

[5] Refers to Sāmantavarmā.

[6] Connected with Sāmantavarmā.

[7] This seems to be the most reasonable meaning of *Aśvattha-chchhēda*, unless it denotes another village, or a plot of land, or an adjacent Aśvattha forest. [The interpretation given above is open to various objections : (1) the donor usually cannot withhold the right of cutting any trees in a village after giving it away as an *agrahāra*, (2) even granting that he can do so, it would be strange that he should single out only *aśvattha* trees for being felled, (3) the *aśvattha* is supposed to be too sacred for the Hindus to be cut down : so on and so forth. Possibly the expression means along with (*the hamlet of*) Aśvatthachchhēda '. Compare Aśvatthakhētaka occurring in a Vākātaka grant (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 86, text l. 20), and *brahmachāri-chchhēda* in a Gaṅga charter (above, Vol. XIII, p. 214, text l. 11).—Ed.]

the sun and the earth, to the four pre-eminent Brāhmaṇas, *viz.* **Kīrtīśaśarman** and his sons **Dēvaśarman, Raviśarman** and **Divākaraśarman** of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and the Vājasanēya (*charaṇa*).

(Ll. 13-15). The boundaries of this village are :—On the east, the dry (*bed of*) river running (?)[1] south ; on the west, the river Mēghāvatī ; on the north, the Kōdrava canal ;[2] on the south, the pits ; on the north-east, as far as the hill.

(Ll. 15-16). Knowing this no one should offer the slightest obstacle (*to it*)."

(Ll. 16-18). (*He also*) enjoins upon the future kings that this religious gift should be maintained by those who rule the world after having acquired it by virtue, enterprise and valour.

(Ll. 18-24). There are also the *ślōkas* sung by Vyāsa (*Here follow five of the customary verses*).

(L. 25). The Year, 185, 30th day of *Kārttika*.

No. 20—SAVNUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I; SAKA 597

(*1 Plate*)

G. H. Khare, Poona

This set of **copper-plates** was lying with the **Nawāb of Savṇūr** State (Dhārwār). Mr. G. R. Padgaonkar, the Dīwān of that State bought this set along with another, from a villager on a market-day of that town and very generously presented both of them to the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍaḷa, Poona. I first edited this record in Marāṭhī in the journal of the Society.[3] I now re-edit it here for the benefit of a larger number of scholars.[4]

The set consists of three plates measuring $9'' \times 1\frac{3}{16}''$, which were strung on a circular **ring** of 4" in diameter. The two ends of the ring were soldered into an oval **seal** bearing, in relief, a **boar** to the left. The inner sides of the first and the third plates and both the sides of the second are engraved. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is well preserved in general, except in the portion of the text giving the situation of the village granted. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 111 *tolas*.

The **characters** of the record belong to the Southern class of alphabets and closely resemble those of the Gadvāl plates[5] with few variations. The syllables *cha* and *va*, the medial *ri* and the subscript *ra*, and the medial short and long *i* are not clearly distinguished. The **orthography** of the inscription also calls for a few remarks. The consonant following a *rēpha* is generally doubled except in *Harsha* (l. 8), *varsha* (ll. 22, 33) and *chandr-ārka*-(l 29). *Pūrvrasyāṁ diśi, svaṁ dātum* and *sva-dattāṁ para-* have been written as *pūrvvasyān-diśi* (l. 27), *svan-dātum* (l. 31) and *sva-dattām-para*-(l. 32) respectively. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit.

The record begins with the usual verse in praise of the victory of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu and is followed by the preamble that is generally met with in other Chālukya grants. After this is introduced king **Pulakēśin** of the **Chalikya** family. His son was **Kīrttivarmman** ; his son was **Satyāśraya**, *i.e.*, **Pulakēśin (II)** ; his son was **Vikramāditya (I)**. All the information about these four rulers that is contained in this record is already known to us ; for

[1] The word *samvadya* is unintelligible. The translation is only conjectural.

[2] *Khāla* and *khālī* are well-known terms for canal in Eastern India, being derived from Sanskrit *khalla*.

[3] *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, p. 73.

[4] The other set will be edited later on.

[5] Above, Vol. X, p. 100.

the text of ll. 1-24 containing information about the four rulers as well as the king's encampment and the date is similar to that of the Gadvāl plates.

The **object** of the record is the grant, by Vikramāditya at the request of one Aṁgipōḍi, of the village Kuddhanapāyu (?) which was situated at a distance of two *gavyūtis* (16 miles) to the east of **Parukandaru**, to Kauthiya,[1] the son of Mādiśarman, the grandson of Vishṇuśarman, and of the Kāmakāyana *gōtra*. Of these the first two were well-versed in the *Ṛigvēda* only and the third in the four *Vēdas*. Then follow the usual appeal to continue the grant and the benedictory-imprecatory verses. The record was drafted by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Jayasēna** who also drafted the Gadvāl plates.[2] The record ends with a salutation to god Nārāyaṇa.

The details of the **date** are mentioned thus: Śaka 597, regnal year 20, Vaiśākha-paurṇimā. The date of the Gadvāl plates is also the regnal year 20, Vaiśākha-paurṇimā ; but Śaka 596. Both the grants were issued when Vikramāditya was encamping at **Uragapura** on the southern bank of the river Kāvērī, after entering the territory of the Chōḷas. It is possible that he might have encamped at Uragapura on a similar date in two successive years. But it is not possible to cite the same regnal year for a similar date in two successive years. It is therefore obvious that the Śaka year 597 of the present grant should be taken as current and corresponding to Śaka year 596 expired, the year of the Gadvāl plates. Besides, the Talamanchi and other plates[3] of Vikramāditya show that Śaka 577 expired was the initial year of his reign and Śaka 597 expired will be naturally his 21st regnal year. Hence Śaka 597 of this grant cannot but be regarded as a current year. The corresponding English date is 25th April 674 A. D.

Of the **localities** mentioned in this grant **Vanavāsī** and **Kāñchī** do not require any identification. **Uragapura** was situated on the southern bank of the Kāvērī and hence it had been identified by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya with Uraiyūr, which is near Trichinopoly and on the southern bank of the Kāvērī. But the late Dr. Hultzsch would not accept this identification. He preferred to identify Uragapura with Negapatam which is a coastal town about 40 miles to the south of the mouth of the Kāvērī.[4] I agree with the former view. The remaining two villages remain unidentified for the present.[5]

TEXT[6]

First Plate

1 स्वस्ति [।*] [7]जयत्याविष्कृतं [8]विष्णोः वाराहं क्षोभिताण्र्णवं(वम्) [।*] दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्र-
विश्रान्तभुवन(नं) वपुः [॥१॥*]

2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां सप्तलोक-

3 मातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणां भग-

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[1] [See notes 4-6 on p. 118 and postscript—Ed.]

[2] He was also responsible for the draft of the Honnūr plates of Vikramāditya I, dated Śaka 592 and regnal year 16 (*Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for the year 1939, p. 133).

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 98 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 163. The initial day of the first year of his reign must have fallen between Āśvina śuddha 2 of Śaka 576 and Vaiśākha śuddha 15 of Śaka 577, both expired.

[4] For a discussion on this point, *vide* above, Vol. X, p. 102 and *The Pallavas of Kanchi* by Gopalan p. 104, not 4.

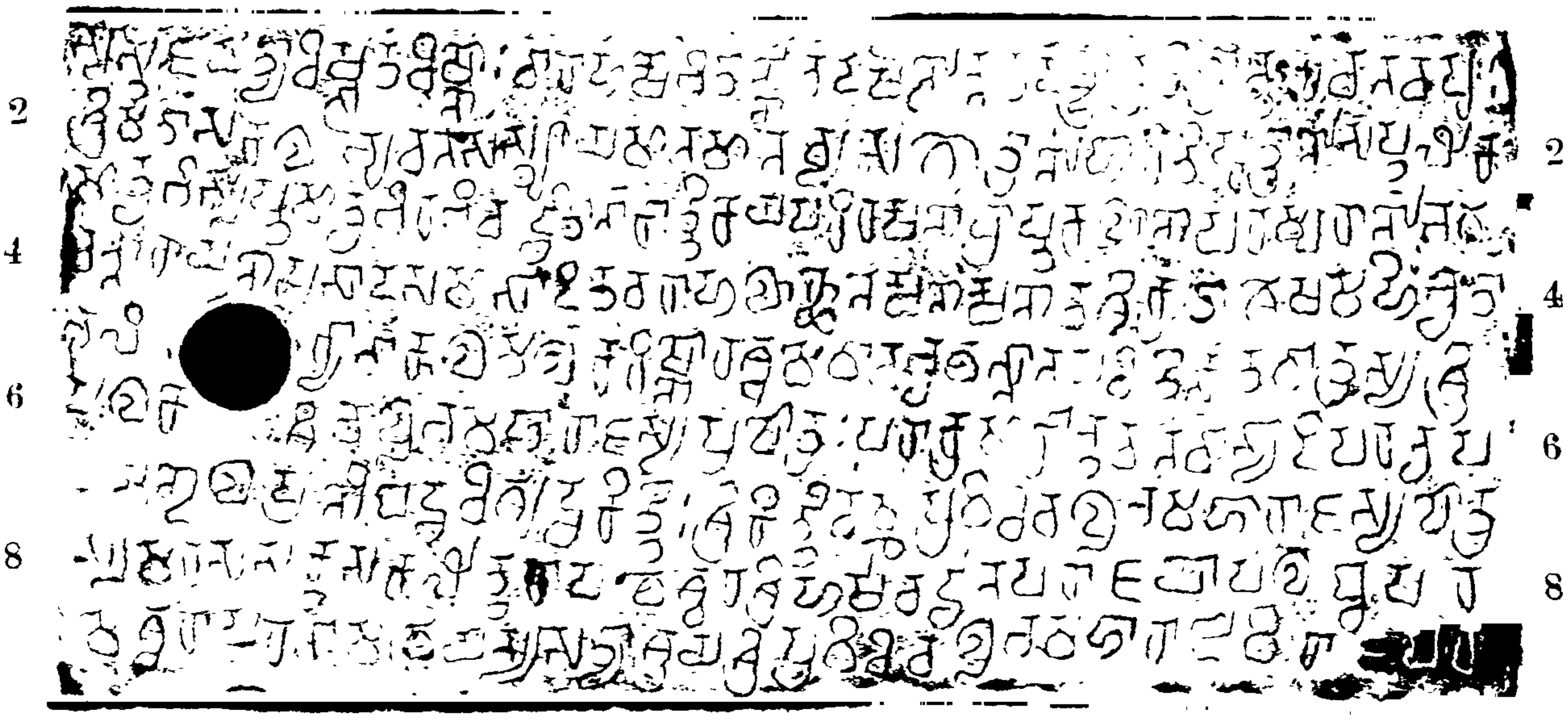
[5] See postscript.

[6] From the original plates.

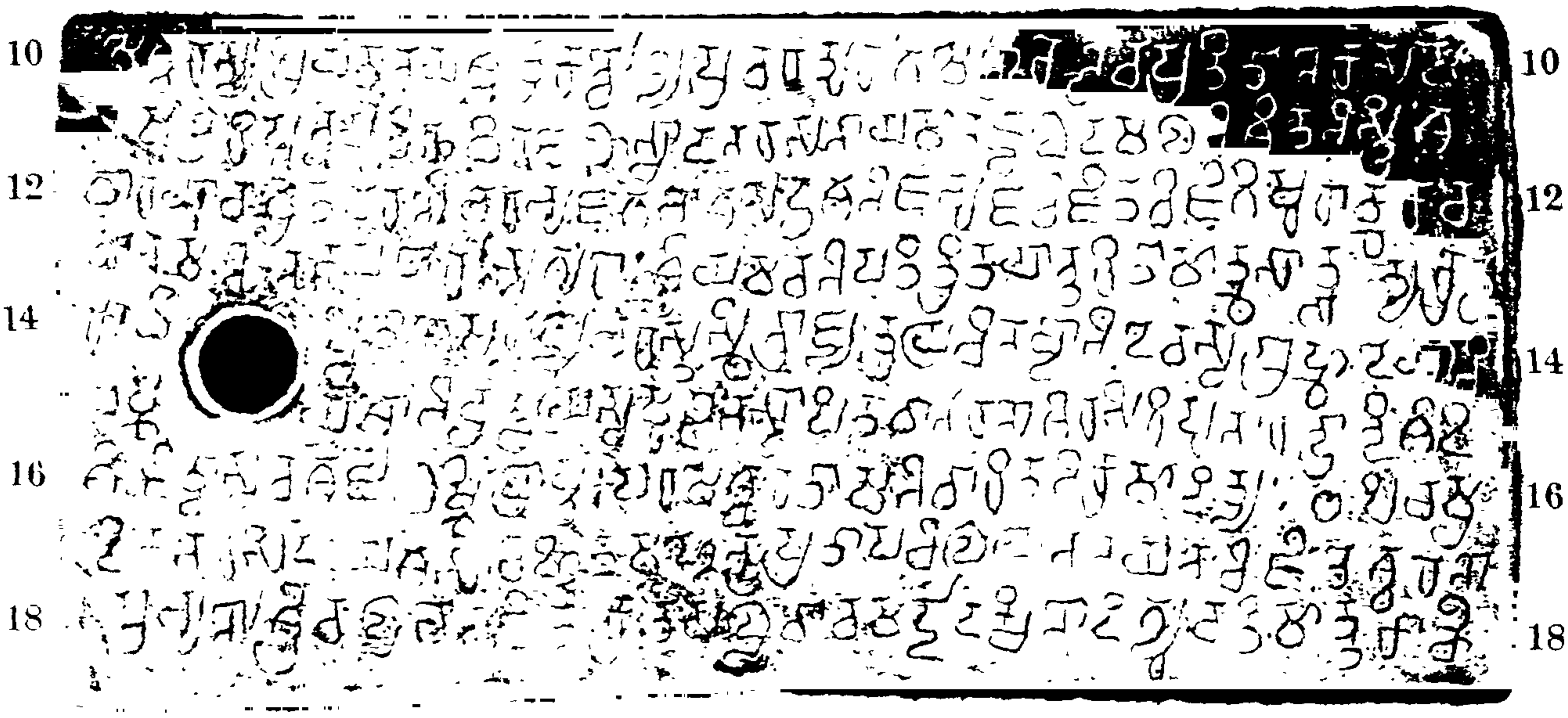
[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[8] Read विष्णोर्वाराहं

i.



ii,a.

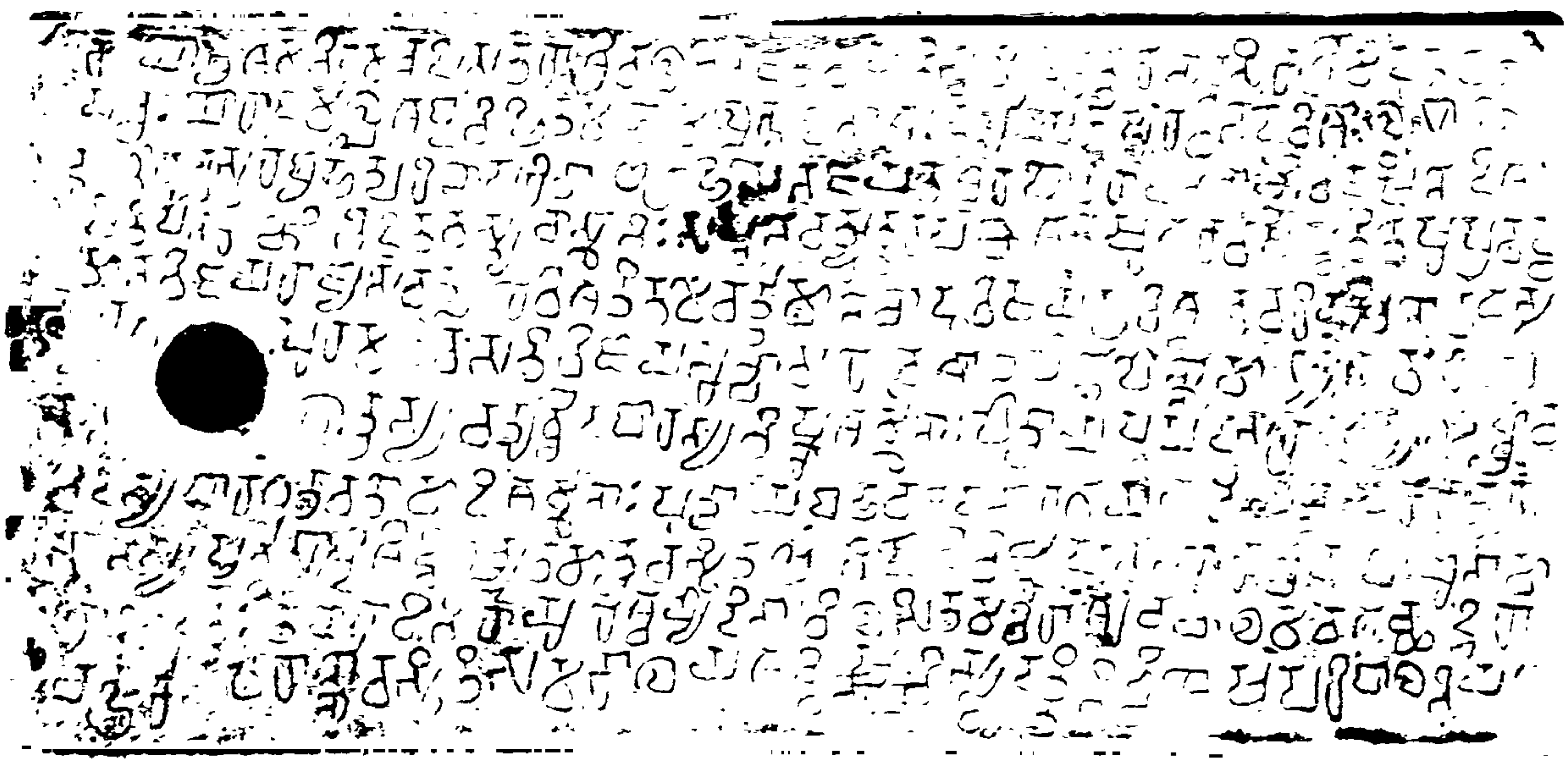


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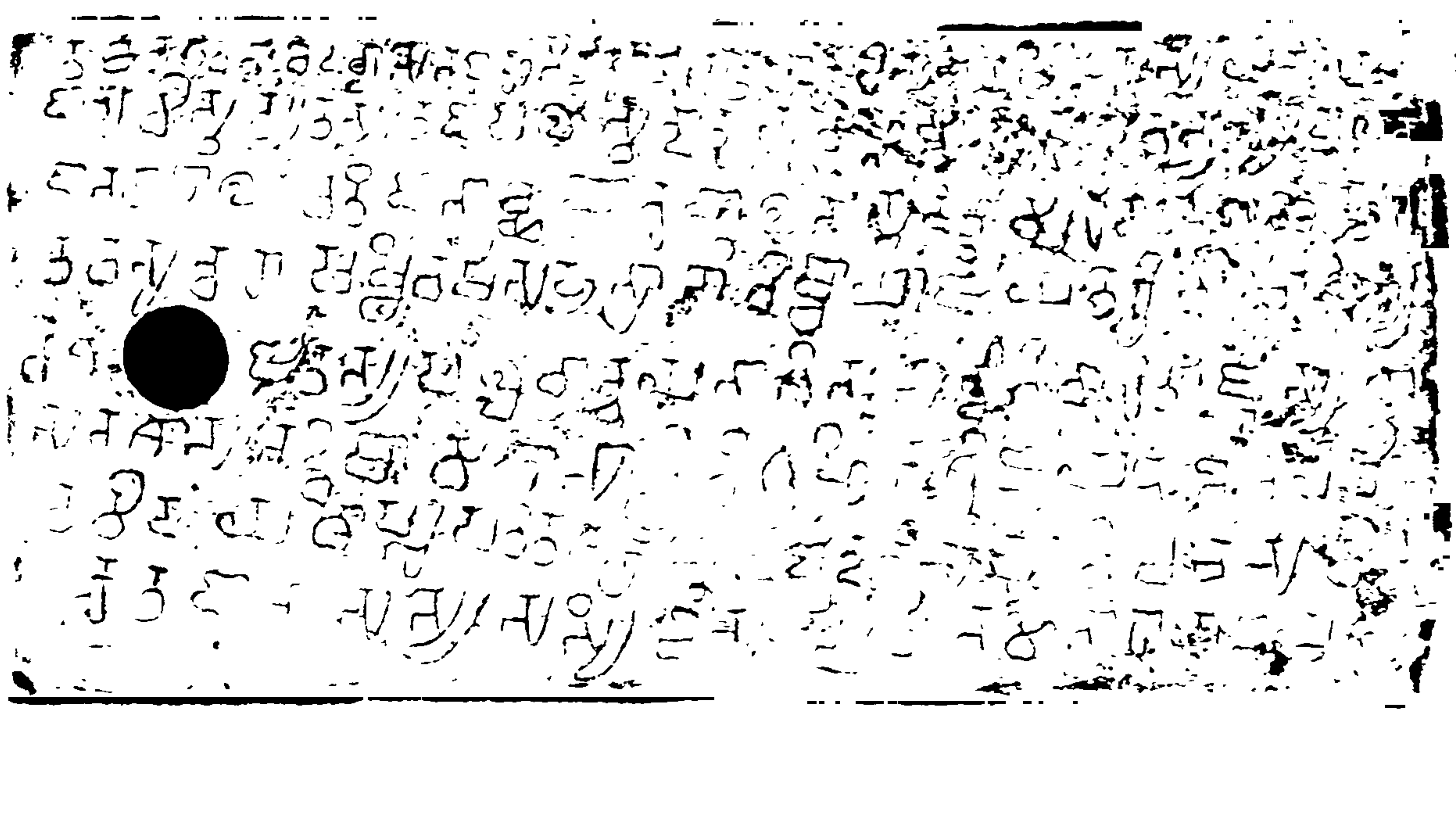
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ii,b.



iii.



4 वन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां

5 [च]लिक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्री-

6 पुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य प्रपौत्रः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरन्टप-

7 तिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्त्तेः श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्र-

8 स्समरस(सं)सक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धपर-

9 मेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपर-

Second Plate ; First Side

10 मेश्वरस्य प्रियतनयश्चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमेणैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकसम-

11 रमुखे रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलास्वादनरसनायमानज्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंश-

12 धारयावधृतधरणीभरभुजगभोगसदृशनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुरात्मकव-

13 चावम[ग्ना]न(ने)कप्रहारः स्वगुरोः श्रियमवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितामात्मसात्कृत्य कृतै-

14 काधिष्ठिताशेषराज्यभरस्तस्मिन्राज्यत्रये विनष्टानि देवस्वब्रह्मदेयानि

15 धर्म्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्थापितवान् [।*] रणशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशिदि-

16 शि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लष्मी(क्ष्मीं) [।*] प्राप्तः परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्य[1] [॥२॥*] अपि च [।*] मृ-

17 दितनरसिंहयशसा विहितमहेन्द्रप्रतापविलयेन [।*] नयनविजितेश्वरेण

18 प्रभुणा श्रीवल्लभेन जितं(तम्) [॥३॥*] कृतपल्लवावमर्द्दं दक्षिणदिग्युवतिमात्तकाञ्ची-

Second Plate ; Second Side

19 कः [।*] यो भृशमभिरम[य*]न्नपि स(सु)तरां श्रीवल्लभेन जितं(तम्) [॥४॥*] वहति स्वमर्थवन्तं रणरसिक(कः) श्रीमदुरुबल-

20 [ष्क(स्क)]न्धः[2] [।*] यो राजमल्लशब्दं विहितमहामल्लकुलनाशः [॥५॥*] दुर्ल्लंघ(घ्य)दुष्कर-विभेदविशालसाला

21 दुर्गाधदुस्तरबृहत्परिखापरीता [।*] अग्राहि येन जयतेश्वरपोतराजम् काञ्चीव दक्षिणदिशः

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[1] Metre for this and the following three verses: *Āryā*.

[2] [I would read बला[पा]र्थः—C. R. K.

22 षि(क्षि)तिपेन काञ्ची[1] [॥६॥*] [2]भि(वि)दितमस्तु वोस्माभिः स[प्त]नवत्युत्तरपञ्चशतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्ध-

23 मानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे वि(विं)शतितमे वर्त्तमाने चौळविषयं प्रविश्य क(का)वेरी-दक्षिणतट[स्थ-]

24 मुरगपुरमधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे वैशाखपौ[3]र्ण्णपौर्ण्णमास्यां कामकाय-

25 नसगोत्रस्य चतुर्व्वेदपार[ग*]स्य विष्ण[ष्णु]शर्म्मणः पौत्राय [4]पफटनक्रमस्य बह्वृच-

26 वेदस्य पारंगतवतो मादिशर्म्मणः पुत्राय बह्(ह्वृ)चवेदसा(पा)रगाय कौथिय[5]..परुकन्दरु

27 स्थानस्य पूर्व्वस्यान्दिशि द्विगव्यूतमात्रेवस्थित ग्रंगिपोडिविज्ञापनया कुद्ध.. [न][6]पायुनामा

28 ग्रामो दत्तः [।*] तदागामिभिरा[7]यु रे(रै)श्व[र्य्या]दीनां विलसितमचिरांशुचञ्चलमवगच्छद्भि रा-

29 चन्द्र(न्द्रा)र्कधराण्णवस्थितिसमकालयशश्चि[ची*]षु[8]भिस्स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयं(यः)

Third Plate

30 उ[क्त*]ञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन [9]बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य(भिः यस्य) यस्य य-

31 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥७॥*] [9]स्वन्दातुं सुम[ह]च्छक्यं दु(दुः)ख-मन्यस्य पालनं(नम्) [।*]

32 दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रे(च्छ्रे)योनुपालनं(नम्) [॥८॥*] [9]स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरे-

33 त वसुन्धरा(राम्) [।*] षष्ठिं(ष्टिं) वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः [॥९॥*] [9]चालुक्य-

34 वंशजातस्य पल्लवान्वयनाशिनः [।*] सर्व्वानिवारिताज्ञस्य शा-

35 सनं शासनं द्विषां(षाम्) [॥१०॥*] महासान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीजयसेनेन लिखि-

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[1] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[2] The Haidarābād and the Gadvāl plates have 'स विक्रमाक्रान्तसकलमहीमण्डलाधिराज्यो विक्रमादित्य-सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवि(वी)वल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति' before विदित etc., but here this portion has been omitted through carelessness.

[3] Omit the second पौर्ण्ण.

[4] I am not able to understand this expression. [Reading is प(स)पदसक्रमस्य —N. L. R.]

[5] A letter following this cannot be deciphered. [Reading is कूचियर्व्वा(व्वा?)य कुकनूरुस्थानस्य. The village Kukanūru mentioned here is apparently the same as Kukkanūr in the Raichur District of the Nizam's Dominions.— N. L. R.]

[6] The reading is doubtful [It appears to be कुच्चळपा ८७ —N.L.R.]

[7] The Gadvāl Plates have राजभिः before this word.

[8] Traces of two letters are seen below *shu* and *bhih.*

[9] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

36 तमिदं [॥*] [1]यथाप्सु पतित(तः) शक्र [2]स्नेलबिन्दवसर्प्पति [।*] एवं भूमि-

37 कृत(तं) दानं सस्ये सस्यि(स्ये) विसर्प्पति [॥११॥*] नमो नारायणाय

POSTSCRIPT

I thank Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for suggesting better readings in notes 4-6 of the previous page. The identification of Kukanūru with modern Kukkanūr, which seems to be quite certain, tempts me to decipher the name of the village granted as Kuvvaḷapālu for, as stated in the grant itself, at a distance of about 16 miles to the East by North-East of Kukkanūu, there is a village Kōlehāḷ which seems to be a modernization of the ancient name Kuvvaḷapālu.

NO. 21—RAKSHASKHALI ISLAND PLATE OF MADOMMANAPALA ; SAKA 1118

(*1 Plate*)

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL, CALCUTTA

The **copper-plate** inscription, which forms the subject of the present paper, was discovered during reclamation of virgin forest in the **island of Rākshaskhāli** on the southern seaboard of Bengal. The island, which represents the F. Plot of the extensive Western Sundarbans tract, is situated about twelve miles due east of the sacred Sāgar Island at the mouth of the river Hooghly.[3] The copper-plate was found inside a squarish chamber, one of many such existing all over the island, built with bricks, whose walls seem extraordinarily thick for their size. This little island, in common with the rest of the Sundarban area, can boast of a fairly wide range of ancient remains such as terracotta fragments, stone sculptures, temples in ruins and dated clay seals.[4] There are also on the island a large number of mounds which have still to be explored and yield their secrets.

The inscription, which has since attracted wide interest, was first read and edited[5] by Dr. B. C. Sen as early as 1934. I now re-edit the record from an excellent ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. The original plate is preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

This is a **single sheet** of copper bearing an inscription in twenty-two lines on one side only. The plate preserves traces of silver-powdering and measures 10½″ by 8¼″. There is no arrangement for a seal or raised rims to protect the writing, which has been damaged in places, once vitally. Generally speaking, however, our record is in a fair state of preservation. The height of the letters is about one-third of an inch on the average.

The reverse side of the plate is taken up by an engraving, incised with a sharp instrument, of a Vaishṇava devotional scene. The principal figure in the composition is Lord Vishṇu in his Nṛisiṁha *rūpa* seated *lalitāsana* on a wheeled chariot (*ratha*). In front of the deity is the supplicating figure of Garuḍa with a staff sticking out from under his armpit.[6]

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Read स्नेहबिन्दुर्विसर्प्पति.

[3] See *Varēndra Research Society (Rajshahi), Monograph No. 1* (1930), map facing p. 12 ; *ibid., Monograph No. 5* (1934), p. 9 ; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 321 ; *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. II, p. 127 ; N. K. Bhattasali, *Antiquity of the Lower Ganges and its Courses* (*Science and Culture*, Vol. VII, p. 239).

[4] Kalidas Datta, *Antiquities of Khāḍi* (*Ann. Rep. of Varēndra Research Society*, 1928-29) ; *V. R. Society Monographs Nos. 4* and *5* ; also Bhattasali, *loc. cit.*

[5] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 322-331.

[6] A critique from the pen of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, accompanied by a photograph of the engraving, appears in *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. II, pp. 127-29.

The **characters** belong to the proto-Bengali alphabet current in Eastern India in the 12th century A.D. They resemble, generally, those of the Ādāvāḍi plate of Daśarathadēva,[1] the Maynāmatī plate of Harikāladēva Raṇavaṅkamalla,[2] the Chittagong plate of Dāmōdara,[3] and also those of the Gayā Vāsudēva temple inscription of Gōvindapāla.[4]

Some of the special palaeographical features of the Rākshaskhāli inscription are as follows: initial *a* occurs in lines 3, 5 and 8, initial *ā* in lines 9 and 18; *i* in l. 19 and *u* in l. 16; *l* presents two forms: cf. *kuśalī* and *Pāl*-in line 3; *v* and *dh* are almost identical in shape; and a *chandrabindu* (*anunāsika*) sign occurs in l. 5 and the comparatively uncommon *kh* in lines 3 and 9, and *jh* in l. 8.

The **numerals** *1* and *8*, and possibly also *9*,[5] appear in the date which is given in l. 22.

The **orthography** presents but little complication. Consonants are doubled after *r*, the exceptions being *karshakaiś*= in l. 13 and *-varsha* in l. 17. Consonants appearing in conjunction with subscript *r* have been doubled in four cases (lines 10, 11) out of seven; in three (lines 4, 9, 14) there are no changes whatever. The letters *b* and *v* have been generally distinguished by separate signs. The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in some cases: *e.g.*, *-vahiḥ chatuḥ* (l. 7).

The **language** is Sanskrit. Barring the six imprecatory verses coming at the end, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

The **inscription** records the grant of the village of Dhāmahithā by Mahāsāmantādhipati, Mahārājādhirāja, Sāmantarāja **Maḍōmmaṇapāla** as a *mitradāna* to Mahārāṇaka **Vāsudēva,** son of Purushōttamadēva and grandson of Sōmadēva, who belonged to the Vārdhīnasa *gōtra* and was a student of the Kāṇva school of the Yajurvēda, and was a good friend of the king. The village granted was situated in Pūrvakhāṭikā. The grant was formally announced in a large assembly of executive officers at Dvārahaṭāka, which is called the *mukti-bhūmi* of the donor. The donor of the gift was a member of the Pāla dynasty which had come (*vinihsṛita*) from Ayōdhyā. He was a devotee of Vishṇu, while his chief, whose name is uncertain,[6] was a *paramamāhēśvara*.

The **date,** which is given in figures only, is Vaiśākha of the Śaka year 1118[7] and corresponds to April-May, A.D. 1196.

Maḍōmmaṇapāla of the present inscription is otherwise unknown to history. He was apparently subordinate to another ruler of equally obscure antecedents. In any case, he must have commanded influence only over a very restricted area. It appears as if Maḍōmmaṇapāla was really

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[1] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 181-82; N. K. Bhattasali, *Bhāratavarsha* (Bengali), Pausha 1332 B.S., pp. 78-81.

[2] *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. IX (1807), pp. 401-06. *V.R.S. Monograph No.* 5, pp. 10-16; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 282-89.

[3] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLIII (1874), Pt. I. pp. 318-24 and Plate XVIII; N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-63.

[4] R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal* (Memoirs of A.S.B., Vol. V), Plate XXVIII.

[5] See *infra* p. 123, f.n. 6.

[6] See *infra* p. 122, f.n. 3.

[7] This makes the present record the earliest known inscription, dated in the Śaka era, so far found in Bengal. Kalidas Datta, however, speaks (*V.R.S. Monograph No.* 5, pp. 4-5) of a copper-plate inscription, lost long ago, of a king called Jayantachandra. This plate, which is said to have been dated in the Śaka year 897 was unearthed somewhere very near to the temple called Jaṭār Deul in Lot No. 116 of the Sundarbans in the Diamond Harbour Subdivision. Mr. Datta, really speaking, only quotes from an old *List of Ancient Monuments in the Presidency Division*, published by the Government of Bengal in 1896. The extract quoted by Mr. Datta betrays, however, some confusion on the part of the compiler of the official report as regards the nature and the date of the inscription.

a local chieftain like Īśvaraghōsha,[1] or Dāmōdara,[2] or Harikāladēva[3] — the last remnants of Hindu sovereignty in early mediaeval Bengal.

The mention of a Pāla *anvaya* coming from Ayōdhyā is as indefinite as it is misleading. For one thing, it cannot be the legendary city of the Ikshvāku kings far in the north. I believe that Maḍōmmaṇapāla's Ayōdhyā should rather be looked for much nearer home. In fact, the Diamond Harbour Subdivision of the district of Twenty-four Parganas in Bengal still boasts of two different localities called Ayōdhyānagara,[4] one of which may well have been the seat of Maḍōmmaṇapāla's family. It is in any case noteworthy that Dvārahaṭāka, from which place the grant was announced, is spoken of as the *mukti-bhūmi* of Maḍōmmaṇapāla. It is just possible that this Dvārahaṭāka was the nucleus around which Maḍōmmaṇapāla and his predecessors had built up a small sphere of influence. As a matter of fact, Pūrvakhāṭikā is expressly referred to as having been acquired (*upārjjita*, l. 3) by the Pāla family from Ayōdhyā.[5]

It is clear, however, that this line of Pāla chiefs swore allegiance,[6] though perhaps only nominally, to some ruler with imperial pretensions. This last may have been the Sēna king Lakshmaṇasēna, who, then very old and very pious, was passing his last few days in the fateful city of Nudia, leaving charge of the Pūrvakhāṭikā affairs in the hands of this trusted family of vassals.

Of the **localities** mentioned, Pūrvakhāṭikā occurs for the first time in the present record. A Paśchimakhāṭikā, included in the Vardhamānabhukti, already occurs in the Gōvindapur plate of Lakshmaṇasēna.[7] It is probable that the present river Hooghly formed the natural boundary between the two *khāṭikās*. A place called Khāḍi, a close approximation to *khāṭikā*, still exists in the Diamond Harbour Subdivision of the district of Twenty-four Parganas. A Khāḍī *maṇḍala* was formerly included in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*.[8] Generally speaking, Pūrvakhāṭikā seems to have covered a large part of the present Western Sundarbans area. Dvārahaṭāka may have been the headquarters of Pūrvakhāṭikā. I am, however, unable to identify Dvārahaṭāka as well as the village of Dhāmahithā.

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[1] N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-57.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 155-63.

[3] Cf. *supra*. p. 120, f. n. 2.

[4] Apart from this, other places with epic association exist in the present Sundarbans area. Such are *e.g.*, Indraprastha (*V.R.S. Monograph No. 1*, map facing p. 12 ; *Ann. Rep. of V.R.S.*, 1930-31, p. 13), Mathurāpur and Gadā Mathurā (*V.R.S. Monograph No. 4*, p. 9 and map).

[5] Dr. D. C. Sircar's theory (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 679-82) that the Pālas of the Rākshaskhāli inscription came from the south is full of improbabilities. His arguments, *viz.*, (i) a possible philological affinity between names, (ii) a date in the Śaka calendar, (iii) an absolutely imaginary and ineligible parallelism between the Hindu and Jaina pantheon of divinities, (iv) a search for Ayōdhyā mentioned in our inscription in the south and (v) some possible link with a southern Ikshvāku dynasty of solar descent, are clearly strained and they lose much of their force by the uncertain and hesitant tone in which they are expressed. As I have pointed out above, the Ayōdhyā Pālas may not after all prove to be worthy of so much enthusiasm and legendary glamour that some superficial coincidences may appear to cast over them. Any way, it does not prejudice our case to reserve a final verdict till data of a more practical nature are available. Dr. B. C. Sen has also recently exposed the absurdity of Dr. Sircar's curious and persistent 'southern' complexes (*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, Calcutta University, 1942 p. 481.)

It is necessary to mention here that Mr. D. P. Ghosh suggested (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 321, f.n. 2) a Gurjara-Pratīhāra association for the Pālas of Dvārahaṭāka while the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh perhaps went too far when he thought (*Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 138-39) of an Orissan nativity for them. Drs. R. C. Majumdar and Radhagovinda Basak describe Maḍōmmaṇapāla as "a foreigner, his family having migrated from Ayōdhyā." (*The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, 1943, p. 281, f.n. 1.)

[6] The absence of a personal seal in the present case perhaps suggests as much.

[7] N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 96, text l. 34.

[8] Sundarban (Bakultalā) copper-plate inscription of Lakshmanasēna (N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 171).

TEXT [1]

1 Ōṁ[2] Svasti || Paramamāhēśvara-samasta-supraśas[ty]-upēta-mahāmāṇḍalika-śrī-**Śrī**[3] ... [**sa**]**pāladēv-ānudhyātaḥ** | [4]

2 mahāsāmantādhipati-mahārājādhirāja-vipaksha-sāmanta-bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-nirdrōha-dhara (va)la--āmantarāja-

3 [śrī]-**Madōmmaṇapāladēvaḥ**[5] kuśalī | **Ayōdhyā**-viniḥsṛita-**Pāl-**ānvay-ōpārjjita-**Pu(Pū)-rvvakhāṭik**-āntaḥpāti-svī-

4 ya-mukti-bhūmau śrī-**Dvārahaṭākē** sāmupāgat-āśēsha-rāja-rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājñi-sapt-āmātya-yāvad=ēka-

5 pātra-rāṇaka-daṇḍanāyak-ārōhak-āṅgarakshaka-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-sēvak-ādīna(n) |[6] anyāṁś=ch=ākīrttitāna(n) rāja-pād-ōpa-

6 jīvinaḥ prativāsinō janapadāna(n) brāhmaṇ-ōttamāna(n) ya[th]-ārhaṁ mānayati bōdhayati samādiśati cha | vidi-

7 tam=astu bhavatāṁ | **Dhāmahithā**-grāmā(mō)=yaṁ ratna-trama[7]-vahiḥ chatuḥ-sīm-āva-chchhinnaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-gartt-ōsha-

8 raḥ sa-jhāṭa-viṭapaḥ s-āmra-madhūkaḥ |[6] a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-pravēśaḥ [6]| a-kiñchit-kara-grāhya-[ḥ*] parihṛita-sarvva-pī-

9 ḍaḥ ā-chandr-ārkka-shki(kshi)ti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat [8] Vāddhīnasa-sagōtrāya Yajur-vvēd-āntarggata-Kāṇva-śākh-ai-

10 kadēś-ādhyāyinē |[6] **Sōmadēva**-pauttrāya **Purushōttamadēva**-puttrāya |[6] mahārāṇaka-śrī-**Vā**-

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[1] From an ink-impression.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The loss of this name is undoubtedly grievous. What has been preserved for us is only a poor *Śri...pāladēv—*. There is, however, a clear trace of a *s* before *pā*, leaving space for just one more syllable. Restorations suggested so far include *Śrī[ngā*]sapāla* or *Nrisaṁsapāla* (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 680, f.n. 1) and *Śrī[vā*]sapāla* or *Śrī-[Ivā*]sapāla = Śrīvāsapāla* (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XV, p. 308, f.n. 9). The first letter of the name may equally probably be a *mi* or *gri* as also *śri*.

[4] *Daṇḍa* superfluous.

[5] Dr. D. C. Sircar's emendation (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 679) — *Śrīma[d*]-Dōmmaṇapāladēva*, which incidentally elicited very interesting editorial compliments (*Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 153, f.n. 1) — has about an equal chance to stand.

Dr. N. K. Bhattasali briefly announced (*Science & Culture*, Vol. VII, p. 239) the discovery of a number of dated clay seals that were found on the island of Rākshaskhāli, the find-spot of our inscription. As these have not been published yet one wonders if they will throw any light on contemporary history and the family of Madōmmaṇapāla. The seals, which are preserved in the Dacca Museum, are said to date continually from the 11th century onwards.

[6] *Daṇḍa* superfluous.

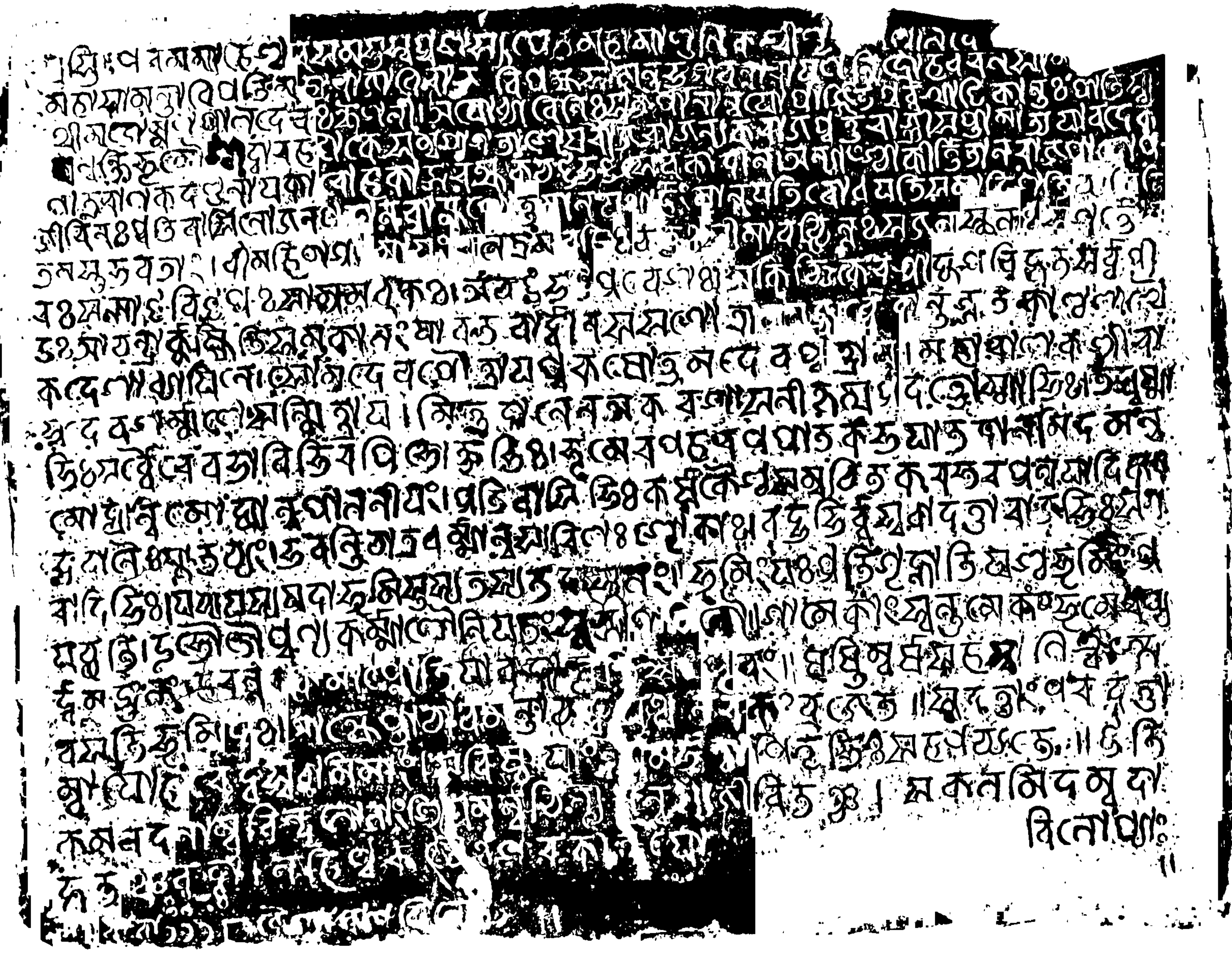
[7] Read *traya*. The word as it stands gives no sense. If, however, we presume that a mistake has occurred and if we emend the word into *Ratnagrāma*, we have an additional (but least expected in this context) place-name. Dr. Sen (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 328) reads *ratnatraya* and thinks of some Buddhist association, which would of course clash against the outspokenly Vishṇuite character of our record.

Mr. P. L. Pal (*Early History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1939, p. 135) draws attention to an obscure technical expression — *ratnatraya-sambhōga* (really *rūpasambhōga-*) occurring in line 41 of the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla (Cf. *Gauḍa-lēkhamālā*, ed. Akshay Kumar Maitreya, Rajshahi, 1319 B.S., pp. 147-58). Mr. Pal, following Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (*Hindu Revenue System*, Calcutta 1929, p. 297) suggests (*loc. cit.*) that it was "a tax levied (*sic*) for the maintenance and upkeep of big Buddhist establishments".

It is noteworthy that this word *ratnatraya* occurs in an identical context in both of the Manahali and Rākshaskhāli inscriptions. In the case of the former, it is clearly a fiscal expression which seeks to condition, among others of its kind, the rights and privileges accruing to the donee. If, as I think, that is the case, *ratnatraya-sambhōga* lends itself to a very sensible literal rendering as 'right over wealth (deposited underground)'. I therefore think that *ratnatraya-rūpasambhōga-varjitaḥ* of the Manahali inscription fits in well with the *ratnatraya-vahiḥ* of the Rākshaskhāli plate and generally conveys the same meaning.

[8] The word *yāvat* is redundant.

RAKSHASKHALI ISLAND PLATE OF MADOMMANAPALA; SAKA 1118



SCALE THREE-FOURTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B. CH. CHHABRA.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36 - 475'48

11 **sudēvaśarmmaṇē** san-mittrāya |[1] mittra-dānēna a-kara-śāsanīkṛitya pradattō=smābhiḥ | tad=yushmā-

12 bhiḥ sarvvair=ēva bhāvibhir-api bhōktṛibhiḥ |[1] bhūmēr=apaharaṇa-pātaka-bhayāta(d) dānam=idam=anu-

13 mōdy=ānumōdy=ānupālanīyaṁ(yam) | prativāsibhiḥ karshakaiś=cha samuchita-kara-bhara-pratyay-ādika-

14 pradānaiḥ sthātavyaṁ(vyam) | bhavanti ch=ātra dharmm-ānusārmaḥ ślōkāḥ | [2] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Saga-

15 r-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [1*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇā(hṇā)ti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ pra-

16 yachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ [svargga]gāminau || [2*] Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkaṁ cha bhūmēr=apy=a-

.17 rddham=aṅgulaṁ | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūti-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [3*] Shash[ṭ]-im=va(shṭiṁ va)rsha-sahasrāṇi śva(sva)rggē

18 vasati bhūmidaḥ | ākshēptā ch=āva(nu)mantā cha dvayañ=cha narakaṁ vrajēta(t) || [4*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattā-

19 m=vā (ttāṁ vā) yō harēd=vasudhām=imāṁ | sa vishṭhāyāṁ [kṛi]mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [5*] [3]Iti

20 kamala-dal=āmvu(mbu)-vindu lōlāṁ ś[r]iyam=anuchintya [ma]nushya-jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udā-

21 hṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kī[rtta]yō[4] vilōpyāḥ || [5] [6*]

22 **Śakābdāḥ** 1118 **Vaiśā[kha]** 9[6] **dinē** ||[7]

TRANSLATION

(Ll. 1-3) Ōṁ Hail! The Mahāsāmantādhipati, Mahārājādhirāja, Sāmantarāja, the glorious **Maḍōmmaṇapāladēva** who meditates on (*the feet of*) *Mahāmāṇḍalika*, the glorious **Śrī . [sa]pāla-dēva** (*who was*) a great devotee of Mahēśvara and who achieved every pre-eminence (*in life*),—who (*i.e.*, *Maḍōmmaṇapāla*) looks resplendent by reason of his friendship[8] with the Lord Nārāyaṇa and who has isolated (*i.e. outclassed*) all other *sāmantas*[9]—

(Ll. 3-6) (*thus*) duly honours, explains and commands the *rājans*, *rājanyakas*, *rājaputras*, *rājñīs*, the *saptāmātyas*, *ēkapātras*,[10] *rāṇakas*, *daṇḍanāyakas*, *ārōhakas*, *aṅgarakshakas* servile persons like *chaṭṭas* and *bhaṭṭas*, persons unnamed whose sustenance depends upon the feet of the king,

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[1] *Daṇḍa* superfluous.

[2] Metre: *Ślōka* (*Anushṭubh*), and in the next four verses.

[3] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

[4] A space of approximately 2½″ has been left blank after this word. The engraver apparently was anxious to avoid broken and incomplete lines and also to artificially isolate the date portion from the text.

[5] The double bars occur somewhat below the proper line of writing.

[6] Normally, we should expect a date to follow the month. In the present case, what comes after *Vaiśākha* is very uncertain. It can in any case be only a numeral. I read it as *9*, but I do not feel very sure about it.

[7] There is a trace of a circular (perhaps rayed) auspicious symbol after the stop.

[8] Dr. B. C. Sen attempted (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 326-27) to link the Pāla lineage of Maḍōmmaṇapāla with that of *mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavala, the ruler of Jāpila in Bihar. But Dr. Sen himself recognised (*Ibid.*, p. 327, f.n. 15) the difficulties involved in such a theory. Dr. D. C. Sircar, whom I have followed, seems to have offered (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 680) a more rational interpretation of the passage concerned.

[9] Dr. Sen translated (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 329) *vipaksha-sāmanta* as 'a sāmanta who is hostile to the Mahārājādhirāja' and Dr. Sircar as 'one who made his neighbouring chiefs helpless' (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 680). Dr. Sen, however, offered an alternative interpretation of this word as 'one whose sāmantas have been reduced to helplessness' (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 326, f.n. 11).

[10] In this long and conventional list of officials, only *ēkapātra* is interesting enough. This expression does not occur in any of the Pāla and Sēna inscriptions known so far.

villagers as also good Brāhmaṇas — assembled at the place of his initiation[1] in the village of **Dvārahaṭāka** situated in **Pūrvakhāṭikā** which was acquired by the **Pāla** family coming from **Ayōdhyā** :—

(Ll. 6-9) " Be it known to you all that this village of **Dhāmahithā** — shorn of all royal privileges over (*its*) mineral resources, having its four boundaries (*clearly*) distinguished and having (*full rights over*) all land and water, pits and wastes, trees and shrubs, mangoes and *madhūkas* (*existing or growing in the village*) and having been closed to all *chaṭṭas* and *bhaṭṭas* (*of the king*), having been made exempt from taxes and having been freed from all (*manner of*) oppression.—

(Ll. 9-11) " is granted by Us as freehold (*land*) to (*Our*) good friend *Mahārāṇaka* **Vāsudēva-śarman**, son of **Purushōttamdēva** and grandson of **Sōmadēva**, who belongs to the Vārdhīnasa *gōtra* and is a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the *Yajurvēda*, as a friendly gift which is to last as long as the sun and the moon and the earth.

(Ll. 11-14). " Wherefore, this gift shall be approved and maintained by you all and by those coming in future, from fear of the sin involved in misappropriation of land (*belonging to others*). And all the resident cultivators (*in the village*) shall continue to pay all rightful taxes, dues, etc. "

(Ll. 14-21). And here are the *ślōkas*, conforming to *dharma* : [six imprecatory verses].

(L. 22). THE 9TH DAY of Vaiśākha, Śaka 1118.

No. 22—SEALS OF TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES

(*1 Plate*)

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, COIMBATORE

Subsequent to my editing the inscriptions on the above plates,[2] I happened to refer to the work entitled *Coins of Southern India* by Sir Walter Elliot on p. 124 of which he writes " I have a drawing and a facsimile of the seal of another *śāsanam*, which, to the best of my recollection, was deposited with the preceding (*i.e.* the seal of the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭāvarman Kula-śēkhara I) at Tiruppūvaṇam, and referred to the grant therein mentioned by the chief of Madacolam, a feudatory of Kulaśēkhara. This seal differs somewhat from the above marginal woodcut in having the **tiger and the fish** placed upright, opposite each other, in the middle of the field, with the **bow** transversely below them : round it a **legend** which has been read doubtfully as '*Pāṇḍya-Narēndravarmmaṇaḥ Samastalōkāśrayaḥ*' *i.e.* " the Pāṇḍya Narēndravarman, lord of the whole world ". To the above observation, I have only to say that there is nothing to doubt about the correctness of the legend on this seal. On page 123 4 of the book, the author carefully describes the seal of the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara and makes his own observations as regards the king, his date, etc., which we reproduce here :—

" Memorials of him (Kulaśēkhara I) have been found in the shape of copper *śāsanams*, the seals of which have the fish symbol in the centre, flanked by the tiger and the bow, as represented in the annexed woodcut, showing that he had assumed the paramount position of the Chōḷas or in other words, of the whole of the Drāviḍa. The copper plates to which the seals above described were attached were translated by Dr. Caldwell and purport to be issued in the " 13th year, 1364th day of the lord of the earth, Śrī Kōchchaḍei Varmā, emperor of the three worlds, Śrī Kulaśēkhara Dēva. " etc. " If this is the year of the Kaliyuga, it would correspond with

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[1] Dr. B. C. Sen rendered (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 330) *mukti-bhūmi* as ' the place of salvation .' Dr. D. C. Sircar asked (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 682) if this term indicated Maḍōmmaṇapāla's imminent death ! Mr. J. C. Ghosh thought (*ibid*, Vol. II, p. 139) of a possible reference to Maḍōmmaṇapāla's birthplace. I believe some kind of *dīkshā* or initiation is meant by the word *mukti* here. This would at least furnish an occasion for the land grant.

[2] above, Vol. XXV, pp. 64 ff.

Seal of the Tiruppuvanam Plates of Jatavarman Kulasekhara I (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 64 ff.)



Seal of the Tiruppuvanam Supplementary Plate (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 130 ff.)



From Photographs of Wood-cuts

1263 A.D. Should this date be accepted, it brings his era near to that of the Muhammadan writers, and as his reign is said by Wassāf to have been a long one, it is so far confirmatory of their narratives; but then comes the difficulty of the earlier Ceylon date, for it is not probable that two such contentions for a precisely similar object between two brothers of the same names should have taken place so soon after each other, although the dates differ so materially as the middle of the twelfth, the middle of the thirteenth, and beginning of the fourteenth centuries."

Since Sir Walter Elliot made the above remarks, a number of inscriptions giving astronomical details admitting of calculation and verification had been found and thanks to the labours of Kielhorn, Swamikannu Pillai and others, the accession of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I with the introduction of the Tiruppūvaṇam plates had been fixed at A.D. 1190 and these have been noticed in my article on the plates. I need hardly add anything to Sir Walter Elliot's careful descriptions of the symbols on the seal. But so far as I know, no attempt seems to have been made to decipher the legend on the seal during these sixty odd years. I think I can only give a tentative reading of it here, but before doing so I may be permitted to say that on a close examination of the letters I am led to think that the woodcut is either not perfect or that the original is faulty in engraving. The legend is a Sanskrit verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre. The first half of it can be confidently read as *Samasta-jagatīpāla-mauli-māl-ōpalālitam*. The first word of the next half is certainly *śāsanaṁ* and the last word is *Jaṭilavarmmaṇaḥ*. The last syllable appears as *nē* in the woodcut. All that could be said about the seven syllables between these two words is that they may stand for '*śāśvataṁ rājñō ētat*'. *Śāśvataṁ* looks like *mrāsanaṁ* or *srasanam* in the woodcut and *ētat* looks like *jayatu*; and *rājñō* is also not beyond doubt. The whole legend may be tentatively read :—

समस्तजगतीपालमौलिमालौपलालितम् ।

शासनं [शाश्वतं राज्ञो एतत्] जटिलवर्म्मणः[1] ॥

A fresh endeavour should be made to secure the seal. If this is done and a good facsimile of it taken, it will be quite possible to read the second half of the legend with certainty. This seal and the other referred to in the extract given from the *Coins of Southern India* might have been returned to the temple authorities sometime after the plates had been sent and they, perhaps not knowing that the seals belong to the two sets of plates, might have kept them loose. A careful search of the temple treasury may bring the seals again to light. For the present, we must be satisfied with the woodcut which we owe to the sagacity and forethought of the late Sir Walter Elliot.

No. 23.—NARWAN PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA II; SAKA 664

(2 Plates)

G. H. Khare, Poona

The ring of the subjoined grant was being noticed by some of the inhabitants of **Narwan** (Ratnagiri) on its old site for a long time. But fearing that it was something connected with devilism they dared not excavate and see what it really was. Mr. D. H. Joshi, a relative of Mr. D. L. Kanade of Buldana (Berar), happened to see it, unearthed it and found it to be the ring which held the **five copper-plates** bearing the inscription edited here. The latter presented the plates to the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍaḷa. I edited them in its journal in Marāṭhī.[2] I now re-edit them here with many emendations.

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[1] [The facsimile clearly reads **राज्ञांभर्तुर्जटिलवर्म्मणः** —Ed.]

[2] *Quarterly of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍaḷa*, Vol. X, No. 1 p. 12.

The **five plates** measure $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{8}''$ each in dimensions, and are held together by a circular **ring** $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the back of an oval **seal** bearing in relief a **boar** to the left. All the sides of the plates, except the outer ones of the first and the fifth, are engraved. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is well preserved. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 219 *tolas*.

The **characters** of this record closely resemble those of the Vakkalēri[1] and Kēndūr[2] plates of Chālukya Kīrttivarman II, with a very few variations. The medial short and long *i* are scarcely differentiated. I have, therefore, transcribed them either way according to requirements. Owing to the carelessness of the engraver, *ka* and *ha* have been in a few places written as *ra* and *pa* respectively and *vice versâ*.

About **orthography** one fact quite apparent is the careless engraving of the record, owing to which a very large number of mistakes have crept in. Many of them have been corrected either in the text or in the foot-notes. But some may have escaped my attention. *Ri* has been generally substituted for *ṛi* but in *priy-ātmaja* (l. 25) we find exactly the opposite case. *B* has been substituted for *v* in *svayaṁbara* (l. 38) and *saṁbatsarē* (l. 56). *Upadhmānīya* has been used once only in *paraiḥ palāyamānair* (l. 31). In some cases *ri* has been written in place of *r* preceding a consonant as in *Harisha* (l. 12), *chikirishu* (l. 68) and *varisha* (l. 72), while in *varusha* (l. 55) *ru* has been written for *r*. *Tha* has been used for *ta* in *kaṇṭhaka* (l. 26), and *ghaṭhāpāṭhana* (l. 28). In *svan=dātum* (l. 70), the *anusvāra* has been replaced by *n*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the composition is in prose, excepting the few verses at the beginning and the end

The record refers itself to the reign of **Chālukya Vikramāditya II** and gives his genealogy thus:—In the Chaḷukya dynasty was born Polakēsin (I): his son Kīrttivarman (I): his son Satyāśraya (Pulakēśin II), his son Vikramāditya (I); his son Vinayāditya: his son Vijayāditya and his son Vikramāditya (II). All the information about these rulers contained in this grant is already known to us from the Vakkalēri and Kēndūr plates of Kīrttiverman II: for, the text of this portion of our grant is practically identical with that of the latter two. It is unnecessary, therefore, to deal with it here in detail Some points, however, deserve mention. The Conjeeveram inscription[3] of Vikramāditya II which is undated undoubtedly proves his entry into that city; but it can be shown that the event must have happened before at least the date of the record under publication, *viz.*, the Winter Solstice in Śaka 664 expired. As the Vakkalēri and the Kēndūr plates supply no more information about this king than what is contained in the present record, it must be taken that all the exploits of Vikramāditya recorded in them were accomplished before the date of this inscription. In one of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions it is stated that Vikramāditya II conquered Kāñchī thrice.[4] But the above three grants nowhere mention this fact.

King Vikramāditya II, on the occasion of the Winter Solstice falling in his **eighth regnal year** and after **664 Śaka years** had elapsed, while his victorious camp was at **Ādityavāḍa,** at the request of **Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvindarāja,** the son of **Śivarāja,** who is otherwise unknown, granted the village **Naravaṇa,** together with **Chindramāḍa,** lying by the seashore of the **Chiprarulana** *vishaya* and bounded on four sides by the river **Sonnē,** the village **Ambāḍa,** etc., to Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras* well-versed in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas. They were Dēgguli-svāmin, the son of Durgganāgasvāmin, Nāgaḍi-Dīkshita, the son of Dōṇasvāmin, both of the Kauśika *gōtra*, Kontaḷa-Nārāyaṇa, Nannasvāmin and Dhanañjayaduggu...................... The

[1] Above, Vol. V, p. 202.
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 200.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 360.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164, No. 100.

condition of the grant was that half of the dues such as *aruhaṇa*,[1] that were paid to Government officers from the village Ambāḍa were to be paid from Naravaṇa. After these details come the usual benedictions and imprecations for the preservers and violators of the grant. The record concludes with the statement that it was written by the *Mahāsandhivigraha* Anivāti (Anivārita ?) Puṇyavallabha.

The **date** of the grant is recorded thus : **Śaka year 664 expired, the 8th regnal year of Vikramāditya** (II), and the occasion of the Sun's turning to the north, *i.e.* his entry into the zodiac of Capricornus. As no *tithi* and week-day are given, it is impossible to verify the date. The Lakshmēśwar inscription of Śaka 656 expired gives two as the corresponding regnal year.[2] It follows that the regnal year corresponding to Śaka 664 expired will be 10 and to Śaka 664 current will be 9, but not 8. It must, however, be remembered that the Lakshmēśwar inscription is declared to be 'spurious' and as such its evidence cannot be very much relied upon. Śaka 664 may, therefore, be either current or expired. In Śaka 664 current, the Solar month Makara began at 22 *ghaṭīs* and 29 *palas* after mean sunrise on 21st December 741 A. D. and in Śaka 664 expired the same month began at 37 *ghaṭīs* after mean sunrise on 21st December 742 A. D. The English date of the grant, therefore, would be **21st December 741 or 742 A.D.** according as the Śaka year 664 is taken as current or expired.[3]

Of the **place-names** mentioned in this grant, it is not possible to say with any certainty where **Ādityavāḍa** was. But I would just suggest that it should be tentatively identified with one of the two Āitawaḍas in the Valwa *taluqa* of the Satara District. It is not known whether the villages have any indications of antiquity : but as its Marāṭhī pronunciation Āitavaḍe seems to be the natural phonetic change of Ādityavāḍa (cf. Āitavāra-Ādityavāra) and as there is no other village of this name in the Bombay Province, the identification may prove correct. **Chiprarulana** appears to be the ancient name of modern Chipḷūṇ, a *taluqa* town in the Ratnāgiri District. **Sonnē** seems to be the original name of the modern Śāstrī river flowing south of Naravaṇa.[4] Ambāḍa is not to be traced at present.[5] **Naravaṇa** is a village on the sea-shore in the Guhāgar *Peṭa* of the Ratnāgiri District. **Chindramāḍa** may be the modern Chindravla,[6] situated some 4 miles to the north-east of Naravaṇa.

TEXT[7]

First Plate

1 ओं[8] स्वस्ति [9]जयत्याविष्क्रि(ष्कृ)तं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभिता-

2 र्ण्णवं(वम्) [।*] दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवन(नं) वपुः [॥१॥*] श्री-

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[1] In a Śilāhāra grant of Śaka 1037, this very word seems to occur in a slightly different form *āruvana* (*Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 40, l. 48). It probably means a tax of six *paṇas*.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 107.

[3] I have calculated the point of Makara Saṅkrānti after working up to four decimals according to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*. According to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the same will be 2 *palas* later in each case.

[4] In a Marāṭhī document of A. D. 1600 (*Śivacharitra Sāhitya*, Vol. II, p. 339, No. 340, published by the B. I. S. Maṇḍala, Poona), there is a reference to the partition of a *watan*, the three shares of which are thus specified : (1) Tract extending from the Bāva river to the Sōnavī river, (2) tract lying between the Sōnavī and the Gaḍa rivers, (3) tract stretching from the Gaḍa river up to the villages Gimavī and Dēvaghara. The map of the Ratnāgiri District shows that Bāva and Gaḍa are two tributaries of the modern Śāstrī river, which, after flowing in a more or less parallel direction to the Śāstrī river, join it from the left and right sides respectively. Thus it is clear that the Śāstrī river is implied by the Sōnavī river in the document or Sōnavī is the older name of Śāstrī. The word Sōnavī has a very close affinity to Sonnē. Hence I have suggested the above identification.

[5] [This may be identical with Ambāv, a village with a branch post office attached to Dēvrukh head post office in the Ratnāgiri District.—C. R. K.]

[6] Spelt as Chindrnole in Atlas sheet No. 25 published in 1852 A. D. by the East India Company.

[7] From the original plates.

[8] Represented by a symbol.

[9] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

3 मतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां

4 हारिति(ती)पुत्राणां सप्तलोकमात्रु(तृ)भि(भिः) सप्तमातृ-

5 भिक(र)भि[व]द्धि(र्द्धि)तानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्त-

6 कल्याणं(ण)परंपराणा(णां) भगवा(व)न्नारायणप्रसा-

7 दात्समासादितो(त)वराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृ-

8 ताशेषमहिभ्रितानां[1] चळुक्य(क्या)नां कुलमलंकरिष्णोर-

Second Plate; First Side

9 श्वमेधावभ्रि(भृ)थस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपोलकेशी(शि)वल्लभम-

10 हाराजस्य सूनुः पराक्रमाक्र(क्रा)न्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपति[म]ण्डलपृ(प्र)-

11 णिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्त्ति(र्त्तिः) श्रीकीर्त्तिव[र्म्म]प्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्यात्म-

12 ज[स्य*] समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहरिष(हर्ष)वर्द्धनपराजयो-

13 पात्तपरमेश्वरशब्दस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभ-

14 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियतनयस्य प्रज्ञातनयस्य

15 खड्गमात्रसहायस्य चित्रकण्ठाभिदा(धा)नप्रवरतुं(तु)[रं*]गमणैकेनै-

16 वोत्चा(त्सा)रिताशेषविजिगीषोरवनिपतिस्त्रि(त्रि)तयान्तरितो(तां) स्वगुरो(रोः) श्री(श्रि)य-

17 मात्मसात्तृ(त्कृ)त्य प्रभावात्कुलिशदलितपाण्ड्यचोडकेरळकळभ्रत[2]

Second Plate; Second Side

18 प्रभ्रि[3](भृ)तिभूभृत(द)दभ्रविभ्रमस्यानम्यन(न्या)वनतकाञ्चीपतिमकुट-

19 चु(चुं)बितपादा(दां)बुजस्य विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभ-

20 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य प्रियसूनो[र्*] बाले-

21 न्द(न्दु)शेखरस्य तारकारातिरिव दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्धत(तं) त्रैराज्यकाञ्चीप-

22 तिबलमवष्टभ्य करज(दी)कृतकमेरपारसीयकसिंहळादिद्वीपाधिप-

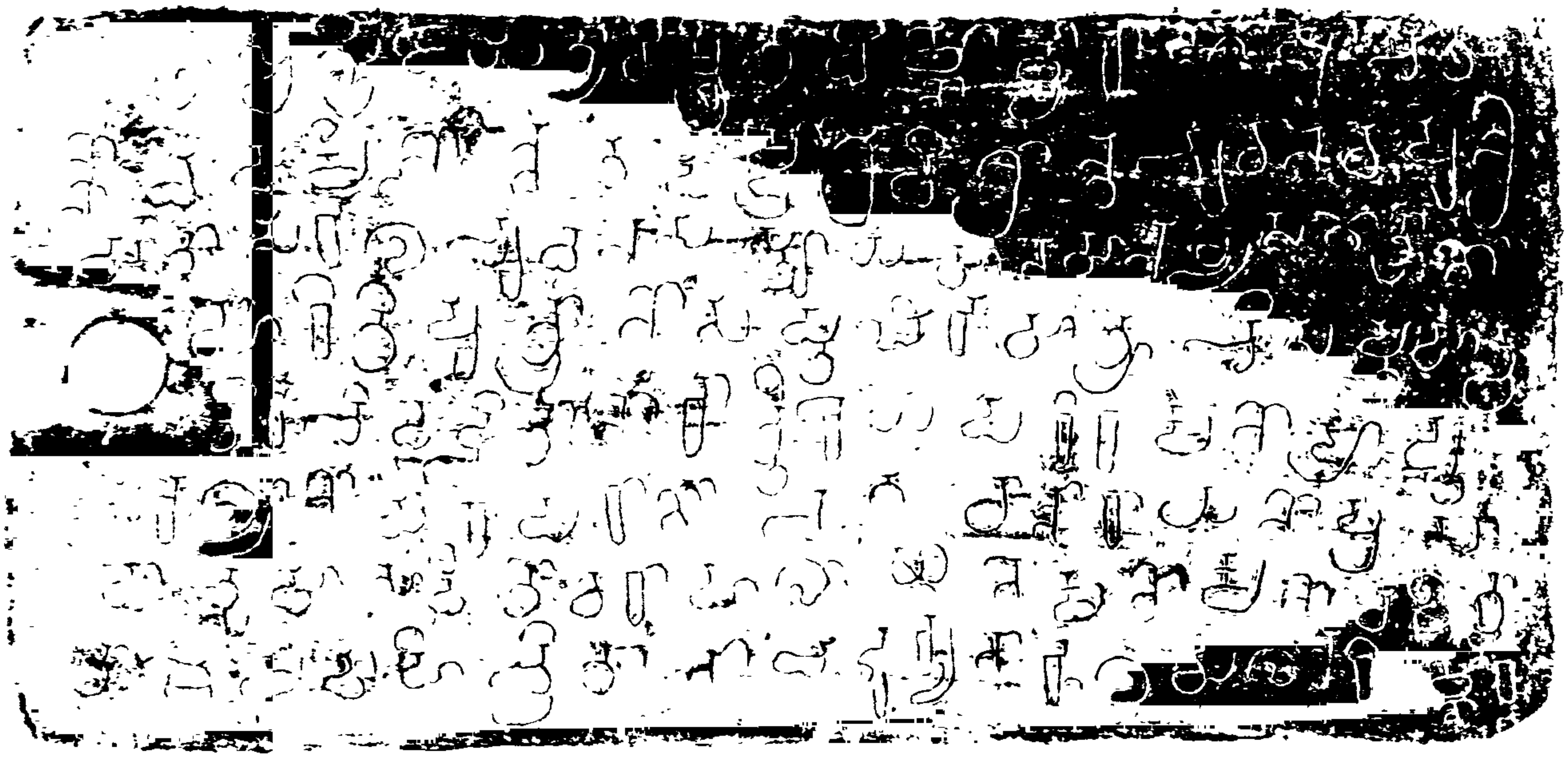
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[1] Read महीभृतां.

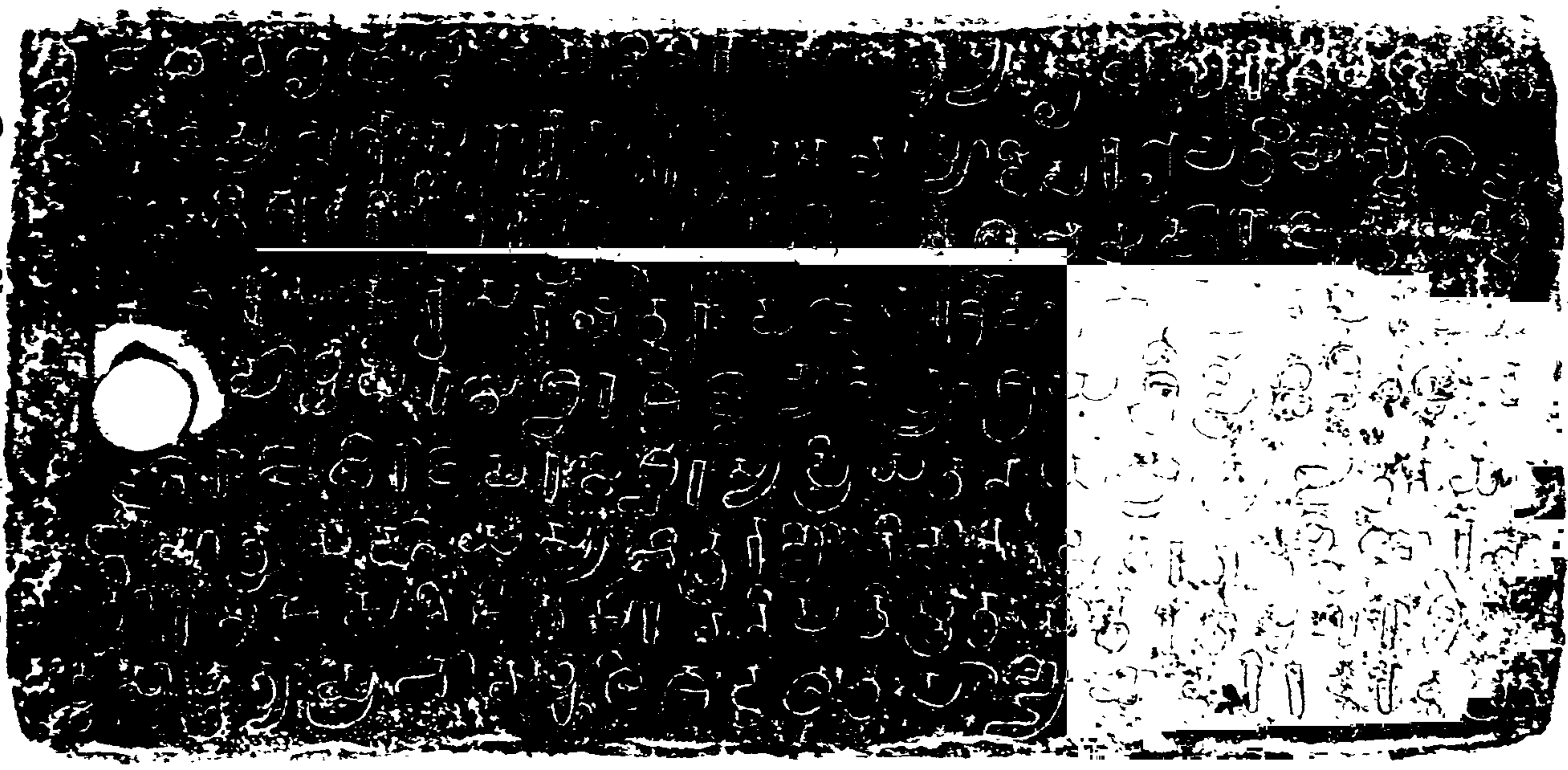
[2] Delete this त.

[3] This letter is actually engraved as भ्रि.

i.



ii,a.

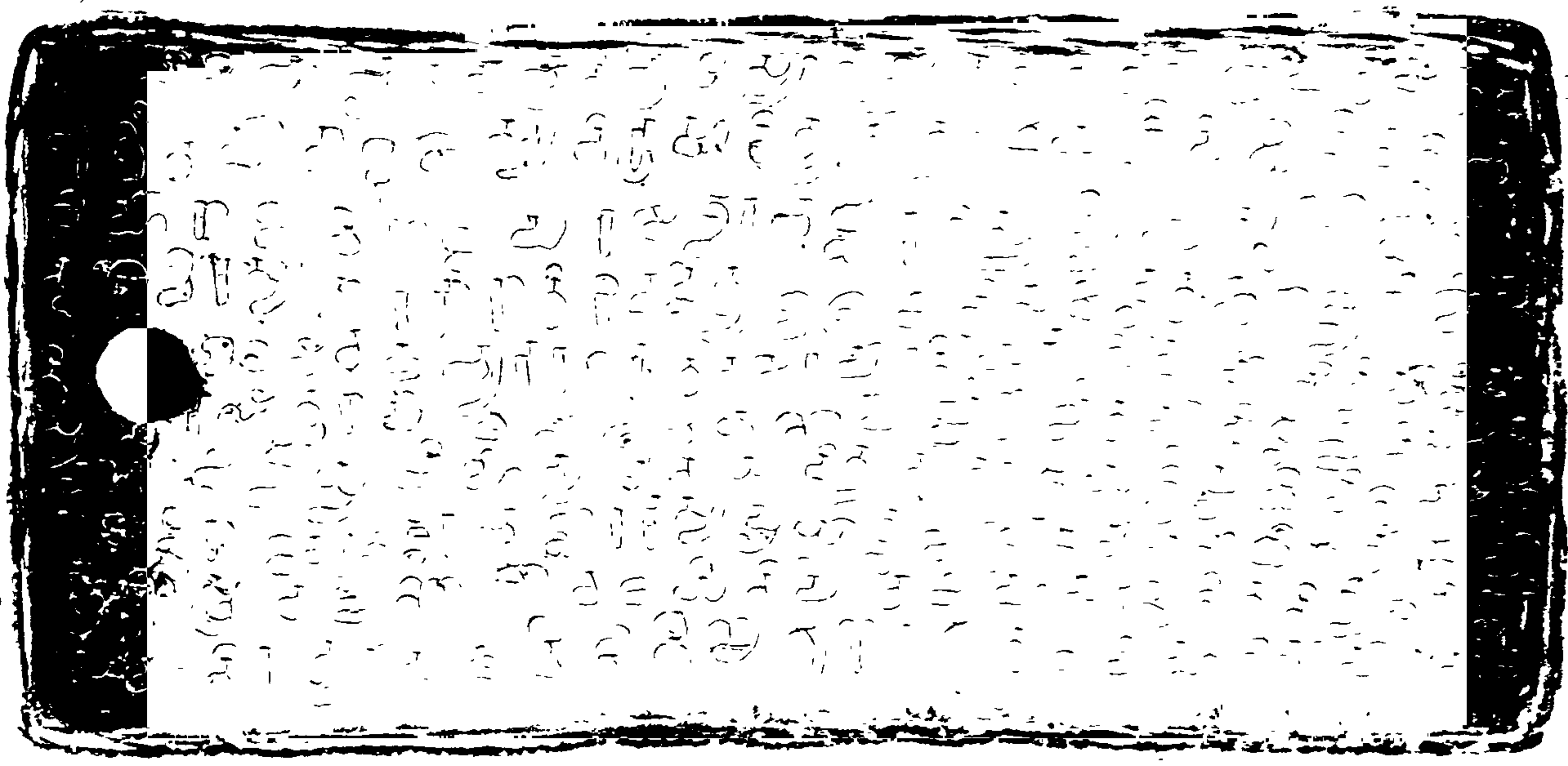


B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. NO. 3977 E 36 - 475'49

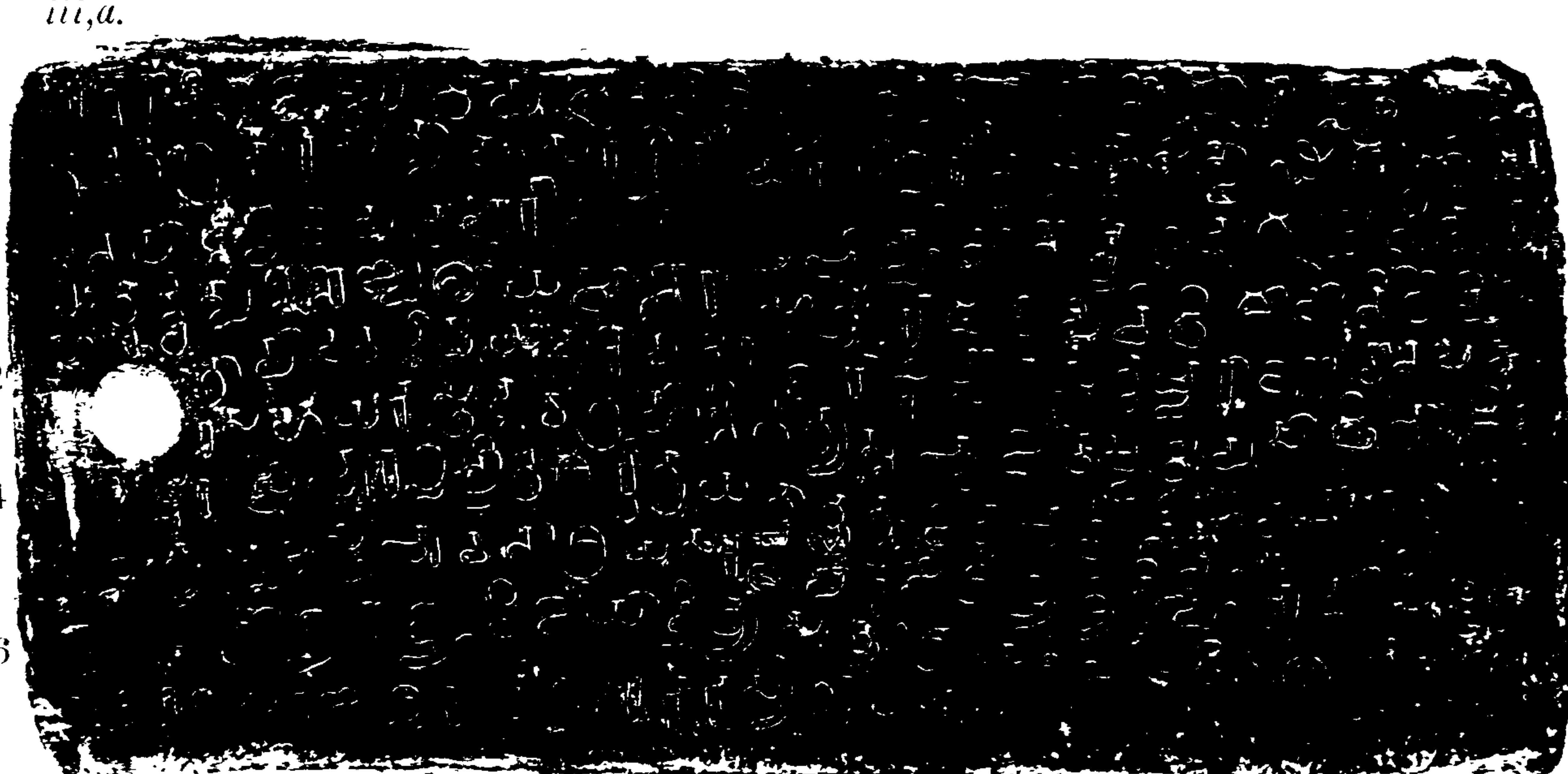
SCALE. SEVEN-TENTHS.

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES CALCUTTA.

ii,b.



iii,a.



23 स्य सकलोत्तरापथनाथमथनोप(पा)र्जितोर्जितपाळिध्वजादिसमस्त-

24 पारमे(मै)श्वय्य(र्य्यं)चिन्ह(ह्न)स्य विनय(या)दित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवी[व*]ल्लभमहा-

25 राजादि(धि)राजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य पृ(प्रि)यात्मज(जः) शैशव एवाधिगताशेषा-

26 स्त्रशास्त्र(स्त्रो) दक्षिणाशाविजयिनि पितामहे समुन्मूलितनिखिलकण्ठ(ण्ट)क-

27 संहतिर(रु)त्तरापथविजिगीषोगु(र्गु)रोरग्रत एवाहवव्यापारमाच-

Third Plate; First Side

28 रन्नरातिगजघठा(टा)पाठ(ट)नविशीर्य्यमाणक्रि(कृ)पाणधारा(र)स्समग्रवि-

29 ग्रहाग्रेसर(रः) सत्साहसरसिक(कः) पराङ्मुखीकृतशक्तु(त्रु)मण्डलो गंगाय-

30 मुन(ना)पाळिध्वजपटड[1]कामहाशब्दचिन्ह(ह्न)माणिक्यमदगजादीन्पित्र(तृ)-

31 सात्कुर्व्वन्परै[2]× पलायमानैरासाद्य कथमपि विधि[व*]शादा[3]नीतोपि

32 प्रतापादेव विषयप्रकोपमराजकं(क)मुत्सारयन्वच्च(त्स)राज इवानपेक्षिता-

33 परसहायकस्तळ(द)वग्रहान्निर्गत्य स्वभुजावष्टम्भप्रसाधिताशेष-

34 विश्वम्भरः प्रभुरखण्डितशक्तित्रयत्वाच्छ(च्छ)त्रुमदभंजनत्वादुदारत्व(त्वा)न्निरव-

35 द्यत्वाद्यः(द्य)स्समस्तभुवनाश्रय(यः) सकलपारमैश्वर्य्यव्यक्तिहेतुपाळिध्वजा-

36 द्य(द्यु)ज्व(ज्ज्व)लप्राज्यराज्या(ज्यो) विजयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभमहारा-

37 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकक(स्त)स्य प्रियपुत्र(त्रः) सकलभुवनसाम्रा(म्रा)ज्यल-

Third Plate; Second Side

38 क्ष्मीस्व[4]यंबराभिषेकसमयानन्तरसमुपजातमहोत्साहा(ह आ)त्मवंशज-

39 पूर्व्वनृपतिजयापहारिण(णः) प्रकृत्यामित्रस्य पल्लवस्य समुन्मूलना-

40 य क्रि(कृ)तमते(ति)रतित्वरया तुण्डकविषयं प्राप्याभिमुखागत[5]न-

41 न्दिपोतवर्म्माभिधानपल्लव(वं) रणमुखे संप्रहृत्य प्रपलाय(य्य) [6]कतु-

[1] Read ढक्का for डका.

[2] One syllable was engraved and scored out before रै.

[3] Read दपनीतोपि.

[4] Read स्वयंवरा.

[5] [The original reads मुखो गत्वा.—C. R. K.

[6] Read कटुमुख.

42 मुलवादित्रसमुद्रघोषाभिधानवाद्यविशेषखट्वांगध्वज-

43 प्रमत्तप्रभूतप्रख्यातहस्तिवरा(रां)श्च किरण[1]निकाशनिराक्रि(कृ)ति(त)तिमिर(रं)

44 माणिक्यराशिमनेक(का)नेका(को)पवहनीयमहाहेमराशिञ्च हस्तेकृ-

45 त्य कु[2]लधनकनिलयत्ररिरवाञ्चितकाञ्चीयमान(नां) काञ्चीमविना-

46[3] श्य सततप्रवि(वृ)त्तदानान्थि(नन्दि)तद्विजा(ज)दीन(ना)नाथा(थ)जन(नो) नरसिंघपोत-
वम्म(र्म्म)[णा]

Fourth Plate; First Side

47 निर्म्मितशिलामयराजसि(सिं)घे(हे)श्वरादिदेवकुलप्रभूतसुवर्णरा-

48 शिप्रत्या(त्य)र्पणोपार्जितोर्जितपुण्य(ण्यो) अनिवारितप्रतापप्रसभ(र)-

49 प्रसाधितपाण्ड्यचोळकेरळकळभ्रप्रभृतिराजन्यक(कः) क्षुभित-

50 करिमकरनिहति(त)सितशुक्त(क्ति)मुक्ताप(फ)लप्रकरमरीचि[4]वेलाकु-

51 लोत्घू(द्धू)र्ण्णमा[5]नार्ण्णवनिधानदक्षिणार्ण्णव(वे) शरदमलश-

52 शि(श)धरविशदयशोराशिमयं जयस्तंभमतिष्ठिपद्दिक्क-

53 मादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल[6](ल्ल)भमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

54 भट्टारक(कः) सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापे(प)यति विदितमस्तु वोस्माभि-

Fouth Plate; Second Side

55 [7]चतुषष्युत्तरषट्छतेषु शकवरुषे(र्षे)ष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयरा-

56 ज्यस्संब(संव)त्सरेष्टमे आदित्यवाडमधिवसति विजय[8]स्कन्धागारे उत्तरायणकाले

57 राष्ट्रकु(कू)टशिवराजपुत्रगोविन्दराज(ज)विज्ञा(ज्ञा)पनया चिप्रहन्नविषये

58 समुद्रतीरे सोम्नेनद्यंबाडग्रामादिपरिवृतचतु[:]सीमान्तनरवण-

---

[1] Read विकास.

[2] The Vakkalēri and the Kēndūr grants have कलशभवनिलयहरिदंगनाञ्चि ।

[3] Below this is a line originally engraved and then scored out.

[4] Add जालविलसित here.

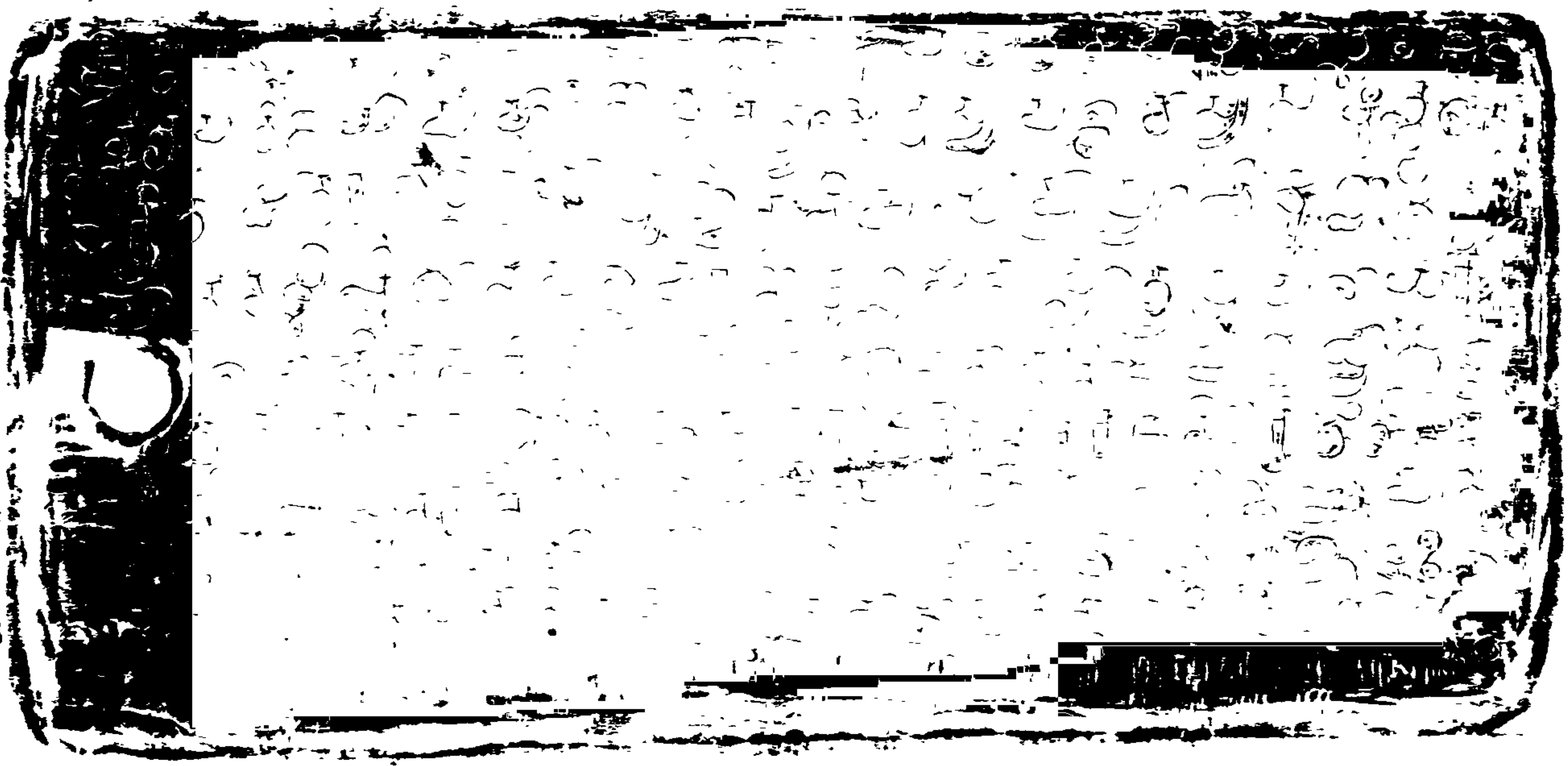
[5] Read नार्णो for र्णव.

[6] The letter ल is engraved below the line.

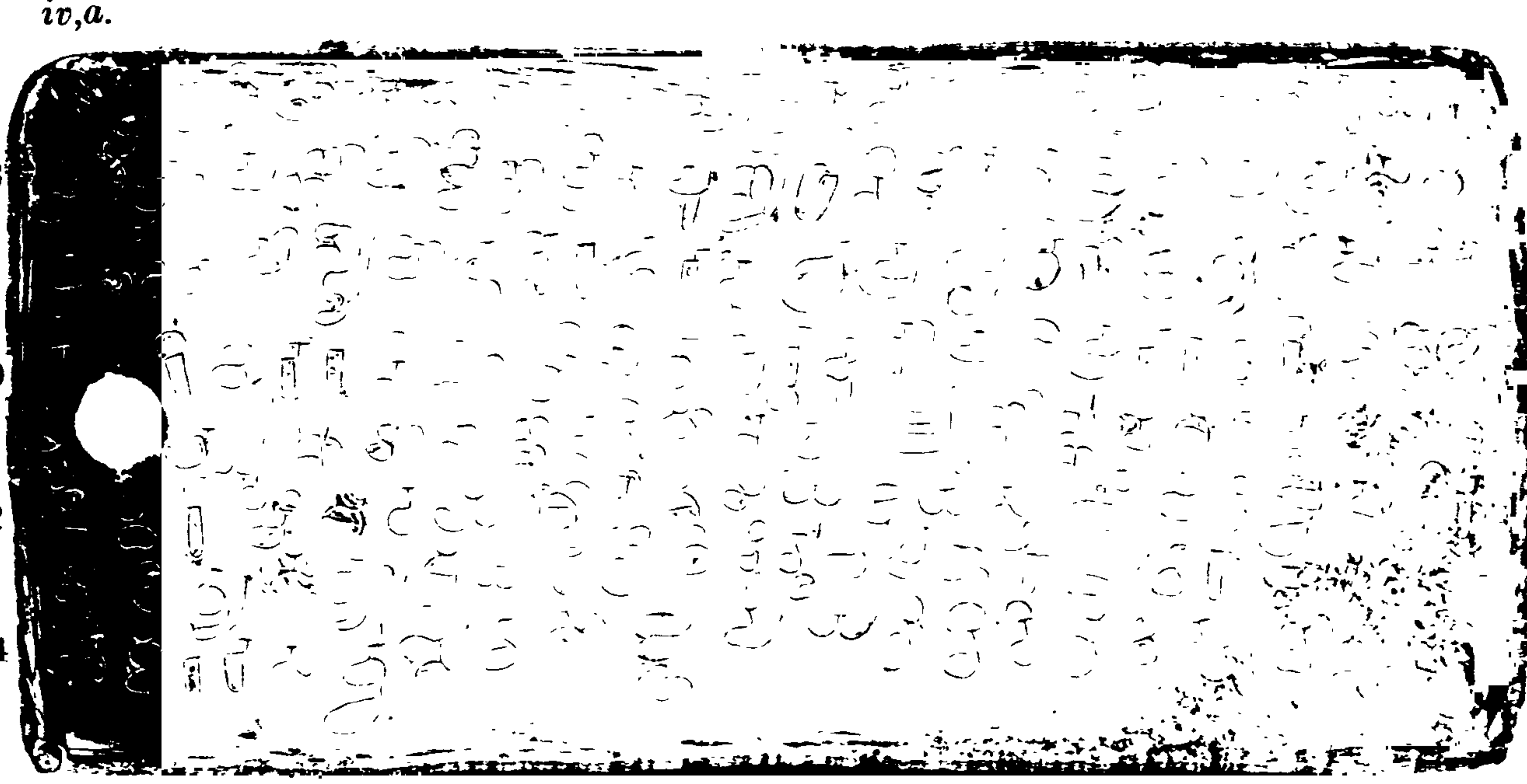
[7] Read श्चतुष्षष्ट्युत्तरषट्शतेषु.

[8] The letter य is engraved below the line.

iii,b.



iv,a.

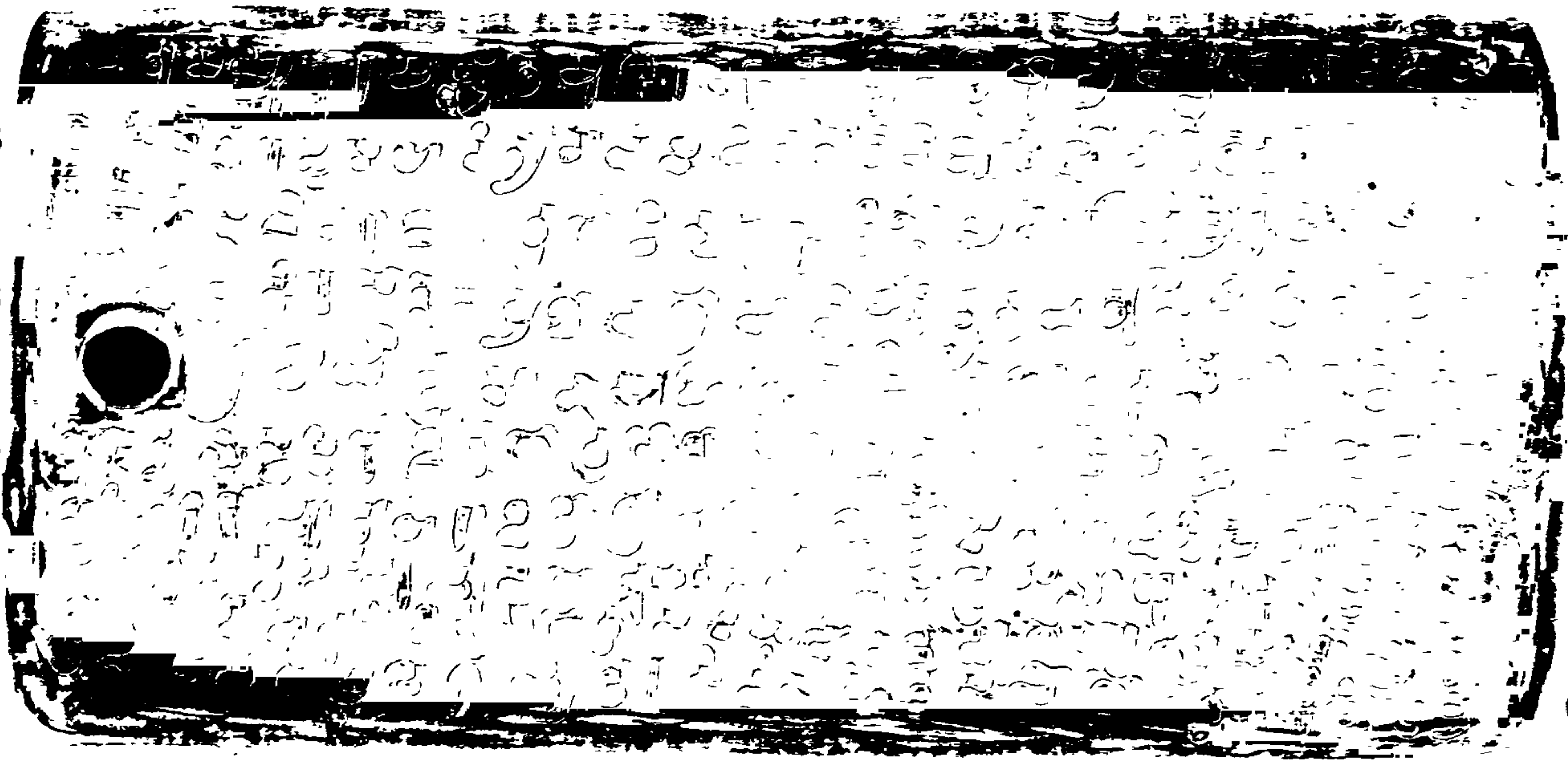


B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E 36 – 475'49.

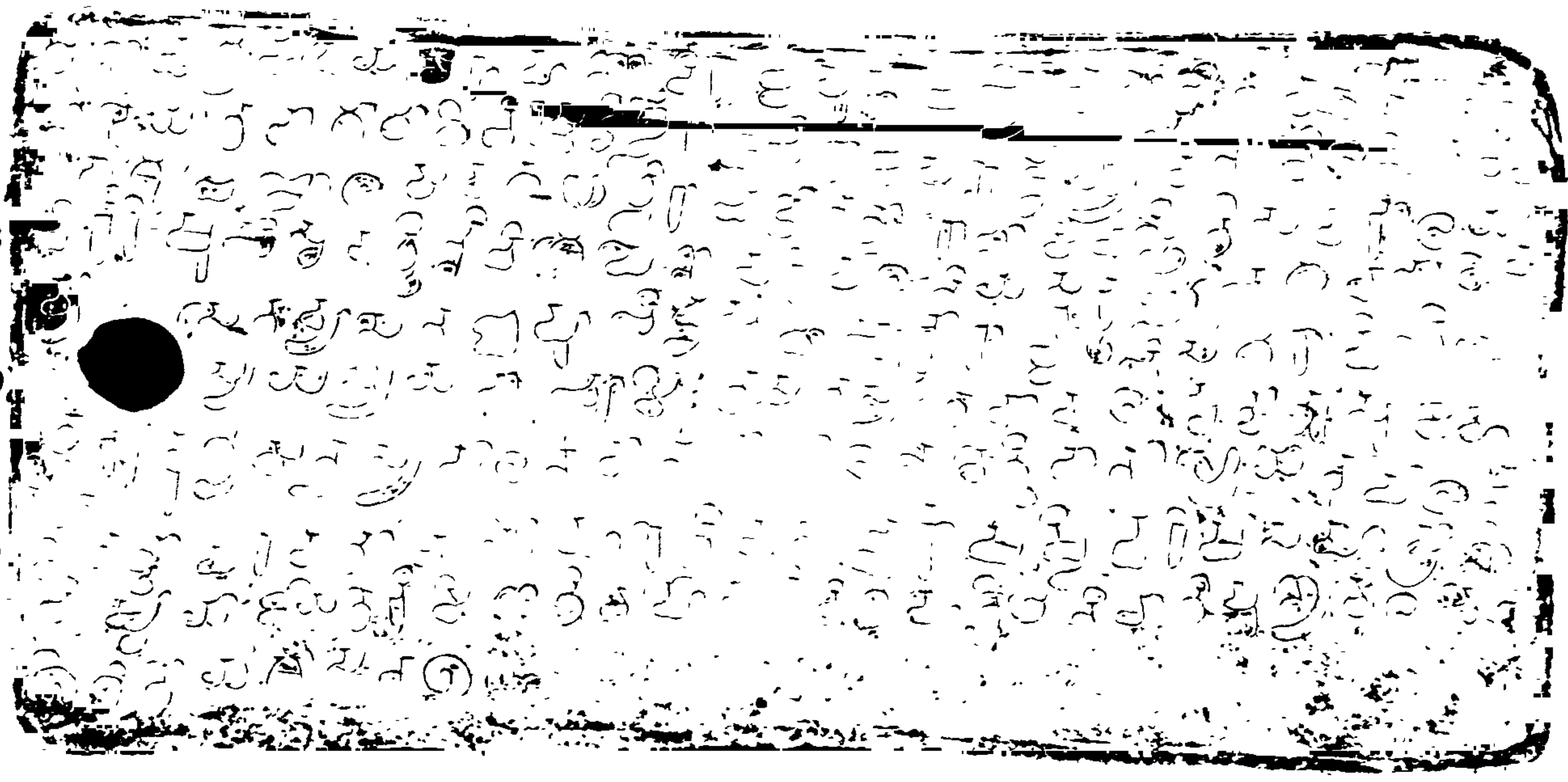
SCALE: SEVEN-TENTHS.

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iv,b.



v.



59 ग्रामं चिन्द्रमाड[स]हितं कौशिकगोत्रदुर्ग्गनागस्वामिपु-

60 त्रदेग्गुलिस्व(स्वा)मिकौशिकगोत्रदोणस्व(स्वा)मिपुत्रनागडिदीक्षितावेतौ ब्राह्म-

61 णौ [चा]रिकौ भूत्वा आराधितो(तौ) ग्रामं देग्गुलस्वामिनागडिदीक्षितकोन्तळनारा-

62 यणनन्नस्व(स्वा)मिभु[1]र्भुंसगोदुधनंजयदुग्गुआत्रेयबो(?)मावुवच्चपुत्रदेवु

63 गोविदिवोवुणादिनानागोत्रसमय[वे]द[वे]दांगपारगब्रा[1]ह्मणेभ्ये(भ्य इ)द(दं)

64 अचाटभटप्रवे[शा[2]]भ्यन्तरसिद्धिसहितं सभोगो(गं) दत्त(त्तं) यत्किञ्चिद्र(द्)व्य(व्यं)

Fifth Plate

65 अंबाडग्रामदेयं(य)मरुहणादि राजपुरुषेभ्यो ददाति [तदर्धन्नरव]-

66 णदेयं [3]तदागामाविभिरस्मद्विश्वै राजभि [4]राजपुरैश्वे(श्व)र्य्यादीनां विलसितमचि-

67 रा[5]दाशुचञ्चलमवगछ(च्छ)तिभ(र्द्भि)राचन्द्रार्कताराणामवस्थितिसमकाल(लं) [6]यश-

68 चिकिरिषुभि स्वदत्तिन्निविशेषेण परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्चे(ञ्च) भगवता वेद-

69 व्यासेन व्यासेन [।।*] [7]बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि(भिः) सगरादिभि(भिः) [।*] य-

70 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [।।२।।*] स्वन्दातुं सुमह-

71 त्छ(च्छ)क्यं दु(दुः)खमन्यस्य पालनं(नम्) [।*] दानं वा पालनं वेत्ति(ति) दानाछ्रे-
(च्छ्रे)योनुपालनं(नम्) [।।३।।*]

72 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेति(त) वसुन्धरां(राम्)[।*] षष्टिं वरिष(वर्ष)सहस्राणि

73 विष्ठाया(यां) जायते क्रिमि[:*] [।।४।।*] इति महासन्धिविग्रह[श्री]अनिवाति-
(रित)पुण्यवल(ल्ल)भेन

74 लिखितोयं(तमिदं) शासन(नम्) ।।◎

[1] I cannot amen l this part of the text so as to make it more intelli gib'e.

[2] his letter looks more like गा.

[3] Read तदागामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यै°.

[4] Read आयुरै°.

[5] Read मचिरांशु°.

[6] Read यशश्चिचीषुभिः स्वदत्तिनिर्विशेषं.

[7] Metre here and in the next two verses : *Anushṭubh*

No. 24—BAMHANI PLATES OF PANDAVA KING BHARATABALA : YEAR 2

(*1 Plate*)

B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND

The Superintendent of Archæology, Rewa State, Baghelkhand, Central India, sent me this set of **three copper plates**, complete with the ring and the seal, for decipherment. According to the information kindly supplied by him, the find was unearthed, at a depth of nearly four inches, by one Maikuā, Bhariā (a sub-caste among the Gonds) by caste, on the 28th October 1940, while clearing the grass and thereby preparing a *kharīhān* (a piece of land for storing harvest) for his master, Gayā Prasād Brahmin, at a village called **Bamhanī**, *tahsil* Sōhāgpur, Police Station Burhār (a railway station on the Bilaspur-Katni section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway), of the Rewa State. There are, I am told, as many as seven villages of the name of Bamhanī within the Rewa State, but the one with which we are concerned is distinguished by the foregoing description. It lies due east of Burhār at a distance of about eighteen miles. I am indebted to His Highness the Bandhvesh Maharaja Saheb Bahadur, the Ruler of the Rewa State, for kindly according me permission to edit the record here.[1]

The plates measure each roughly 7¾″ broad by 4½″ high. They are strung on a copper ring, about ¼″ in thickness, passing through a hole, ¾″ in diameter, cut in the centre of each plate near the margin. The ring must originally have been circular in shape, but in its present condition it is bent and elongated. Its ends are secured under a comparatively small seal with a diameter of ¾″. The seal bears no emblem or legend ; if there was any originally, it has now completely disappeared. The inscription on the plates is in an excellent state of preservation throughout. The first and third plates are engraved only on one side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether 49 lines of writing, twelve being on the first face, thirteen on each side of the second plate and eleven on the last. All the plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 94 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets, a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of about the fifth century A. D., as Fleet would name it.[2] They represent a very rare type, in which the top of each letter, as a rule, consists of a small triangle with its apex downwards, and which, on that account, has appropriately been named "nail-headed". The known instances of the particular type employed in the present inscription are very few. In fact, I know of only two other examples : the Poona plates of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā[3] and the Majhgawāṁ plates of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin.[4] The

[1] The present article was already in an advanced stage of proof as early as June 1942 when, owing to the war conditions, the publication of this journal was suspended. In the meantime a short note by myself, entitled Kingdom of Mēkalā, based on these plates, has appeared in the *Bhārata Kaumudī* (Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Volume), Part I. Allahabad, 1945, pp. 215-9.

[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions), pp. 18 f.

[3] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. and plate.

[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff., plate XIV. From the portions of the first two lines of the Khoh copper plate inscription of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Saṁkshōbha of the year 209, reproduced on Plate IV in Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. IX, it appears that the script of this record is also of the same nail-headed variety as the one under discussion, but the reproduction of the full inscription on Plate XV in the *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, does not bear it out. Additional examples of the present variety are, however, afforded by some minor inscriptions such as the short pilgrims' records engraved on the face of the wall in the cave of Durgākho near Chunār in the Mirzapur District of the United Provinces (Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. XI, Plate XXXVIII ; Vol. XXI, Plate XXXII) and the Shorkot inscription of the year 83 supposed to be of the Gupta era (above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15). Some later examples are found in the Tur rock inscription in Chambā, assigned to the beginning of the eighth century (Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, p. 148, Plate XII) and in the first two lines of the Khāmkhēḍ plates (above, Vol. XXII, Plate facing p. 94). After this article had been sent to the press, Mr. N. L. Rao kindly drew my attention to two more instances : the Pandarangapallī grant of Avidhēya (*An. Rep. Mysore Arch. Department*, 1929, Plate XIX, facing p. 196) and the Sūnāo Kala plates of Saṁgamasiṁha of the [Kalachuri] *saṁvat* 292 (above, Vol. X, Plate facing p. 74). While the former has some letters of the nail-headed variety spoken of here, the script of the latter is practically the same as that of the present record.

script of the latter record bears a striking resemblance to that of the present one. This is obviously to be accounted for by the comparative proximity between the two : they belong more or less to one and the same period and their findspots are not far removed from each other.[1] Prabhāvatiguptā's charter is earlier than these two by about a century. Its character, though otherwise similar, appears somewhat slanting as compared with that of the other two inscriptions, which is upright.

It must, however, be observed that the character of the present inscription, in spite of the similarities noticed, differs greatly from that of the other two in one respect. To wit, it pertains, as has been stated above, to the Southern class of alphabets, while the script represented by the Majhgawāṁ plates belongs to the Northern class and that used in the Poona plates is found to be a mixture of both. In fact, an analysis of the script of the last-mentioned record has shown that 'it is rather difficult to ascertain whether the northern or the southern characters predominate'[2] there. A comparative study, on the other hand, has revealed the character of the present record to be pre-eminently southern, as will presently be demonstrated.

As already remarked, the top of each letter in the script under discussion generally consists of a triangle or a nail-head. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule. Among the initial vowels, of which the present inscription affords instances of *a* (l. 37), *ā* (ll. 1, 38, 45), *i* (ll. 3, 16, 17, 33), *u* (l. 34), *ē* (ll. 25, 29) and *au* (l. 16), three, namely, *i*, *ī* and *au*, are not provided with a nail-head.[3] Of the consonants, the following five are likewise without a nail-head : *kh*, *j*, *ṇ*, *b* and *l*. Possibly *ṅ* and *ñ* are also like that. The former may be seen used as the first member of a conjunct letter *ṅkra* (l. 1) and the latter as the second in another, *jña* (l. 5). In the case of *g*, *ṭ*, *th*, *dh*, *c* and *ś* the triangle at the top has, as necessitated by the upper curve of the letters, become almost an oblong, whereas with *m* it is definitely a square or a box-head, a general characteristic of another variety of alphabets, mainly found in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, which has on that account received the designation 'box-headed'.

The most conspicuous of the test letters, stamping the character of the present inscription as pre-eminently southern, are the initial *a*, *ā*, *ē* and *au* as well as *k*, *m*, *r* and *l*. It may be pointed out that the Poona plates, in common with the present charter, have the southern *a*, *k* and *r*. Examples of initial *au* are extremely rare, but a comparison between its northern and southern forms has been rendered possible by the fact that they are found respectively in the Majhgawāṁ plates (l. 8) and in the present record (l. 16). The form found in the latter appears to be essentially the same as is met with in the Māṅgaḷūr grant of the Pallava Siṁhavarman.[4] A slight notch in the top stroke of the letter *j*, and the manner of expressing medial *i* by a circle and *ī* by a circle with a dot in its centre, as noticed in the present inscription, are further southern peculiarities.

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[1] The Nāgaudh and Rewa States, wherein the two places, namely Majhgawām and Bamhanī, are respectively included, are adjoining each other

[2] Above, Vol. XV, p. 40.

[3] It may be pointed out that initial *ī*, which is formed by a vertical stroke with a dot on either side about its middle, does have a nail-head, as may be seen in one of the brief records at the cave of Durgākho. See *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. XI, p. 127, Pl. XXXVIII, inscr. A ; Vol. XXI, p. 129, Pl. XXXII, inscr. No. 2. The sign in question is read as *i* by Cunningham, whereas in reality it represents *ī*, as is evidenced by several other inscriptions, both early and late, northern as well as southern, where essentially the same form of the letter is met with. Compare, for instance, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pl. III-B, text l. 61, Pl. XXX-A, text l. 6 ; above, Vol. VIII, Pl. facing p. 287, text l. 28 ; *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, Pl XV, text l. 1 ; above, Vol. VI, Pl. facing p. 317, text l. 18 ; Vol. V, Pl. facing p. 8, text l. 9 ; Pl. facing p. 51, text l. 31 ; etc. The same occurs also in the Bower manuscript which is assignable to about the fifth century. See Buhler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Table VI, l. 4.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, Pl. facing p. 155, text l. 24.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit while its composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. It exhibits various mistakes, most of which are to be ascribed to the engraver. As regards the **orthographical** peculiarities, the following points deserve notice : (1) A final *n* is invariably changed to an *anusvāra*,[1] as in *śrīmām*, l. 2, *yaśasvinām*, l. 3, etc. This resultant *anusvāra* becomes redundant when the following letter is a vowel, in which case the original *n* is retained or, so to say, restored, as in *saṁvāmin-īva*, l. 36. (2) A consonant preceding or succeeding *r* is occasionally reduplicated, as in *puttrō=*, l. 5, *kīrttī*, l. 2 ; etc. (3) The guttural nasal is used instead of *anusvāra* in [illegible] l. 11, while the same word is used in its correct form elsewhere, *vaṁśaḥ*, l. 33. (4) In *rāja-sa[ṁ*]ghaiḥ*, l. 31, *gh* has taken the place of *h*. (5) As a rule, a separate sign is used for *b* but twice in ll. 8 and 26, it is represented by that of *v*. (6) In *ugrākrishṭa*, l. 22, *u* is wrongly represented by *ū*. In such cases as *samanvitāṅgā[ḥ*]*, l. 16, and *utkhitamāñ=ch=*, l. 48, the *anusvāra* is superfluous. Conversely, in *yaśasvinī*, l. 7, the *n* is redundant. Besides there are certain other irregularities, such as omission of *sandhi*, *visarga*, *anusvāra* and even of letters, wrong *sandhi*, etc., which have been duly pointed out in the text and the footnotes added thereto.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the grant of a village, called **Vardhamānaka**, included in the **Pāñchagartā** district of the Northern province of **Mēkalā**, to one **Lōhitasarasvāmin** of the Vatsa *gōtra*, a follower of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Śukla Yajurvēda. The grantor is a king, **Bharatabala** by name, who is stated to belong to the **Pāṇḍava** lineage, ruling over the country of Mēkalā. We shall by and by have occasion to discuss a more detailed history of this ruler. The charter is stated to have been issued on **the 13th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhādrapada in the 2nd regnal year**, composed by Śiva, son of *Rāhasika* Īśāna, and engraved by Mihiraka, son of the goldsmith Īśvara.[2]

It will readily be perceived that the village of Bamhanī, the findspot of the present plates, is the modern representative of Vardhamānaka, the village granted, the present name being a possible contraction of the original term. As regards the *vishaya* of Pāñchagartā, it is difficult to locate it precisely, but, as its name indicates, it must refer to a region around Bamhanī, watered by five rivers or rivulets. A well-known example of this kind of designation is Traigarta or Trigarta,[3] the ancient name of the territory including the district of Kāṅgṛā in the Panjāb. Trigarta, it is explained,[4] is so called because it is watered by three rivers namely the Rāvī, the Beās and the Sutlej. Here the word *gartā* is obviously to be taken in the sense of 'a valley'.[5] In the present instance, the five rivulets probably refer to five of the tributaries of the river Sōn, which are shown on the map to be at a short distance from one another on either side of the village Bamhanī.[6] Mr. K. L. Pancholi, Deputy Commissioner, Sōhāgpur Division, kindly informs me of the existence of a village called Pachgaon about three miles south of Sahdol which possibly represents the headquarters of the ancient district of Pāñchagartā.[7] More interesting is, however, the mention of

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[1] This apparent solecism is reminiscent of the cognate usage in the Vedic texts where, however, a *n* in such cases is represented by an *anunāsika*. Compare, for example, *tathā lōkā̃ akalpayan* (*Taittirīyakāraṇyaka*, Ānandāśrama series, Poona, 1898, p. 199).

[2] See, however, below p. 145, n. 7.

[3] The city of Trigartī, mentioned in Sōmadēva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*taraṅga* 73, v. 21) has perhaps nothing to do with this Trigarta.

[4] Cunningham, *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. V, p. 148. See also N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 205 under the word Trigartta.

[5] It also means 'a stream which does not extend to more than, say, ten miles'. Compare : *Dhanuḥ-sahasrāṇy-ashṭau cha gatir yāsāṁ na vidyatē na tā nadī-śabda-vahā gartās tāḥ parikīrtitāḥ*. This is cited from the *Chhandōga-pariśishṭa* by Kullūka in his commentary *Manvarthamuktāvalī* on the *Manusmṛiti*, IV, 203.

[6] See *The One Million Map of India* (Political Edition)—India and Adjacent Countries, Sheet No. 64. The village of Bamhanī is given there at a point roughly 23 15′ N., 81 48′ E.

[7] However, see below, p. 142, n. 6.

Mēkalā as a country. We are familiar with *Mēkala-kanyakā*[1] as one of the various names of the holy river Narmadā (Nerbada), as well as with *Mēkala*[2] as the name of a mountain range wherein is located the source of the river.[3] Mēkalā, as referring to a country, is, on the other hand, not so well known though it is mentioned as such even in the epics the *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] and the *Mahābhārata*,[5] in association with some of the neighbouring countries, like Daśārṇa Chēdi Utkala, etc. Some of the *Purāṇas*[6] likewise make mention of it. All these works acquaint us with *Mēkala* as a people and also as a country peopled by them. Drawing upon these sources, Dr B. C. Law gives us a brief account of the Mēkalas whom he describes as "a small tribe inhabiting the tract of country comprising the modern Amarakaṇṭaka hills and the surrounding region."[7] All these are, however, bare references which it is possible to enliven only by historical data of a more tangible nature, like the record under discussion. Some of the *Purāṇas* no doubt refer to a line of seven kings in *Mēkalā*,[8] who are supposed to have ruled in about the third century A. D., but that is all. They do not mention the name of a single king. In the later literature, references to Mēkalā become more scarce. An outstanding example is that of Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*,[9] wherein Mēkala is mentioned among the mountains and the peoples in the eastern region.[10]

For our purpose, however, the most valuable reference is that found in a Vākāṭaka grant namely in the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithvishēṇa II,[11] which has a very intimate bearing upon the subject under consideration. This leads us to the question of the history of the ruling house of

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[1] Compare *Rērā tu Narmadā Sōmōdbhavā Mēkalakanyakā* (*Amarakōsha*, I. 10, 32); and *Mēkalakanyā cha Narmadā Rērā* (*Abhidhānaratnamālā*, III. 52). *Mēkalasutā*, meaning the same thing, is mentioned in a verse ascribed to Rājaśēkhara in Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*, as quoted by R. G. Bhandarkar, (above, Vol. IV, p. 280); as also by Sten Konow in his edition of Rājaśēkhara's *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 182. The published edition of the *Sūktimuktāvalī* (Gaekawad's Oriental Series, No. LXXXII, p. 47, V. 88), has *Mēkhalasutā* instead of *Mēkalasutā*. This confusion of *Mēkala* into *Mēkhala* is noticed also in different recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, etc., as pointed out below.

[2] That is Maikal or Maikala.—"Range of hills in the Central Provinces and Central India, lying between 21° 11′ and 22° 40′ N. and 80° 46′ and 81° 46′ E. It is the connecting link between the great hill systems of the Vindhyas and Sātpurās, forming respectively the northern and southern walls of the Narbadā valley." *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1908), Vol. XVII, p. 29.

[3] The particular spot where the river is supposed to take its origin is known as Amarakaṇṭaka. The village of that name is within the Rewa State, "situated in 22° 41′ N. and 81° 46′ E. on the easternmost extremity of the Maikala range." *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 274. Amarakantaka is one of the most sacred places in India and is highly glorified as such in the *Purāṇas*.

[4] *Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa*, XLI. 9. The reference is to the Nirṇaya-sāgar edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, with Rāma's commentary *Tilaka*, the only complete edition to which I have had access. The relevant portion reads *Mēkhalān=Utkalāṁś=ch=aiva Daśārṇa-nagarāṇy=api*. In Govindanath Guha's *Laghu-Rāmāyaṇa* (3rd edition, Calcutta, 237—*Kishkindhyā-kāṇḍa*, VII, 17), an abridgement, which evidently follows the Bengal recension, the corresponding reading is *Mēkalān-Utkalams-Chēdīn Daśārṇān Kukurān=api*, which appears to be a much better text. By the way, the slight difference between the forms *Mēkhala* and *Mēkala* is again apparent. A short note on the *Kukuras*, another little known people, is to be found in Dr. B. C. Law's article on Some Ancient Indian Tribes in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXII, 1941, p. 96.

[5] The people of Mēkala are counted among those vanquished by Karṇa. For various references to them in the epic, see S. Sorensen's *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*. Here again the southern recension gives the form *Mēkhala*, as may be seen in P. P. S. Sastri's edition,—*e.g.*, Vol. VIII (*Bhīshma-parvan*—VI), p. 47, v. 39.

[6] *E.g.*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Ādi-Khaṇḍa* VI, 36.—*Utkalāś cha Daśārṇāś=cha Mēkalāś=ch=Ōtkalaiḥ saha*. Some other *Purāṇas* are cited in the works referred to in the next two notes.

[7] *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, p. 28.

[8] See Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51. According to the account given by Dr. B. C. Law, *op. cit.*, "the *Vishṇupurāṇa* refers to ten kings who had Mēkala as their land of birth." The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has worked up the Puranic data and attempted a connected history of the Mēkalā rulers in the early centuries of the Christian era, which is discussed below, pp. 138-9.

[9] Especially in the *Kūrma-vibhāga* (ch. XIV), 7; but also in V, 39, 73; and XVI, 2.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, 1893, pp. 170, 185.

[11] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 267 ff. and plate, text l. 28.

Mēkalā. Before we proceed to investigate the external evidence as to that, let us consider what information is furnished by the present inscription itself. As has been stated above, Bharatabala, the royal donor, belonged to the famous race of the Pāṇḍavas. From the preamble of the record we cull the following genealogy of this dynasty :—

1. Jayabala.
2. Vatsarāja or Vatsēśvara (son of 1).
3. Nāgabala (*Mahārāja*, s. of 2 from Drōṇabhaṭṭārikā).
4. Bharata or Bharatabala (*alias* Indra ? *Mahārāja*, s. of 3 from Indrabhaṭṭārikā, married Lōkaprakāśā, a princess of Kōsalā).

The genealogical portion consists of eleven elaborate verses and some passages in prose, but contains very little of real historical value, except in a few details, the descriptions of the kings being mostly conventional. The opening verse speaks of **Jayabala,** as a higly celebrated king in Mēkalā, belonging to the house of the Pāṇḍavas, but does not prefix any such title as *Mahārāja* to his name. The next two stanzas describe his son **Vatsarāja,** extolling him, in a general way, for his prowess and virtues. He, too, does not carry any high title. Then comes a prose passage, followed by a verse, introducing Vatsarāja's son **Nāgabala.** A similar prose passage and the next four verses, vv. 5-8, are devoted to the latter's son **Bharatabala,** while the next following two verses speak of Bharatabala's wife **Lōkaprakāśā.** The eleventh verse evidently again refers to Bharatabala and also alludes to someone else, presently to be identified. The manner in which Nāgabala and his son Bharatabala are introduced is distinctly more dignified. The prose passage in each case has an identical text except of course the name of the king's mother, which in the case of Nāgabala is **Drōṇabhaṭṭārikā** and in that of Bharatabala is **Indrabhaṭṭārikā.** These two ladies were thus wives of Vatsarāja and Nāgabala respectively. Nāgabala and Bharatabala are each styled *Mahārāja* and described as a devout worshipper of Śiva, a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas, and *paramagurudēvatādhidaivataviśēsha* that is ' distinguished as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity '. Such epithets are known to signify paramount power.[1] In the present instance, however the grandiloquent epithet perhaps simply denotes a more exalted position, to which Nāgabala must have risen, as compared with the status of his father and grandfather, Vatsarāja and Jayabala, who, judging from the fact that they have not had any regal titles attached to their names, must have been mere chiefs. Nāgabala and his son Bharatabala may have enjoyed a measure of independence, but that they were not absolutely independent rulers is proved by evidence external as well as internal, as will be shown below. In the one eulogistic verse devoted to Nāgabala, no definite exploit of his is mentioned. If the description contained therein is not altogether conventional, it may be taken to hint at the growing military power of Nāgabala, his army comprising a large number of horses and elephants. In the case of his son, Bharatabala, though the inscription is much more eloquent, yet the historical data it imparts about him are meagre. The fifth verse mentions him under the name of Indra[2] and compares him to Kārttikēya. The sixth praises his good qualities like heroism, majesty, benevolence and so forth, and also depicts him as a sacrificer, though no specific sacrifice has been attributed to him. The seventh and eighth represent him as a slayer of his enemies, likewise without specification. The ninth and tenth describe his consort, Lōkaprakāśā, who is stated to have been born in Kōsalā.

[1] The overlord in Sōmadatta's Soro plates (B and C) is referred to as *Paramadaivatādhidaivata* or *Paramadaivata* (see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 202). *Mahārāja* Śivarāja in his Pāṭiākellā plate refers to his suzerain Śambhuyaśas as *Paramadēvatādhidaivata* (see above, Vol. IX, p. 287, and Vol. XXIII, p. 200). In these instances the feudatory chief also prefixes to the name of his overlord the additional title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, which is not found in the present record. In the Soro plate of Śambhuyaśas himself, he gives the epithet of *Paramadaivata* to his father (*bappa*), and calls himself only *Mahārāja*. The Soro and Pāṭiākellā inscriptions are later than the Bamhanī plates by more or less half a century.

[2] See below p. 143, n. 7.

It is emphasised that she came of a divine family. Another point on which seemingly stress is laid is this that she is described to be the only wife of Bharatabala, which tends to show that the latter was in favour of monogamy, whereas his forefathers practised polygamy.[1] If the expression to the effect that Lōkaprakāśā was blessed with grandsons and great-grandsons is to be taken as a statement of facts, rather than in the sense of a benediction which seems to be the case, we will have to assume that Bharatabala came to the throne in a very advanced age so as to become a great-grandfather already in the second year of his reign in which the present charter of his is dated.

The contents of the eleventh stanza, as has been indicated above, are ambiguous. In the natural sequence, it speaks of the royal donor Bharatabala, represented, as an emperor (*sārva-bhauma*) honoured by his vassals, but, at the same time, it contains a veiled reference to his overlord, **Narēndra,** that is the **Vākāṭaka** monarch **Narēndrasēna.** There is obviously a pun upon the word *narēndra* which, when construed with Bharatabala, means 'king' while otherwise it stands for the personal name of the Vākāṭaka sovereign concerned. There is another word in the verse, which has likewise double meaning, and that is *saumya*. It qualifies *vaṁśa*. When it refers to Bharatabala's *vaṁśa*, it means 'lunar' and when it adverts to Narēndrasēna's *vaṁśa*, it simply denotes 'auspicious'. The implication is quite obvious. The Pāṇḍavas the avowed ancestors of Bharatabala, belonged to the Lunar race, while the Vākāṭakas were Brāhmaṇas and as such their family could aptly be described as 'auspicious'.

The hidden reference as disclosed above might have escaped detection but for a counter-reference met with elsewhere. And it is here that the importance of the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithi-vishēṇa II comes in. In this record the Vākāṭaka monarch Narēndrasēna, the father of Pṛithi-vishēṇa II, is described to be as one 'whose commands were honoured or obeyed by the lords of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava'—*Kōsalā-Mēkalā-Mālav-ādhipaty-abhyarchchita-śāsana*.[2] This has generally been taken to signify that Narēndrasēna exercised suzerainty over the rulers of the three countries referred to. So far as Mēkalā is concerned, the said claim has been admitted, though covertly, by the donor of the present charter himself. It may, however, be questioned that, if Bharatabala indeed owed allegiance to Narēndrasēna, why he should express it in equivocal terms, and how the sovereign could tolerate that. The very fact that it has been so indicates that the overlordship was more in name only, that Mēkalā under the kingship of Bharatabala was an internally autonomous state, and that the prestige of its king was not much inferior to that of his suzerain or that both of them were perhaps more or less on friendly terms.[3] It looks as if Bharatabala was not bound to acknowledge Narēndrasēna's overlordship in the charter issued by him, but that it was out of courtesy that he did so and that wilfully in an indirect manner. A somewhat analogous instance, where a feudatory covertly alludes to his overlord, is furnished by the Ghumli plates of the Saindhava chiefs, of whom Kṛishṇarāja II and his brother Jāika I refer in like manner to their sovereign, the Pratīhāra emperor Rāmabhadra, who flourished in the first half of the ninth century.[4]

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[1] Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. V. Mirashi, who also had occasion to read this article in its proof stage, opines that the expression *ēk-aiva*, qualifying Lōkaprakāśā, perhaps means *asāmānyā* 'matchless'. There may not be any intention to refer to her husband's monogamy.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 271, text ll. 27-28. The citation gives the amended text. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has rightly pointed out that Prof. Kielhorn's correction of *Kōsalā* and *Mēkalā* into *Kōsala* and *Mēkala* is not called for. K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, p. 84, n. 1. The form *Kōsalā* is met with in certain other inscriptions as well; see, for example, above Vol. XXIII, p. 251, text l. 13.

[3] It has been observed that the Vākāṭakas do not seem to have insisted on their feudatories specifically mentioning their suzerainty in records. Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 173.

[4] Above Vol. XXVI, pp. 191, 192. The relevant text runs as follows:—*Bharata iv=āchalad-achala-samara-guṇita-Rāmaḥ*, Rāma referring to the epic hero of that name as well as to the Pratīhāra emperor Rāmabhadra. The term *lōkanātha* occurring in the concluding verse of the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman has been taken to refer to 'the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance'. Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 150.

From the above discussion it follows that Bharatabala was a contemporary of Narēndrasēna who is known to have flourished about A. D. 435-470.[1] The evidence of the script employed in the record is, as has been shown above,[2] in perfect agreement with this date. Taking the second year of Bharatabala's reign to correspond approximately with A. D. 460, and working at the rate of twenty years per reign-period for the foregoing three rulers, we arrive at A. D. 399-400 as the approximate date of Jayabala's rising to power. This roughly synchronizes with the momentous events taking place in the two big royal houses of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas, when the latter after suffering a setback at the hands of Samudragupta, were re-asserting themselves, the mighty Gupta empire was heading to a fall, and the Gupta-Vākāṭaka relations were being cemented by a matrimonial alliance inasmuch as Chandragupta II's daughter Prabhāvatiguptā had been married to Rudrasēna II. The confusion might have afforded Jayabala an opportunity of assuming authority and stabilizing his position as a local chief.

From the way the ancestral line is recounted in the present charter, it appears that the Pāṇḍava dynasty of Mēkalā started with Jayabala himself. It further appears that his successors were able not only to hold the territory he had mastered, but also to annex much more to it, at the same time acquiring greater authority. A measure as to the extent of the kingdom under Bharatabala is afforded by the mention in this inscription of an *Uttara-rāshṭra* within Mēkalā, which presupposes a fairly large realm, partitioned at least into two big well-defined divisions, one in the north and the other in the south, each in its turn comprising a number of districts and sub-divisions. Thus we may assume that the kingdom of Mēkalā was divided into two provinces, one called *Uttara-rāshṭra* and the other *Dakshiṇa-rāshṭra*, that the river Son in its upper reaches within the Rewa State possibly formed a natural boundary-line between the two, and that the whole of Mēkalā comprised the south-eastern part of the Rewa State, portions in the north of the Bilāspur District and some area in the east of the Mandlā District. The record does not mention the place of its issue, nor have we any means to ascertain as to where exactly the seat of government was located.

We already know of a line of Pāṇḍava kings ruling in Southern Kōsala. There has been some controversy as to their age but recently Prof. Mirashi has shown that the king Tīvaradēva of that lineage flourished in the second quarter of the sixth century.[3] Tīvaradēva's grandfather, Indrabala, or the latter's father, Udayana, thus becomes roughly contemporaneous with Bharatabala. The two Pāṇḍava houses were most probably related to each other. Of Bharatabala's queen Lōkaprakāśā, the present inscription informs that her native place was Kōsalā. It is a pity that no particulars of her parentage are given. Possibly she was a princess of the Pāṇḍava family of Kōsalā. It may, in passing, be observed that the Pāṇḍavas of Mēkalā had the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* and the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa as their neighbours in the north west.

There is no epigraphical evidence as to who the rulers in Mēkalā were prior to the Pāṇḍavas of the present document. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has tackled this problem with the help of the Purāṇic material which he has used in a sifting manner. According to his interpretation of the Purāṇic texts Mēkalā was then a province in the Vākāṭaka empire and was ruled over by the Pallavas whom he considers to be relatives of the Vākāṭakas. The following quotations from his work embody his view on the subject :—" In Mēkalā, there flourished seven rulers in seventy years *i.e.*, from about 275 A.D. to 345 A.D. It seems that this portion was acquired in the time of Vindhyaśakti. The rulers of Mēkalā who were a branch of the Vindhyaka dynasty, were kings of Andhradēśa."[4] " The Pallavas are described in the Purāṇas under the designation ' the Āndhra kings '—' the kings of Andhradēśa ', as ruling over Mēkalā with Andhra, and are specified as ' the descendants (*santati*) of the Vindhyakas,' *i.e.*, Vindhyaśakti."[5] " A branch of the Imperial

[1] K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[2] The Majhgawām inscription, which is dated in the Gupta year 191 (=A.D. 510-11), thus becomes later than the present record by about half a century.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

[4] K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

Vindhyakas, *i.e.*, the Imperial Vākāṭakas, became kings of Andhradēśa which had become connected with the Vākāṭaka province of Mēkalā."[1] Proceeding, the same author gives an identification of this province. "This Mēkalā I have identified as a province of 'Sapta-Kōsalā,' below the Maikal range of our maps, *i.e.*, the British district of Raipur and the Indian State of Baster."[2] Regarding the same, he elsewhere states :—"The Province of Mēkalā evidently extended from the south of the present Maikal Range, in a straight line, covering the modern State of Bastar wherein begins the Andhra country."[3]

These are rather astounding conclusions : Andhra and Mēkalā being blended into one country, and the Pallavas and the Vākāṭakas becoming blood-relations : and they will pass until any conclusive evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, like the charter under discussion. It may be pointed out that according to the said author, Mēkalā was still under a branch of the Vākāṭakas during Nārēndrasēna's reign. "The system of the Vākāṭaka imperial organization," says he, "was to have sons and other relations as rulers over different provinces."[4] Evidently he had this in mind while, referring to the re-establishment of the empire of the Vākāṭakas, he said : "on the fall of the Gupta Empire, under Narēndrasēna, they once more become a sovereign power in the Berar-Maratha country including Kōṅkaṇa and up to Kuntala, in Western Màlwā and Gujarat, and in Kōsalā and Mēkalā including Andhra."[5] It goes without saying that if he had the present record before him, he would have said differently. Now we know that Bharatabala was not a kinsman of Narēndrasēna, but that the two came of different stocks, one being a Kshatriya and the other a Brāhmaṇa.

Finally, we may consider the designations of the various officials mentioned in the record. By *Grāmakūṭa* is meant 'the headman of a village'. This term is frequently met with in inscriptions, particularly in those of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[6] What *Drōṇāgraka* denotes is difficult to determine, as it is an unfamiliar word. There is, however, a word *drōṇamukha* which according to Sanskrit dictionaries means 'the chief or the most beautiful one of 400 villages'. It is perhaps in this sense that the words *drōṇamukha* and *drōṇamukhya* are used in the *Divyāvadāna.*[7] It may readily be conceded that *drōṇāgra* means the same thing as *drōṇamukha* ; and by the addition of the suffix *ka* to that, we get the word *Drōṇāgraka* which possibly denotes 'an officer in charge of a *drōṇāgra* or a *drōṇamukha.* In rank and importance he thus stands much higher than an ordinary *Grāmakūṭa.* The term *Nāyaka* signifies 'a leader' or 'a military commander'. A *Dēvavārika* is, as the word indicates, perhaps 'a superintendent of temples and holy places'. The word *Gaṇḍaka* in the present context possibly means 'a warrior'. A *Rāhasika* is a 'privy councillor'. This office is mentioned in some other inscriptions under different forms such as *Rahasya*,[8] *Rahasika*,[9] *Rahasādhikata*,[10] *Rahasyādhikrita*,[11] etc. The order of the grant was issued by the king himself (*svayam=ājñāpanā*), that is to say, it was not conveyed by any state official acting as the king's *dūta*.

TEXT[12]

[Metres : vv. 1, 10, 11 *Sragdharā* ; v. 2 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 3 *Upajāti* , vv. 4, 9 *Mālinī* ; v. 5 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 6, 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 8 *Āryā* , vv 12, 13, 14 *Anushṭubh.*]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[6] See, for example, above Vol. XXIII, pp. 15, 106, 210 and 220 text, ll. 30-31, 3, 36 and 43 respectively.

[7] Edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 620, ll. 12, 21 and 28.

[8] Above, Vol. III, p. 21, ; Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 12 , Vol. XVIII, p. 145.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121. The form *rahasika* is a corruption of *rāhasika* rather than of *rahasyak* as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. III, p. 21, n. 1.

[10] Above, Vol. I, p. 7, text l. 50.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 13, 14 ; Vol. XXIV, pp. 144, 145, 298, 303.

[12] From the original plates.

First Plate

1 Ōm[1] svastiḥ[2] | [*] Āsīd[3] yaḥ **Pāṇḍavānāṁ** suvimala-yaśasām anvayē bhūri-dhāmnā[m*] rā-

2 [j]ābhūt Mē(n **Mē**)**kalāyāṁ** kshitipati-tilakaḥ saṁprasūt-ōru-kīrtti(rttiḥ) [|*] śrīmāṁ(mān) śrī-saṁ-

3 vidhā[tā *?] **Jayabala** iti yaḥ khyāpyatē svair=vvaśōbhiḥ lō(bhir=lō)kē smuṁ[4](smin) sarvvadē (d=ai ?) [va*?]

4 pravara-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṅkṛitaś=chāra(ru)-mūrttī(rttiḥ)[5] [|1 *] Tasy=ābhav=āhṛita-jayaḥ prathi-[tō dayā*?]

5 vāṁ(vān) **Vatsēśvaraḥ** pratisamō guṇavān vidhi-jñaḥ [|*] puttrō=bhavad=ripu-gra(gṛi)h-ōpa-

6 vanāni yēna vanyair=mṛigaiḥ prachuratām=upapāditāni [6] | 2 *] Mahānubhāva[ḥ*]

7 sukṛita-praśaṁnsī(saṁsī) guṇ-āntara-jñaḥ purush-ōpabhōgyaḥ [|*] sad-dharmma[7]-śīlō(laḥ) sunaya-pra-

8 dhānaḥ śrī-**Vatsarāja**(**jō**) nṛipati=vva[7](r=bba)bhūva [8] | [3 *] tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ pa-

9 ramamāhēśvaraḥ paramabrahmaṇyaḥ paramagurudēvatādhidaivataviśēsha[ḥ*]

10 śrīmāṁ(mān) śrīmatyāṁ dēvyāṁ **Drōṇabhaṭṭārikāyām**=utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāja-**Nā**-

11 **gabalaḥ** [|*] Turaga-khura-nipāta-kshuṇṇa-mārggā dharittrīṁ(ttrī) malinayati dig-antāṁ[9](ntān)

12 pā[m*]su-rūksh-ākul āntāṁ(ntān) [|*] mada-malina-kapōlā vāraṇā yasya

Second Plate: First Side

13 yataḥ[10] praśamam upanayantē śīkar-ārdrāṁ kshaṇēna [|4 *] tatas tasya puttras=tat-pād-ā-

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[1] Expressed by a symbol. There is a dot to the left at the bottom and a dot to the right at the top of the symbol which are superfluous. Similar superfluous marks are to be seen also further on in the plates.

[2] The *visarga* after *svasti* had better be omitted, because the word is, as a rule, an indeclinable. The form with the *visarga* occurs in a few inscriptions from Chambā. See J. Ph. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, inscriptions Nos. 14, 15, 20-24, 27-29, 31, 33, 34, 36 and 45. It may, however, be observed that in all these inscriptions the sign taken for *visarga*, in reality, stands for the numerical figure *1*. The same sign occurs in Nos. 13, 18, 42 and 48, but there it has been left unread. In some cases, instead of only one, there are two signs, thus representing *11*, as in Nos. 31 and 48. An unmistakable instance of the occurrence of *visarga* after the word *svasti* is, however, afforded not only by the present record, but also by the Chipurupalle plates of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishṇuvardhana I, though Fleet doubted the appearance of the *visarga* there by remarking that "it is probably only due to a mark of punctuation, imperfectly cleared out" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16, n. 3). In fact, the sign of *visarga* there is plainly visible on the facsimile and can not be taken for anything else. (See A. C. Burnell's *Elements of South-Indian Palaeography*, London 1878, 2nd ed., Pl. XXVII.) In the *Vēdas*, on the other hand, the word is treated both as an indeclinable and as a substantive. Compare, for example, *svasti pūshā asurō dadhātu naḥ* (*Ṛigvēda*, V. 51.11), and *svastim Indrā-Marutā dadhāta* (*Ṛigvēda*, II. 29. 3). In the later Vedic literature also instances of its use as a substantive are met with, cf. *daivī svastir astu naḥ svastir=mānushēbhyaḥ* (*Ṛi. Vaiṣy.*, p. 167).

[3] The construction is rather peculiar, the verb *āsīt* alone constitutes the principal clause, its subject *saḥ* being understood.

[4] The *anusvāra* meant to be over *smi* is placed a little aside. It appears to the left at the bottom of the letter *nām* in the upper line.

[5] A little space left blank here possibly denotes the punctuation.

[6] This sign of punctuation consists of a single curved line.

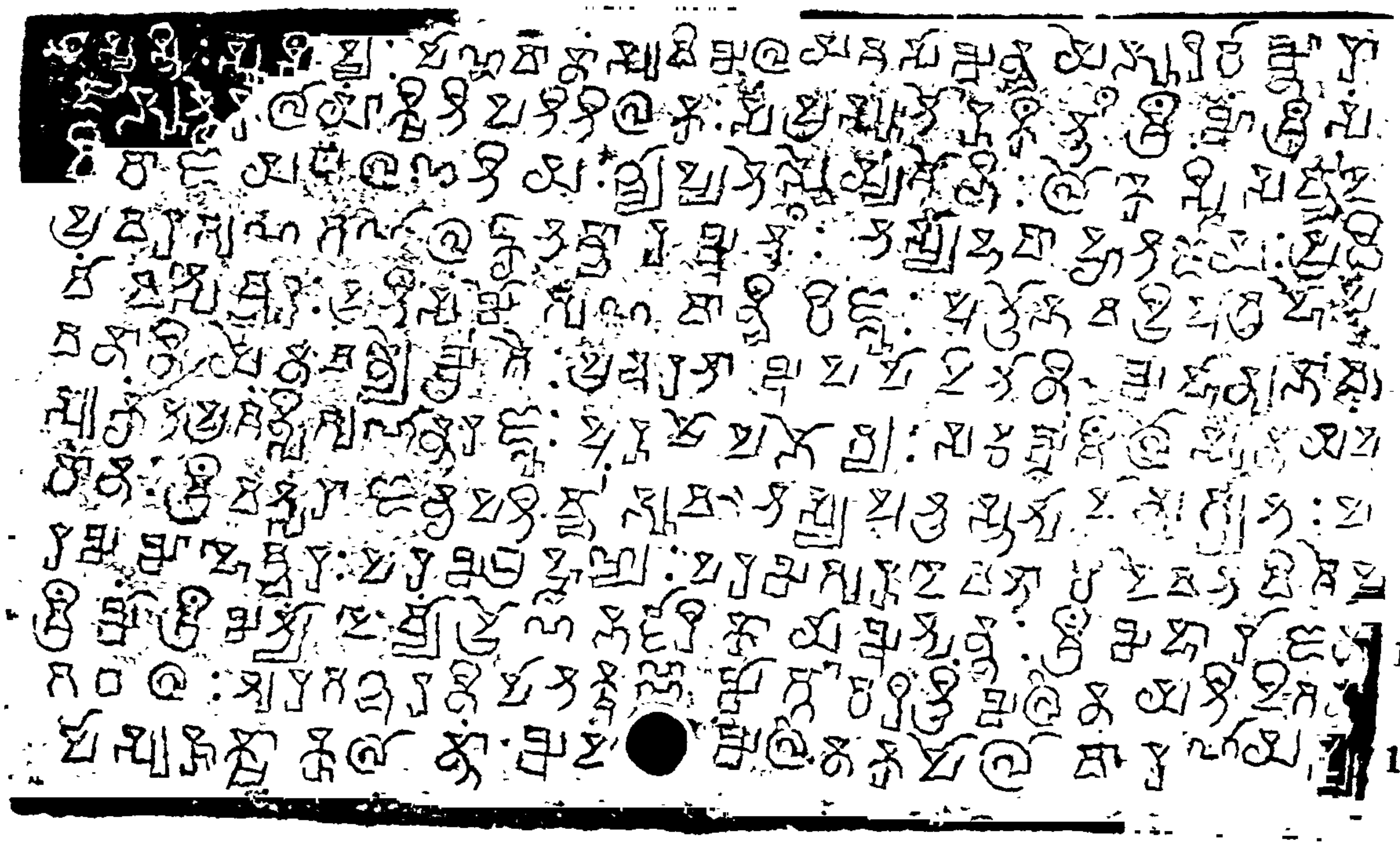
[7] There appears a superfluous dot or *anusvāra* over the superscript *r* in this syllable.

[8] This mark of punctuation consists of two curved lines.

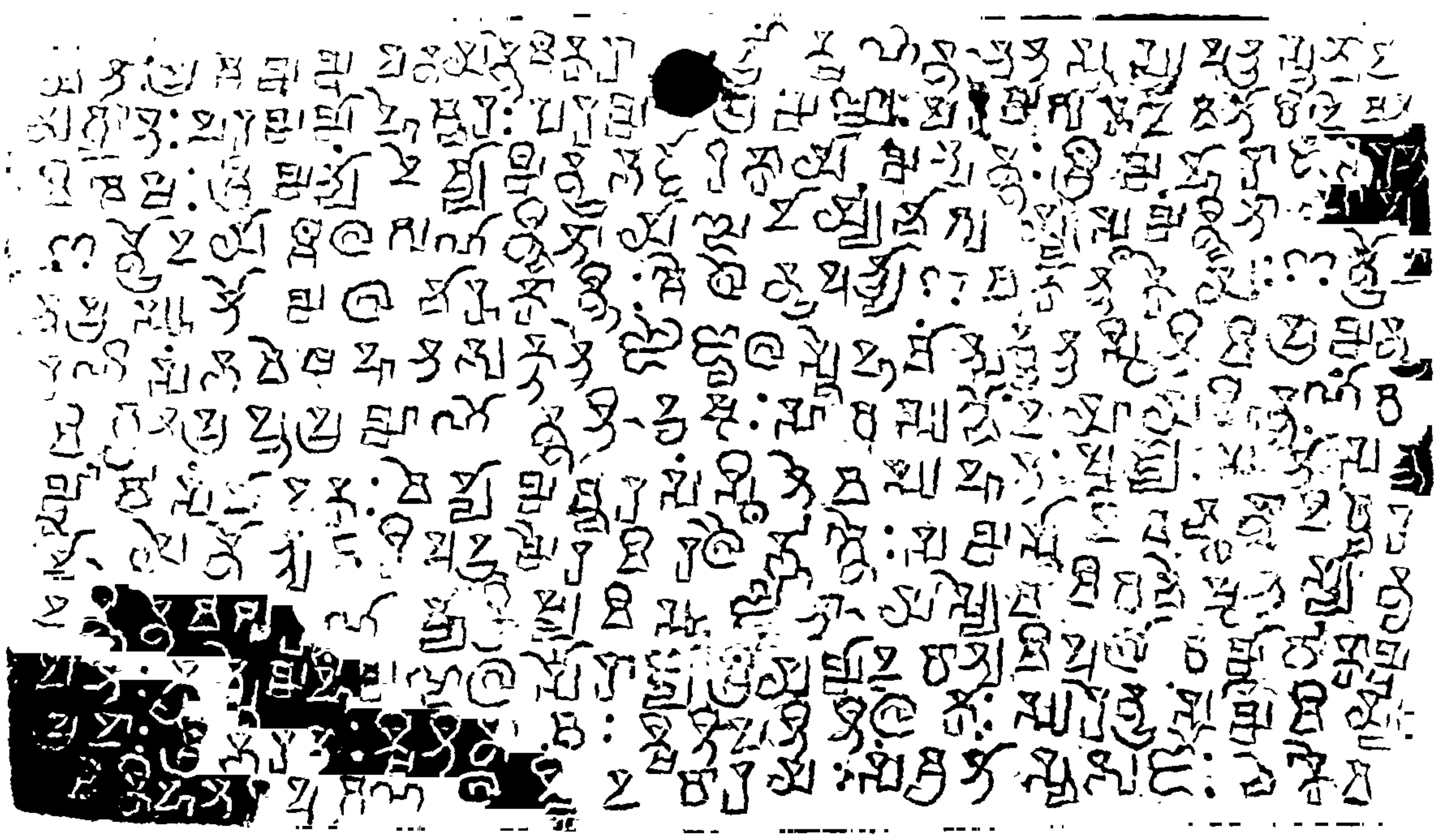
[9] This *anusvāra* is touching the base of the letter *nā* in the line above.

[10] Read *yātaḥ*. Although *yataḥ* can have the same sense as *yātaḥ* (*i.e.*, *niyamaṁ kṛitaḥ*) has, yet it is the latter that fits in with the metre, and hence that is undoubtedly the intended reading.

i.



ii,a.

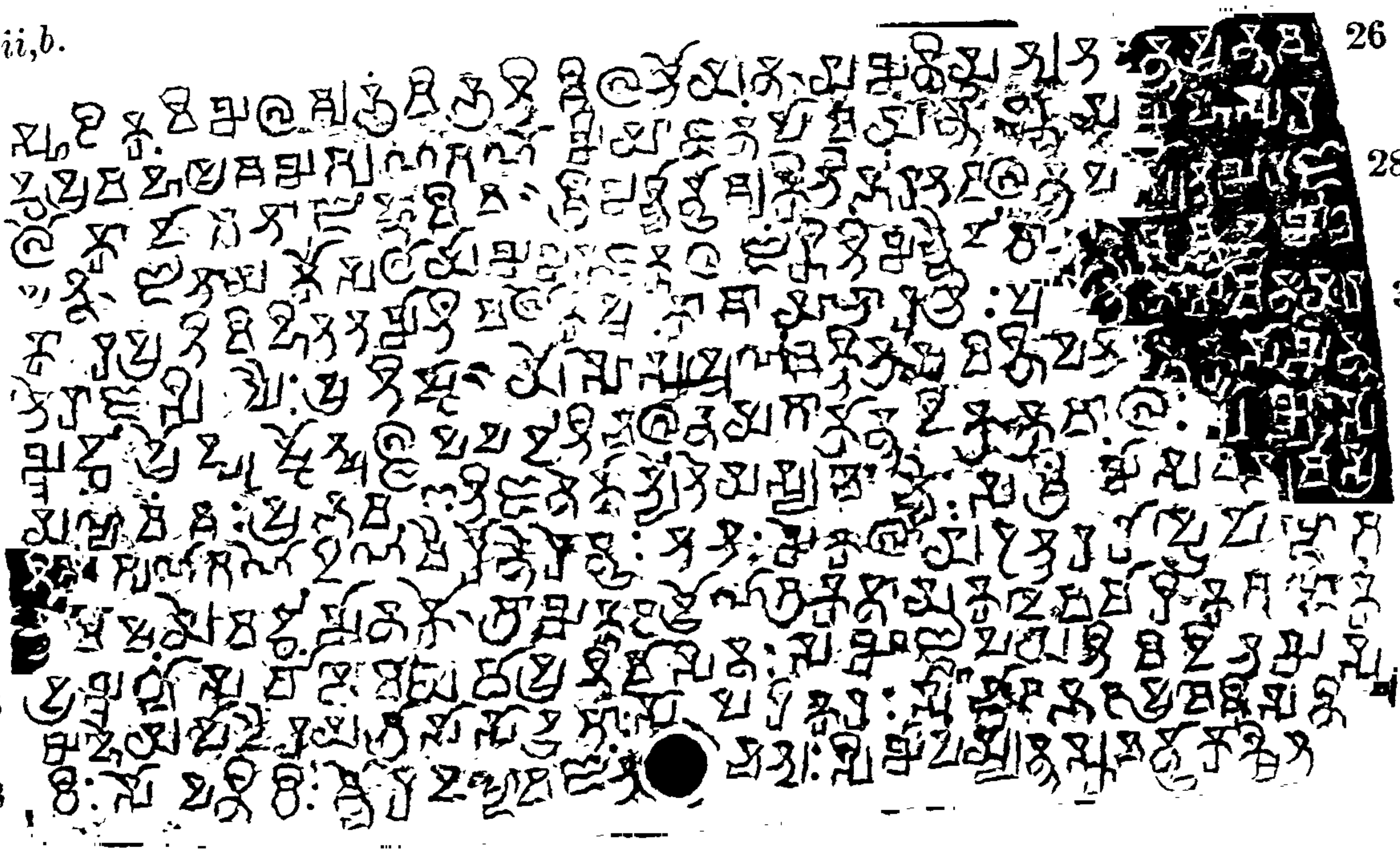


B. CH. CHHABRA.
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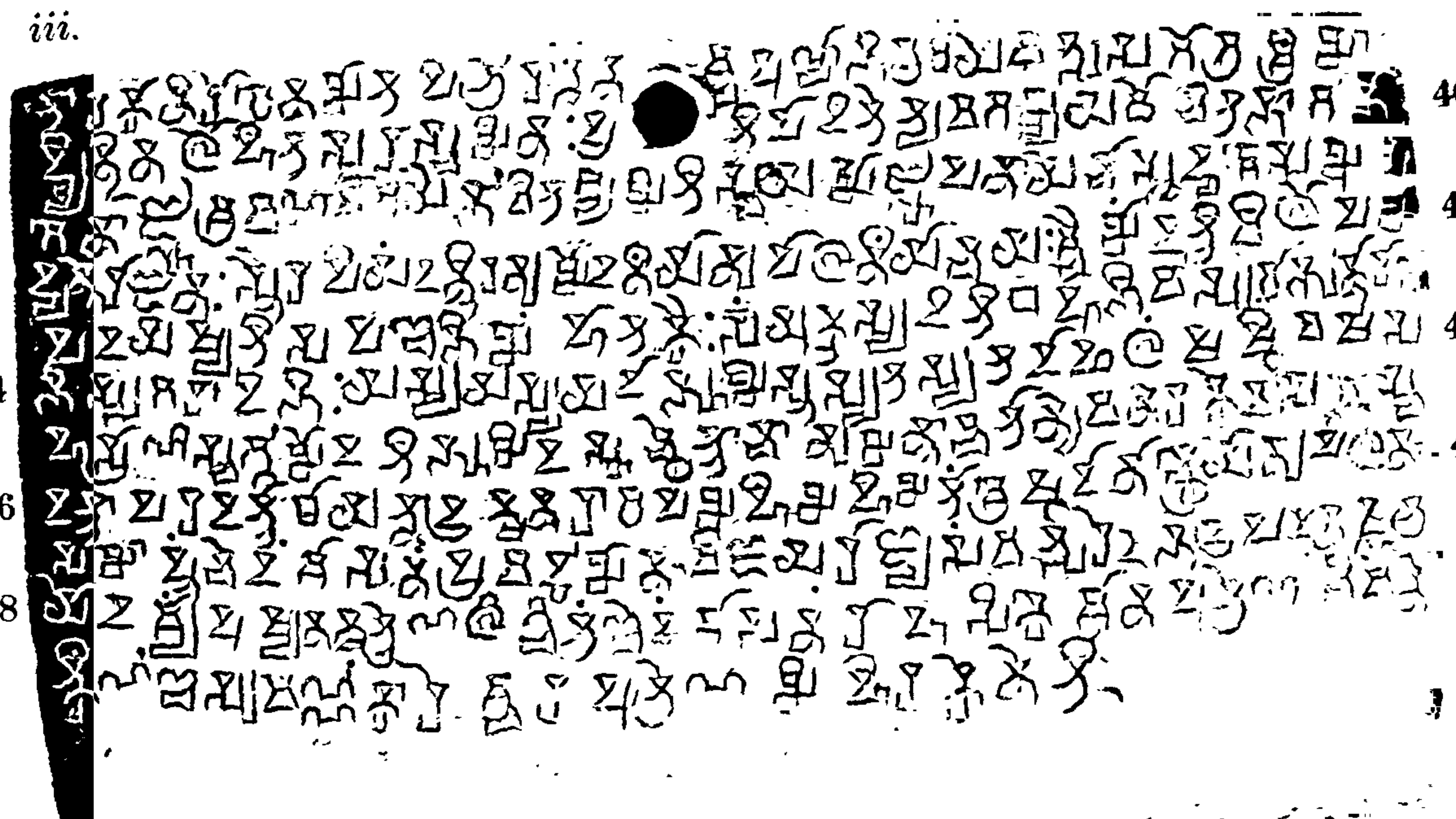
SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS.

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ii,b.



iii.



14 mudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramabrama(hma)ṇyaḥ paramagurudēvatādhidaivata-

15 viśēshaḥ śrīmatyāṁ dēvyām=**Indrabhaṭṭārikāyām**=utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāja-**Bharata**[ḥ |*]

16 **Indrō** dayā-śīla-guṇ-ānvitāyā audāryya-chāturyya-samaiṁ(ma)nvitāyā[ḥ *] pu-

17 ttra[ḥ*] prasūtō mala-chāru-kāntiḥ Śailēndraputtryā iva Kā[rtti]kēyaḥ [5 *] Indrō dā-

18 raṇi sambhavē[1][-tha] hutabhukta-tēj-ōjvala[2] snēhavāṁ(vān)-[3]tsad-vṛitta-sthiti-vipra-mandra-

19 vidhṛita-pra(prā)pta-pramāṇ-ōnnati[ḥ*] dṛishṭaḥ sādhu-sukh-ōdayāya hi nṛiṇāṁ dha-

20 rmm-ārtha-saṁpādakaḥ(kō) vēdyām=adhvara-saṁsthitē vasu-hutaḥ[4] pūjyaḥ satāṁ sarvva-

21 dā [|| 6 *] Yēn=ottuṅga-ripu-drumair=aviralair-bhbha(bbha)gnaiḥ samastā diśaś-chha(ś-chha)nnā dudhva(g-va)ra-[5]

22 dantin-ēva guruṇā vyākru(kṛi)shya visphūrijitā[ḥ*] | vasy-aiva[m*] vidha-chēshṭa(shṭi)-tasya nṛi-

23 pataḥ kṛitsnē mahī-maṇḍala(lē) sauraājya-śri(śri)yam ādadhātu vipulā dharmm-ārtha-kāma-

24 pradāḥ[6] [7 *] Śrī-Bharataḥ kshitināthaḥ kshitipati-tilakaḥ Surēndra-sama-vi(vī)ryaḥ [*]

25 vinihata-ripu-gaṇa-lakshmuṁ(kshmīṁ) dadhāra yaḥ saṁśṛi(śri)tāṁ sva-bhujōḥ[7] [8 *] ēk=aiva[8]

Second Plate : Second Side

26 Sphaṭika-vimala-śubhraṁ vi(bi)bhrati(tī) śīla-tōyana[9] [10] yama-nī(ni)yatu(ma)-taṭānta-prānta-su-

27 ddha-pravahaṁ(vāham) [*] praśama-guṇa-gaṇ-ōrmiyā(rmmi yā) janaṁ pāvayaṁnti(yantī) svayam=iha sura-

28 lōkād āgatā Jāhnav īva [9*] Śrīmach-chāndr-ā[ṁ*]su-ki(kī)[rtē]r=Bharataya(ba)la-nṛipasy-ōttama(mā) ra(rā)ja-

29 patni(tnī) [[10] jātā ya(yā) **Kausalāyām**[11] amaraja-kulajāṁ [k]ḥtimachchhai[12] dadhātā(nā) g(?) śaśvad-dharmm-āē(rtha)-

30 kāra(ma)-prativihitatam[13] ātīva **Lōkaprakāśā** vātā ra(pau)traiḥ pu(pra)pautrair na[va]-vinai va[-ra-

[1] The reading *dāraṇi sambhavē* is unmistakable. However, the sense is not clear.

[2] Possibly the intended reading is *hutabhuk tēj ōjjvalaḥ*. Even so the construction is not quite all right. I take it to mean *tējasā ujjvalō hutabhuk*.

[3] Thus *t* is prefixed to the *sa* in accordance with a rule of *sandhi* (Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, VIII, 3, 30), instances of which are seldom met with even in literature.

[4] This expression is worthy of note. In ritual terminology *huta* also means 'one to whom an oblation is offered'. Thus, in the present context, *vasu-huta* may denote 'one to whom a tribute of gold is paid'.

[5] The word *vara* here may be taken as construed either with *dig* or with *dantin*. The use of *dig vara* would be synonymous with that of *diśa-vara* found elsewhere. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 266, text ll. 16-18.

[6] There is something wrong with the construction of the second half of this verse apparently due to the fault of the engraver. To make it yield some coherent sense we may reconstruct it as follows: *yasy aivam=vidha-chēshṭitam sa nṛipatiḥ kṛitsnē mahī-maṇḍalē saurājya-śriyam ādadhātu vipulām dharmm-ārtha-kāma-pradām*.

[7] Correctly it should have been *sva-bhujayōḥ*. However, as it is, we have to suppose the existence of a word *bhuj* synonymous with *bhuja* or *bhujā* on the analogy of *pad*, an equivalent of *pada*.

[8] The words *ēk=aiva* are in prose and are to be construed with *Bharatabala-nṛipasy=ōttamā rājapatnī* in verse 10 below.

[9] Instead of *tōyana* read *tōyam*.

[10] This mark of punctuation is superflous.

[11] Better read *Kōsalāyām*.

[12] Read *kīrtim=uchchhair=*.

[13] Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. V. Mirashi would take this word to be *tamas* and explain the compound as *dharm-ārtha-kāmaiḥ prativihitam tamō yayā sā*. That, as he points out, would bring out the intended pun on the name Lōkaprakāśā, though it would involve a wrong *sandhi*.

31 tai rāja-si[ṁ*]ghai(haiḥ) pratishṭhā[ṁ*] | [10 ||*] Yō=sau saṁpūrṇa-śakti-traya-vinipatit-ānēka-sāmaṁ(ma)nta-

32 mūrddha-prōdghṛisht-ōtphulla-papardati[1]-chalana-ya(yu)g-ākrānta-dikra(k-cha)kravālaḥ |[*] saumvaḥ sō

33 yañ cha vaṁśaḥ prabhava iti janē kārtyētē[2] yasya ch=ōchchaiḥ sa śrīmāṁ(mān) savabhu-vasra-

34 tiyaṁ[3] -guṇā(ṇa)-gaṇō di(dī)rṇa-vairō[4] nē(na)rēndraḥ [||11 ||*] tataḥ [5] Mēkalāyaṁ(yām) Uttara-rā[shṭrē] **Pāñchaga**[6]

35 **rttā**-vishayē **Varddhamāṇakē** |[7] grāmaku(kū)ṭa-drōṇāgraka-nāyaka-dēvavārika-gaṇḍaka-

36 pramukhāṁ(khān) sarvāṁ(rvā)n=ēva yathā-prativāsinaḥ samājñāpayati[8] viditam=astu

37 mahaiya[9]-pādan=ayaṁ grāsā(maḥ) s-ā(s-ō)draga(ṅga)ḥ s-ōparikaraḥ[10] a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśī sa-ni-

38 dhiḥ s-ōpanidhi[11]ḥś =chōra-daṇḍa-varjatam[12] chatuḥ-si(sī)mā-paryyanta ā-chandr-ārka-kshita(ti)-

Third Plate

39 tārakā-nmōdhēna māta(tā)-pitrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivṛidha(ddha)yē Vatsa-sagōtra-śrī-Mā-

40 ddhyi(ddhya)ndina-**Lōhitasarasva(svā)minaḥ(nē)** pratipādit[13]=ēty=avagamya yath-ōchita-bhāga-bhō-

41 gēn ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhavitavyam=iti |[*] svayam ājñāpanā |[*] yē ch=āsmad vaṁśē(d-vaṁśē) samutpa-

42 dyantē rājānaḥ[11]s=tair=ap=īyaṁ dattir=anumōdanīy=ānupālanīyā cha |[*] yaḥ[11]ś=ch=aimāṁ(tāṁ) datti[ṁ*] vilōpam ā-

43 pa(pā)dayishyati sa pañchabhir mahā[pā*]takaiḥ saṁyukta[ḥ*] sya(syā)d iti |[*] Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rāja-

44 bhis Sagar-ādibhiḥ |[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) | [|12 ||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sa-

45 hasrāṇi svargga(rggē) mōdati bhūmida[ḥ |*] āchchhēttā ch ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt | [|13* ||] Sva-

46 dattā[ṁ*] para-dattā[ṁ*] bā(vā) yatnād=raksha narādhipa |[*] mahī[m*] mahimatāṁ śrēshtha dānāch=chhrēyō nupālana[m*] [||14 ||*]

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[1] Read-ōtphulla-padma-dyuti-, which is conceivably the intended reading.

[2] Read janaiḥ kīrtyatē.

[3] The intended reading of these seven syllables is possibly sārvabhaumaḥ prathita.

[4] The word vaira in this compound is to be taken in the sense of 'a host of enemies'—vairiṇām samūhaḥ vairam, though its use as such is very rare, as in Māgha's Śiśupālavadha, XIX, 100.

[5] Sandhi has not been observed here.

[6] The syllable ñcha here may be compared with that in yañ cha, l. 33. In both these instances the superscript ñ is identical in form with the superscript n. The more correct form of the conjunct letter ñcha is, however, to be found below, in pañchabhir-, l. 43; likhitañ=ch=ēdam, l. 48; and utkīrṇañ=cha, l. 49. I had first read the word as Pāṇḍa. Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu preferred that reading and was inclined to identify Pāṇḍagattā with the modern Pandra, about 50 miles south-east of Sōhāgpur.

[7] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[8] The subject of this verb is sa śrīmān ... ... narēndraḥ in verse 11.

[9] Read mahya, which would be synonymous with pūjya. The expression mahya-pādaiḥ in this context possibly answers to 'by His Majesty'.

[10] Sandhi has not been observed here.

[11] This visarga sign is superfluous.

[12] Read varjitaś=.

[13] Read pratipādita ity=.

47 samāptaṁ ch=ēdaṁ śāsanaṁ(nam) [|*] pravarddhamāna- |[1] vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē 2 Bha(Bhā)drapada-kra(kṛi)shṇa-tra-

48 yōdaśyāṁ Pushya-nakshattrēṇa [|*] likhitaṁ[2]ñ=ch=ēdaṁ śāsanaṁ rāhasik-Ēśāna putrēṇa Śivēn=ō-

49 tkīrṇañ=cha suvarṇṇakāra-Ēśvara-putrēṇa Mihirakēn=ē(ṇ=ē)ti |

TRANSLATION

Ōm ! Hail !

(V. 1) There was he who became a widely renowned king in **Mēkalā,** the foremost amongst the rulers, a fortunate one and a disposer of Fortune, endowed with excellent virtues as well as with a personable appearance, who belonged to the family of the Pāṇḍavas of absolutely flawless fame and great majesty, and who is well known in this world always through his own glorious deeds as **Jayabala.**

(V. 2) To him was born a son, (*called*) **Vatsēśvara,** who was like unto (*his father*), famous, compassionate(?), virtuous, (*and*) conversant with rituals, who achieved victories in battle-fields (*and*) made the pleasure-gardens, attached to the houses of his enemies, teem with wild beasts.[3]

(V. 3) The illustrious king **Vatsarāja**[4] was magnanimous, always approving of merits, partial to virtues, devoted to righteousness, serviceable to his people and distinguished for his equitable policy.

(Ll. 8—11) His son, meditating on his feet, a devout worshipper of Śiva, a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas, regarded as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity,[5] a fortunate one, was the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Nāgabala,** begotten on the illustrious queen **Drōṇa-bhaṭṭārikā.**

(V. 4) At the time of his (Nāgabala's) march, the roads having been pounded down by the hoof-beats of his steeds, the earth darkens (*all*) the quarters, dust making every corner dry and dreary, (*but*) his elephants, with their temples soiled by the ichor, instantly restore serenity, having moistened it (the earth) with the spray (*which they habitually emit from their trunks*).

(Ll. 13 -15) After him, his son meditating on his feet, a devout worshipper of Śiva, a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas, regarded as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity,[5] is the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Bharata,**[6] begotten on the illustrious queen **Indrabhaṭṭārikā.**

(V. 5) To her (Indrabhaṭṭārikā), endowed with compassion, worthy character, virtue, generosity and smartness, was born, as Kumāra to Pārvatī, a son, **Indra** (*by name*),[7] bright and handsome of appearance.

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[1] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[2] This *anusvāra* is redundant.

[3] Implying thereby that he completely devastated the palaces of the hostile chiefs.

[4] This Vatsarāja is obviously the same person as Vatsēśvara spoken of in the foregoing stanza *Vatsarāja* appears to be the proper form of the name, whereas the use of the form *Vatsēśvara* is presumably owing to the exigency of the metre. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, however, makes a very happy suggestion. According to him, the *visarga* after the name Vatsēśvara in l. 5 of the text is to be regarded as a mistake and should be omitted. We would thus have *Vatsēśvara-pratisamō*, meaning thereby that Vatsarāja was equal to the lord of Vatsas, namely the mythical king Udayana, who, as we know, also belongs to the Pandava lineage. In this interpretation, the verses 2 and 3 will have to be taken as forming a *yugmaka*, and one of the two verbs, *abharat* and *babhūva*, will have to be considered as redundant.

[5] The significance of these epithets has been discussed above, p 136.

[6] His full name *Bharatabala* occurs below in verse 10.

[7] It is with a good deal of diffidence that I have taken this *Indra* to be a second name of Bharatabala himself, presuming that he is so called after his mother Indrabhattārikā. It is possible that here, too, he is only metaphorically identified with Indra, the lord of gods, as is manifestly the case in the succeeding verse The eighth couplet indubitably compares him to that celestial monarch.

(V. 6) (*He is*) Indra in causing a rift (*in enemy ranks*),[1] a blazing fire in brilliance, amiable, a very Brāhmaṇa in point of noble behaviour deemed praiseworthy, one who has gained authority and excellence,[2] whose sight inspires joy in (*the hearts of*) good people and brings to fruition the merit and desires of the common folk, to whom gifts of gold are presented at the time when he occupies the sacrificial seat for (*performing*) a sacrifice,[3] and who is always respected by worthy persons.

(V. 7) Like a gigantic celestial elephant,[4] he pulled down and tore asunder a multitude of resounding trees (*in the form*) of overweening foes and had all the quarters thickly strewn over with them. A king capable of such a feat exercises complete sovereignty over the whole world, ensuring righteousness, prosperity and happiness.[5]

(V. 8) In prowess equal to the Lord of gods is the illustrious king Bharata, a paragon of rulers, who, having slain the enemy hosts, bore their Fortune on his own arms as she approached him.

(L. 25) The only one,[6]

(V. 9) who is, as it were, the Ganges herself, from heaven descended, purifying the people here, possessing the water (*in the form*) of character pure and brilliant as crystal, with its serene flow bounded within the two banks of self-restraint and self-discipline, ripply with many virtues such as equanimity,

(V. 10) royal consort of the king **Bharatabala** of the glory comparable to shining moon-beams is **Lōkaprakāśā**, the lady *par excellence*, who, born in Kōsalā, carrying the high renown of (*being of*) a divine origin, ever intensely zealous upon righteousness, prosperity and happiness,[7] has attained to a sublime status by virtue of her having sons and grandsons, who are champions of justice and discipline, (*and would-be*) foremost kings.

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[1] I am not certain of this rendering. See above, p. 141, n. 1.

[2] The long compound expression *sad-vritta-sthiti-vipra-mandra-vidhrita-prāpta-pramāṇ-ōnnatiḥ* is amenable to other interpretations as well, which may be quite different from the one given above, but, the description being more laudatory than factual, it matters little in whatever sense it is construed.

[3] It was of course a custom that a sacrificing king received rich presents from his friends and feudatories. In this connection, the case of Yudhishṭhira celebrating the *Rājasūya* sacrifice may be recalled, when such tributes poured in in a regular stream, so much so that a special steward was appointed in the person of Duryōdhana to take charge of them, while his cousins and some of his brothers were posted likewise to look after other affairs of the ceremony. The kings who attended the grand ceremonial vied with one another in presenting Yudhishṭhira with costly gifts. We read the following in the *Mahābhārata*, II (Sabhāparvan), Chapter 30 (the reference being to the Southern Recension, P. P. S. Sastri's edition) :—

Tē cha dakshiṇāh samāpētuḥ pārthivās-tatra Bhārata
samādāya mahārhāṇi ratnāni vividhāni cha ‖ 21

. . . .

Bahu-vittam samādāya vividhāḥ pārthivā gaṇāḥ |
drashṭukāmāḥ sabhām chaiva Dharmarājam cha Pāṇḍavam ‖ 23

. . . .

Duryōdhanas tv arhaṇāni pratijagrāha sarvaśaḥ ‖ 63

. . . .

Katham tu mama Kauravyā ratna-dānaṁ samāpnuyāt
yajñam dadṛśa rājānaḥ spardhamānā dadur-dhanam ‖ 67

[4] This refers to one of the eight mythical elephants, guarding the eight quarters or cardinal points in the space. Their names are Airāvata, Puṇḍarīka, Vāmana, Kumuda, Añjana, Pushpadanta, Sārvabhauma and Supratīka.

[5] See above, p. 141, n. 6.

[6] This goes with the 'royal consort' in verse 10. See above, p. 141, n. 8.

[7] See above, p. 141, n. 13.

MGIPC—S1—XVI-1-12—25-7-49—450

(V. 11) The great king (Bharatabala),[1] an illustrious paramount ruler, whose virtues are well-known, who has destroyed enemy hordes, who has all the quarters overcome by his pair of feet that have the grace of an expanded lotus-flower and are fervently touched by many a prince paying homage to him by reason of his perfect triple power,[2] and, further, whose birth is highly praised by the people as being in the famous Lunar race.—

(Ll. 34-36) —thus issues a command to all the inhabitants concerned, headed by (*the state officials, namely*) the *Grāmakūṭas*, the *Drōṇāgrakas*, the *Nāyakas*, the *Dēvavārikas* and the *Gaṇḍakas*,[3] at (*the village of*) Vardhamānaka in the district (*vishaya*) of Pāñchagarttā within the Northern province (*Uttara-rāshṭra*) in (*the country of*) Mēkalā—

(Ll. 36-40) " Be it known that, for the purpose of increasing His own religious merit as well as that of His parents, this village (*of Vardhamānaka*),—with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, with the treasures and the deposits, (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the *Chāṭas*[4] and the *Bhaṭas*,[5] with the exception of the fines (*imposed*) on thieves, to the extent of its four boundaries, to last until the end of the moon, the sun, the earth and the stars,—is granted by His Majesty to the illustrious Lōhitasarasvāmin of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina (*śākhā of the Śukla Yajurvēda*).

(Ll. 40-41) " Having known so, you should obey his (the donee's) orders, duly paying him the customary tributes.

(Ll. 41-43) " The command is (*issued by His Majesty*) Himself. And this donation should be consented to and protected by those kings, too, who are born in Our[6] family. And whosoever will cause obstruction to this grant, he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins. "

(Ll. 43-46) [Here occur three of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 47-49) Thus is this charter concluded. In the year 2 of the increasing victorious reign on the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of (*the month of*) Bhādrapada, when the *nakshatra* was Pushya. This charter has been written by Śiva, son of the *Rāhasika*[7] Īśāna, and engraved by Mihiraka, son of the goldsmith Īśvara.[8]

No. 25—SALEM PLATES OF GANGA SRIPURUSHA : SAKA 693

(*2 Plates*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

The present set of copper plates was obtained by the Government Epigraphist for India from Mr. M. V. Srinivasan, Manager of the Śrī Śukavanēśvara Temple at **Salem**, in August 1944.[9] The history of its discovery is briefly stated to be as follows—" One Mr. Venkatagiri Bhaṭṭar,

[1] He is the subject of the verb *samājñāpayati* in the prose passage that follows. See above, p. 142, n. 8. As to a veiled reference here to the Vākāṭaka monarch Narēndrasēna, see above, p. 137.

[2] This refers to the three constituent elements of regal power, namely majesty, counsel and courage—*prabhu-śakti*, *mantra-śakti* and *utsāha-śakti*, expounded in treatises on Hindu polity.

[3] As to the functions of these officials, see above, p. 139.

[4] Fleet explains this term as meaning ' irregular troops ' while Vogel has shown that a *Chāṭa* meant the head of a *parganā*. *C. I. I.* Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions), p. 109, *et passim*; *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, pp. 131-32

[5] According to Fleet, ' soldiers ' or ' regular troops ', and according to Vogel ' an official subordinate to the head of the *paraganā* '. *Loc. cit.*

[6] This refers to ' His Majesty the King '.

[7] For an explanation of this designation, see above, p. 139.

[8] Possibly the intention of the composer is to state that ' this charter has been written by the *Rāhasika* Śiva son of Īśāna, and engraved by the goldsmith Mihiraka, son of Īśvara.

[9] I owe the opportunity of editing this inscription to the kindness of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who placed at my disposal the original plates along with his tentative transcript and notes.

cook of the temple, sometime in 1930, in course of the repairs being done to the temple, near the southern wall of the outer *prākāra* just to the west of the shrine where the present Nālvars are placed, at the depth of about three feet, found the set of plates in the earth. The present store-room stands now on the spot where the plates were found."[1] The plates are now the property of the temple.

The set consists of **five plates** each measuring 8½" by 2¾" and about $\frac{1}{16}$" in thickness. At the proper right margin in each plate is a hole, about ½" in diameter, through which passes the copper ring bearing the seal. The ring measures about 3½" in diameter and its ends are soldered into the bottom of the **seal** which is oval in shape and measures 2" by 1½". On its surface is carved in relief the figure of a standing elephant facing the proper right. The set with the ring and the seal weighs 130 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to what is called the Southern class of alphabets and are of the regular type of the period to which the record belongs. The engraving is good and fairly deep and the writing is excellently preserved.

Of the letter *kh*, both the early form and the later or the cursive form in Fleet's terminology are found in this inscription. The former is met with in *mukhaḥ* l. 15, *-ākhyas* l. 25, *nakha* l. 29, *vikhyāta* l. 35 and *likhitaṁ* l. 57 : while the later or the cursive form is found in *khaṇḍita* l. 2, *mukha* l.14, *khaṇḍa* l. 28, *khaḍga* l. 40 and *khaṇḍuka* l. 53. Fleet's theory that this later or the cursive form did not occur in genuine records earlier than A. D. 804 no longer holds the ground. The instances cited above show that both the forms were used at the time of our inscription and the engraver made little distinction between the two. As regards the form of *b*, the closed or box type has been used throughout the inscription, *cf. labdha-bala* l. 2, *Kadamba* l. 11, *bahu* l. 35, etc. The form of the subscript *n* is the same as that of the primary *n*, the secondary form being absent throughout the record, *cf. -ārasanna* l. 10, *ratn-* l. 26, *mūrdhni(rddhni)* l. 31 and *Nannappa* l. 39. The form of *ph* is distinguished from that of *p* by a hook inside at the right-hand stroke, *cf. sphuṭa* l. 35. Initial *a* is met with in *Arunīta* l. 13, *Andari* l. 14, *anēka* l. 20, *api* l. 23 : initial *ā* in *ājji(arjji)tānāṁ* l. 47 ; initial *i* in *Indarājaṁ* l. 43, *Indarājō* l. 47, and initial *u* in *Uttara* l. 50. The vowelless *k* is met with in *-āsṛik* l. 23, and the vowelless *t* in *āsīt*, *=ābharat* l. 12, and *kasmiṁśchit* l. 17.

With regard to **orthography,** the following few points may be observed. The *anusvāra* is changed to class nasal in *jitam=bhagavatā* l. 1 : and *anusvāra* in place of consonant nasal is found in *nityaṁ* l. 36. The use of *upadhmānīya* is found in words *-sūtra-vṛittēḥ=praṇētā* l. 6, *-rajaḥ-pa(pa)ṭalīkṛit-* l. 9, *-charitaḥ-prati-* l. 22 and *yasyāḥ=pit=* l. 12 : and *jihvāmūlīya* is used in *bhaṭ-ōrak-kavāṭ-* l. 23, and *amaradhanadi-khaṇḍa* l. 28.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is partly in prose and partly in verse, and is, on the whole, grammatically correct. The following phonetic features are note-worthy. The *voiceless* stops are represented as *voiced* in the intervocalic position in the following words *antarādmā* for *antarātmā* l. 12, *ādma-kōpō* for *ātma-kōpō* l. 30, *Nīlagaṇṭha* for *Nīla-kaṇṭha* l. 19, and *abahārakaḥ* for *apahārakaḥ* l. 56. This may be due to the influence of the Tamil pronunciation since the record comes from the Tamil parts. The assimilated speech-form *Kañchiyabbā* < *Kañchiyambā* is met with in l. 14.[2] An epenthetic vowel *-i-* is found in *Śaka-vari-shēshu=atītēshu* l. 50. The consonant after *r* is usually lengthened, *cf. chāturddanta* l. 7, *Harivar-mma-* l. 8, *duddanta-vimardda* l. 16, *śāstr-ārttha* l. 21, *kīrttiḥ* l. 27 and *mārgga* l. 33. From these instances it can be seen that this phenomenon occurs both when the vowel preceding *r* is short

[1] From the diary of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

[2] The Kannada speech-form *Kañchiyabbe* is found in *E. C.*, X, Kl. Mb. 80.

and when it is long. It is yet to be investigated whether this feature has anything to do with accent and why it is met with in some speech-forms and not in others. The following instances, however, show the consonant after *r* to be short or single : *ratn-ārka* l. 26, and *nripatir=babhūva* l. 39.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. A good number of inscriptions, on stone and copper, of the time of this king, varying in dates from the beginning to the end of his long reign, have been discovered and published, specially in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore*. The genealogy of the Gaṅga kings given in the present record, from Koṅgaṇivarma-Dharma-Mahādhirāja up to Śrīpurusha, is already known from published records.[1] No fresh historical facts, either with reference to the earlier members of the family or with reference to the king Śrīpurusha, come to light in this record. Duggamāra is mentioned in ll. 44-5, and, from the expression *putrāya Duggamārāya* in l. 48, there can be no doubt that this Duggamāra was no other than one of Śrīpurusha's sons of that name. We learn from two stone inscriptions from Muḷbāgal[2] in the Kolar District of the Mysore State that this Duggamāra was governing Kuvaḷāla-nāḍu 300 and Gaṅga 6000 under his father

The wife of Duggamāra was Kañchiyabbā who is described in ll. 44-6. She was to him as Padmā was to Nārāyaṇa, Gaurī to Pinākin, etc. One of the two Muḷbāgal inscriptions[3] referred to above states that Kañchiyabbe, wife of Duggamāra, was governing Āgaḷi. The importance of the present record lies in the fact that it gives in ll. 38-44 the pedigree of this Kañchiyabbā for three generations, starting from king Nannappa, who had a son Sivarāja, whose son was Gōvindarāja. Gōvindarāja's wife was Vinayavatī whose father was king Vikramāditya, 'lord of the four directions'. To Gōvindarāja and Vinayavatī was born Indarāja, and Indarāja's elder sister was Kañchiyabbā consort of Duggamāra. The way in which these princes are mentioned shows that they belonged to a royal family. In the present state of our knowledge it is indeed difficult to identify them. The names Nannappa, Gōvinda and Indarāja are, however, reminiscent of similar names in the Rāshtrakūta dynasty.[4] But we do not know of any Nannappa who lived towards the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A. D. with whose family the Western Gaṅgas had to do anything either matrimonially or politically.[5]

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[1] Cf. Spurious Islampur plates of Vijayāditya : above, Vol. XII, pp. 50-3 : Dēvarahaḷḷi plates of Śrīpurusha *E. C.*, IV, Ng. 85.

[2] *E. C.*, X, Kl. Mb. 80 and 255.

[3] *E. C*, X, Kl. Mb. 80.

[4] The Daulatabad plates of Śankaragaṇa (above, Vol. IX, p. 197) inform us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-) Nirupama was Nanna, brother of Kṛishṇarāja (I) and son of Kakkarāja (I). Śankaragaṇarāja is mentioned therein as the son of Nanna. The Tiwarkhed and Multai plates (above, Vol. XI, p. 279 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234) also mention a certain Nannarāja, whose father was Svāmikarāja, grandfather Gōvindarāja and great-grandfather Durgarāja.

[5] End of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A. D. is the period to which Nannappa of our inscription can be assigned, as his great-granddaughter Kañchiyabbā lived in A. D. 771 the date of the record. The Daulatabad plates referred to in the previous footnote are dated in Śaka 715 or A. D. 793 and so the Nanna mentioned therein will be too late for the Nannappa of our record. Similarly Nannarāja of the Tiwarkhed plates dated in Śaka 553 or A. D. 631 will be too early. The date of the Multai plates, *viz.*, Śaka 631 or A. D. 709-10, however, agrees with the period to which we have assigned Nannappa of our inscription. The Multai plates have been considered to be not genuine (Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, p. 7). If we assume that the date supplied by the Multai plates is genuine, then the Nannarāja mentioned therein can be identified with Nannappa of our record, since there is no difficulty about the period of the two names. This identification can gain further support from the fact that the name Gōvindarāja, grandfather of Nannarāja of the Multai plates, is repeated in our inscription in the name of the grandson of Nannappa. But, so far, we have not come across any reference about the Western Gaṅgas coming in contact with the Rāshṭrakūṭa family situated so far in the north as Multai in the Central Provinces and, in view of this, it becomes difficult to uphold the above identification.

As noted above, Gōvindarāja had married Vinayavatī, whose father, Vikramāditya, is described in ll. 42-3 as *chatur-ddig-adhipa* 'lord of the four directions'. This suggests that Vikramāditya was a powerful king. And the only renowned king of this name at that period, that is to say, about the middle of the 8th century A. D., could be Vikramāditya II of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, whose reign is placed between A. D. 733-34 and A. D. 746-47.[1] It is, therefore, plausible to identify Vinayavatī's father with Vikramāditya II.

The **object** of the inscription is to register some gifts of land near the village Komāramaṅgala in the Pudukanda *vishaya* to one Nīlakaṇṭha the youngest of the five sons of Nīlakaṇṭha of the Harita *gōtra* and the Prāvachana *charaṇa*.

It is not clear who the donor of the grant was. The reading *vijñāpitāya putrāya Duggamārāya*, etc., in ll. 47-8, has to be construed with *Śrīpurusha-prathama-nāmadhēyēna Prithvī-koṅgaṇi-mahārājēna* in ll. 37-8. The engraver seems to have omitted something here and hence the difficulty about the *anvaya*. We may, however, interpret the whole passage as follows: At the request of his queen Kañchiyabbā, Duggamāra obtained the grant from his father Śrīpurusha and in turn made it over to a Brāhmaṇa. The name of this Brāhmaṇa and the details of the grant have been given subsequently in the text. The grant seems to have been made for the benefit of Kañchiyabbā's brother Indarāja, whose death is referred to just before the grant-portion in the text.

The **date** of the inscription is given in ll. 50-1 as Śaka 693, Chandra(Bhādra)pada Śukla 2, Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra*, Śukravāra, which regularly corresponds to Friday, 16th August A. D. 771, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī. The way in which the number 93 is expressed, *viz.*, *navati-tri-saṁvatsara* is not correct Sanskrit. It may, however, be due to the influence of the Dravidian style.

As regards the **places** mentioned in the record, the village Komāramaṅgala is to be identified with Komāramaṅgalam in the Tiruchengode *taluk* of the Salem District. It lies at a distance of about 30 miles from Salem where the plates were found. *The List of Villages in the Madras Presidency* gives a number of places in the Salem District, which go by the name of Pudur. One of them may be identified with the Pudukanda of the inscription.[2]

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[4] Svasti jitam-bhagavatā gata-ghana-gagan-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [|*] Śrīmat-Jāhnavēya[5]-kul-āmala-vyō-

2 m-āvabhāsana-bhāskara[6]-sva-khaḍg-aika-prahāra-khaṇḍita-mahā-śilā-stambha-labdha-bala-parākra-

3 mō dāruṇ-āri-gaṇa-vidāraṇ-ōpalabdha-vraṇa-vibhūshaṇa-bhūshitaḥ Kāṇvāyana-sagōtraḥ Śrīmat-Ko-

4 ṅgaṇivarmma-dharmma-mahādhirājaḥ[7] tasya putraḥ pitur-anvāgata-guṇa-yuktō vidyā-vinaya-vihita-

5 vṛittaḥ samyak-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādhigata-rājya-prayōjanō vidvat-kavi-kāñchana-nikash-ō-

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[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, Chart opposite p. 336.

[2] I am obliged to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, for his kind suggestions in connection with this article.

[3] From the original plates and inked estampages.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

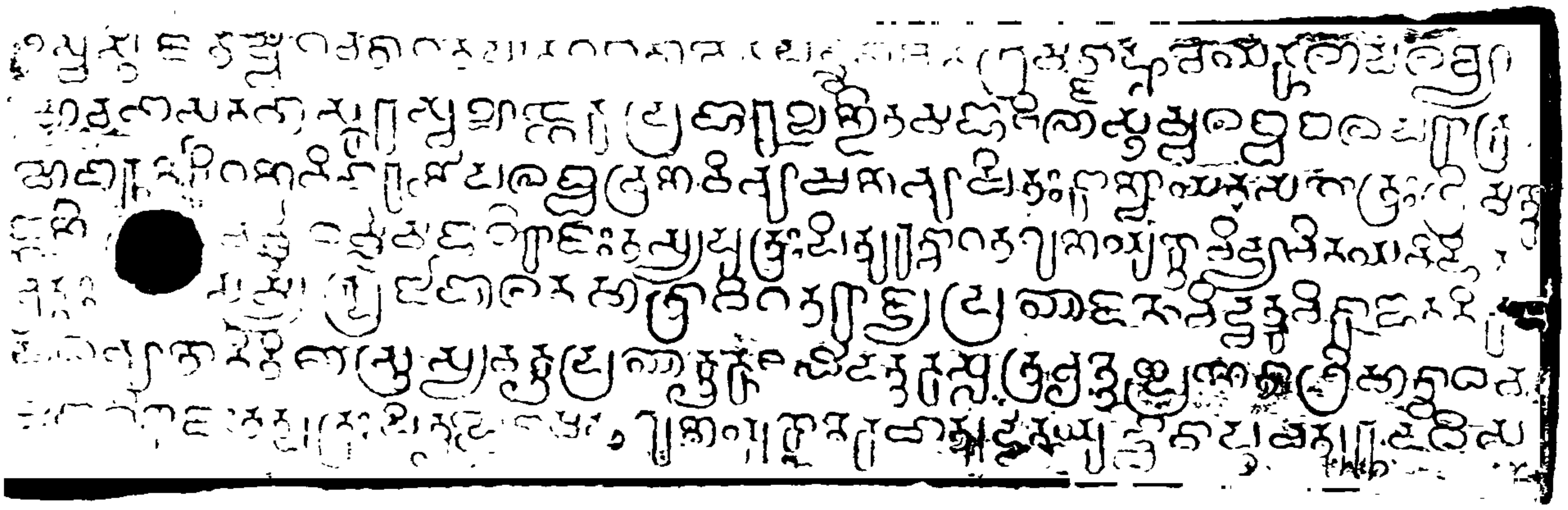
[5] Read: *Śrīmaj-Jāhnavēya-*.

[6] Better read: *-bhāskaraḥ sva-*

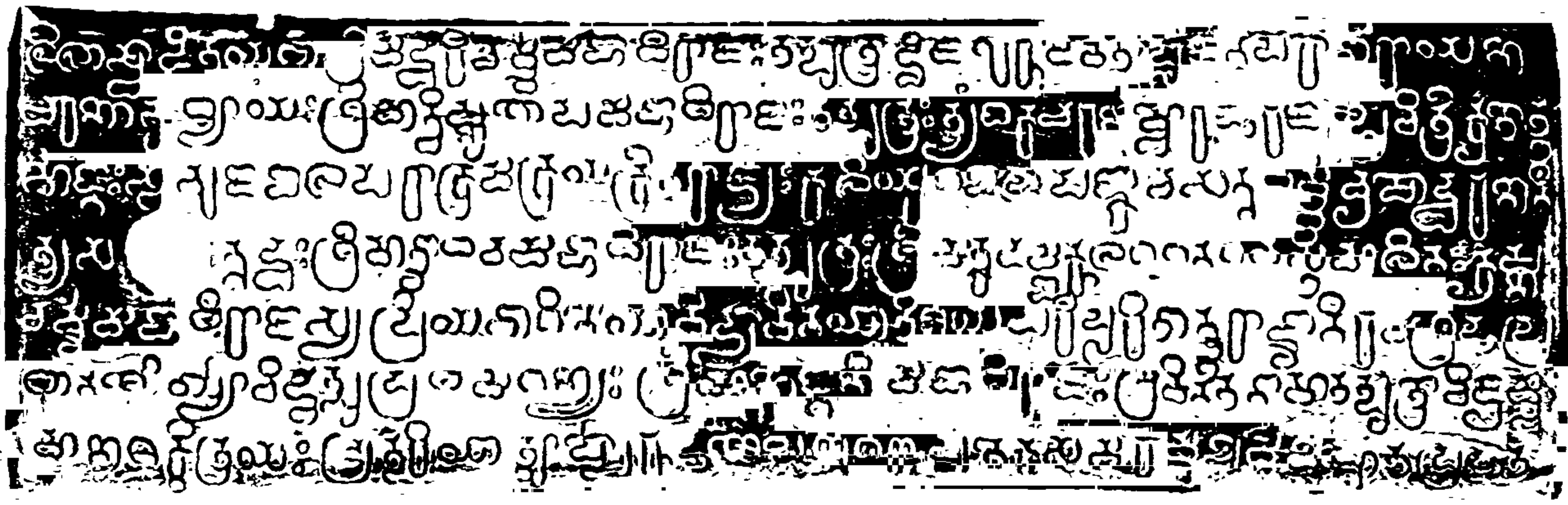
[7] Here *sandhi* has not been observed.

SALEM PLATES OF GANGA SRIPURUSHA: SAKA 693

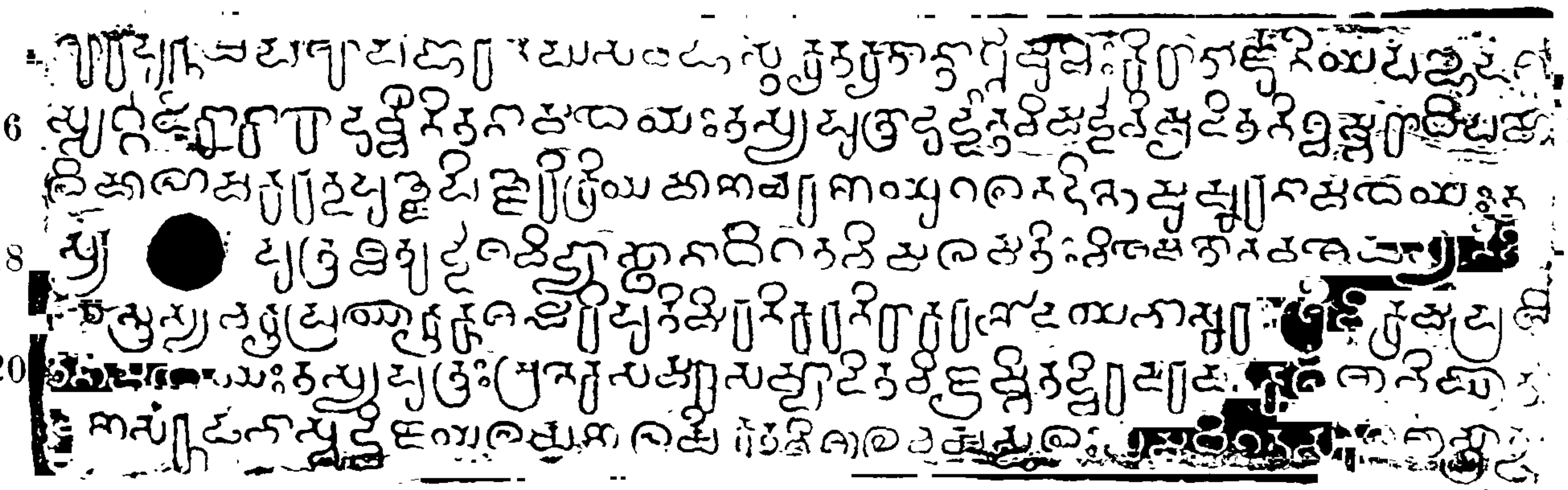
i.



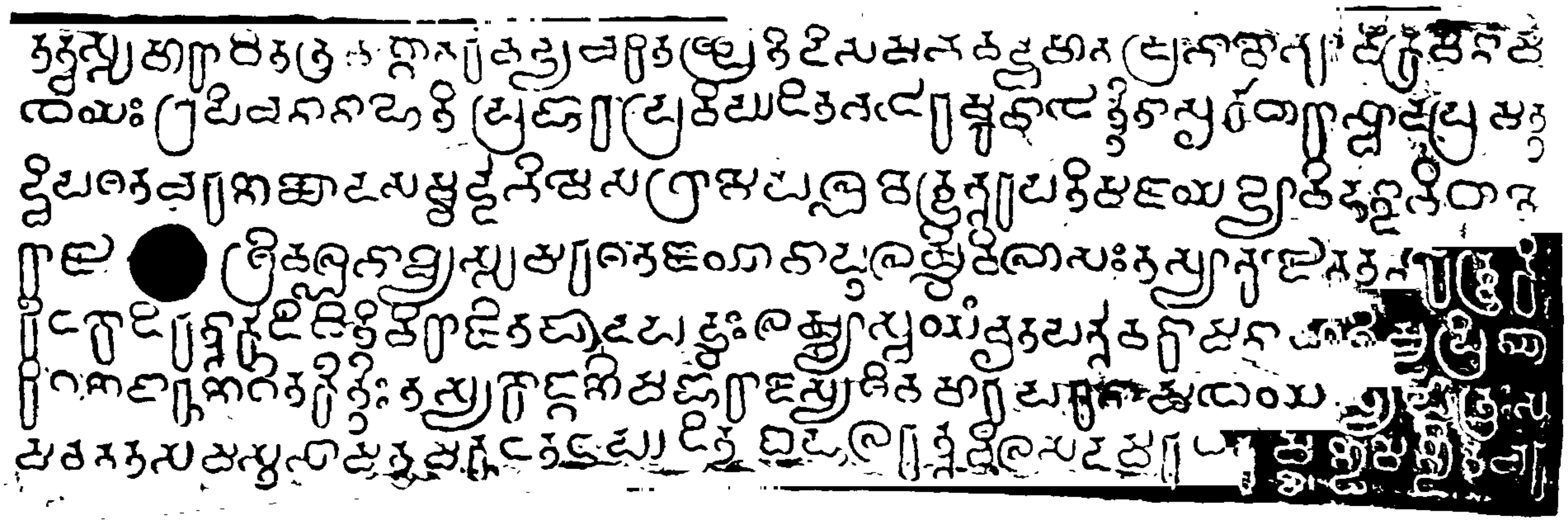
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii,a.



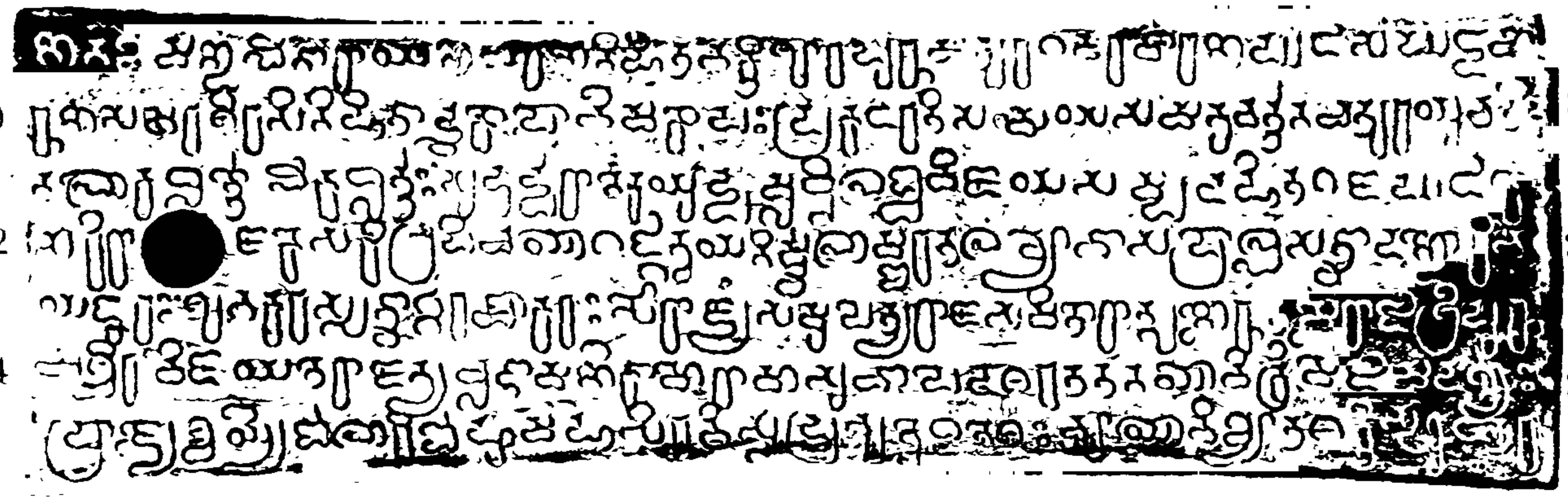
B. CH. CHHABRA.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS

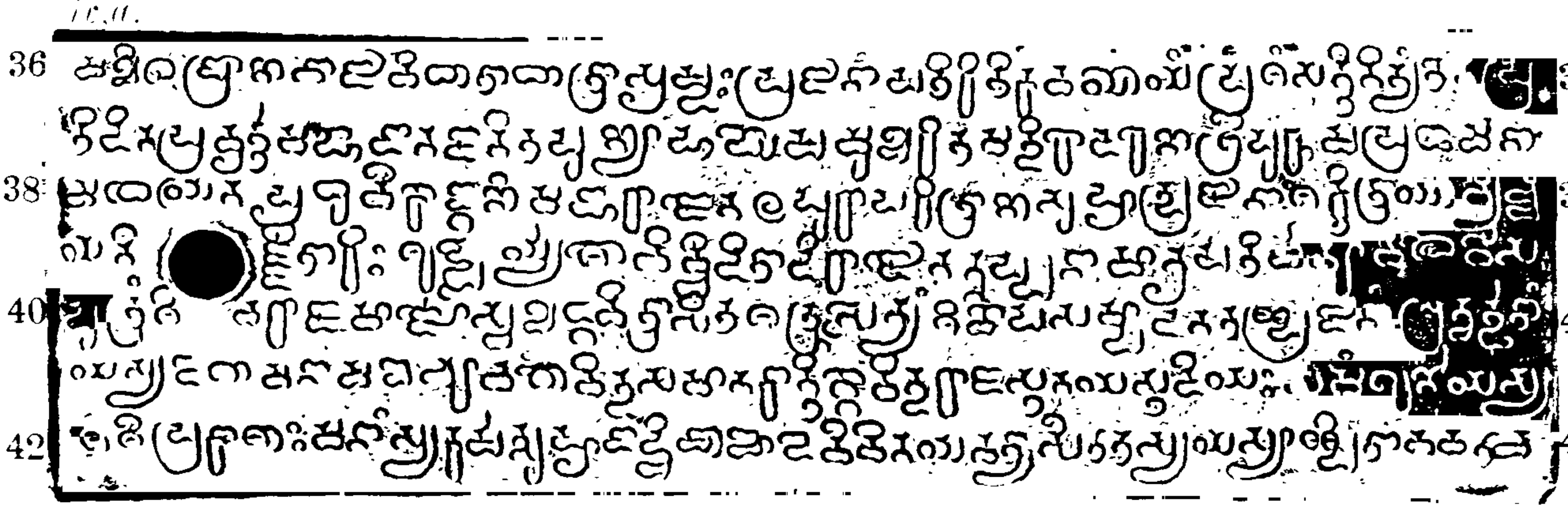
SURVEY OF INDIA CALCUTTA.

Re N 3977 E'3- - 515'49

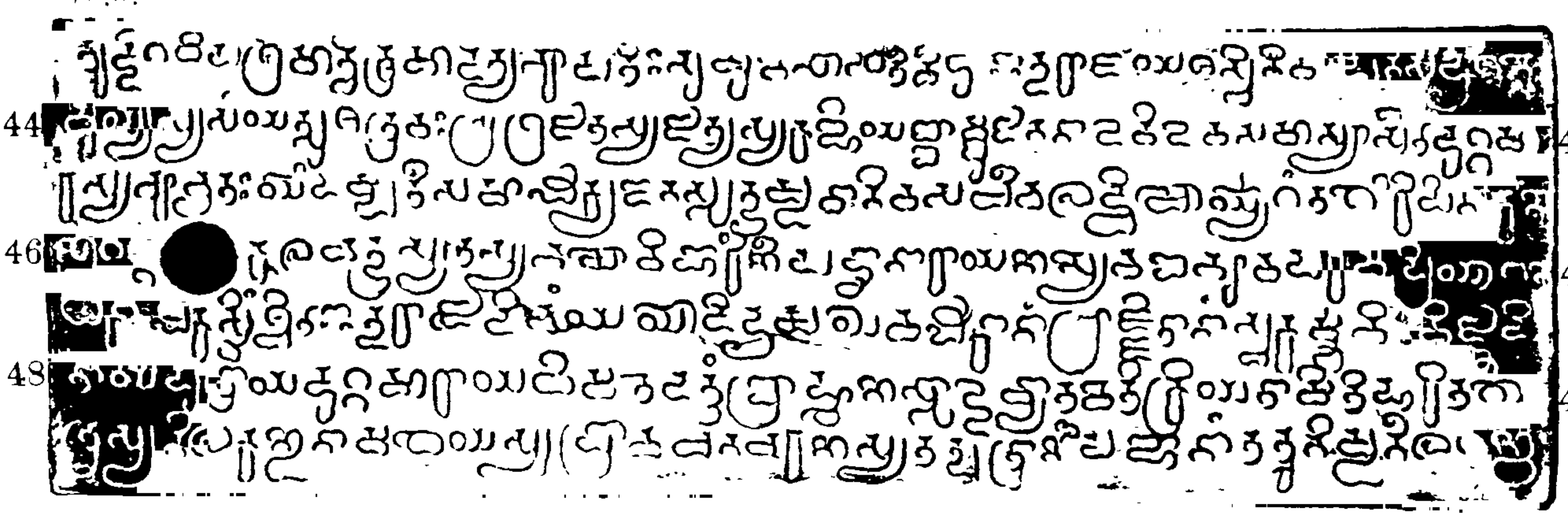
iii.b.



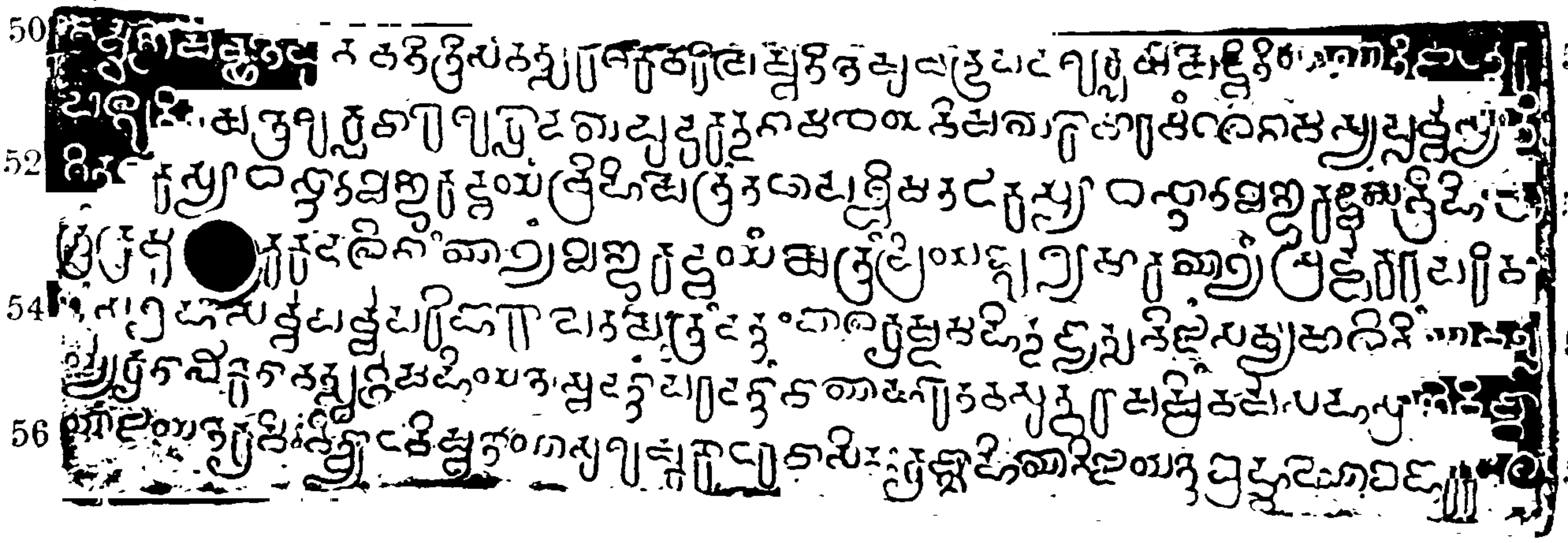
iv.a.



iv.b.



v.a.



6 pala-bhūtō nītiśāstrasya vaktṛi-prayōktṛi-kuśalō Dattaka-sūtra-vṛittēḥ=praṇētā śrīmān=Mādhava-

7 **mahādhirājaḥ**[1] tat-putraḥ pitṛi-paitāmaha-guṇa-yuktō-nēka-chāturddanta-yuddh-āvāpta-chatur-udadhi-sa-

Second Plate ; First Side

8 lil-āsvādita-yaśā[ḥ*[2]] śrīmad-Dharivarmma-mahādhirājaḥ[1] tat-putrō dvija-guru-dēvatā-pūjana-parō Nārāyaṇa-

9 charaṇ-ānudhyāyaḥ[3] śrīmān=Vishṇugōpa-mahādhirājaḥ[1] tat-putraḥ[1] Tryambaka-charaṇ-āmbhōruha-rajaḥ=pra(pa)vitrīkṛit-ōtta-

10 māṅgaḥ sva-bhuja-bala-parākrama-kraya-krīta-rājyaḥ Kaliyuga-bala-paṅk-āvasanna-dharmma-vṛish-ōddharaṇa-ni-

11 tya-sannaddhaḥ śrīmān=Mādhava-mahādhirājaḥ[1] tat-putraḥ śrīmat-Kadamba-kula-gagana-gabhastimālinaḥ Krishṇa-

12 varmma-mahādhirājasya priya-bhāginēyō vidyā-vinay-ātiśaya-paripūrit-āntarādmā(tmā) niravagraba-pra-

13 dhāna-śauryyō vidvatsu prathama-gaṇyaḥ śrīmān=Koṅgaṇi-mahādhirājaḥ[1] Avinīta-nāmā tat-putrō vijṛimbha-

14 māṇa-śakti-trayaḥ[1] Andari-y-Ā[la*]ttūr-pPoruḷare Peḷnagar-ādy-anēka-samara-mukha-makha-huta-prahata-

Second Plate ; Second side

15 śūra-purusha-paś-ūpahāra-vighasa-vihastīkṛita-kṛitānt-Āgni-mukhaḥ Kirātārjunīya-pañ-chadaśa-

16 ssa(sa)rgga-ṭīkākārō Durvvinīta-nāmadhēyaḥ[1] tasya putrō durddanta-vimardda-vimṛidita-[vi]śvambhar-ādhipa-mō(mau)-

17 li-mālā-makaranda-puñja-piñjarīkriyamāṇa-charaṇa-yugala-naḷinō[4] Mushkara-nāmadhēyaḥ[1] ta-

18 sya putraś=chaturddaśa-vidyāsthān-ādhigata-vimala-matiḥ viśēshatō-navaśēshasya nīti-

19 śāstrasya vaktṛi-prayōktṛi-kuśalō ripu-timira-nikara-nirākaraṇ-ōdaya-bhāskaraḥ Śrīvik-rama-prathi-

20 ta-nāmadhēyaḥ[1] tasya putraḥ[1] anēka-samara[5]-sampādita-vijṛimbhita-dvirada-radana-kuliś-ābhighāta-

21 vraṇa-saṁru(rū)ḍha-bhāsvad-vijaya-lakshaṇa-lakshīkṛita-viśāla-vaksha[6]-sthalaḥ samadhi-gata-sakala-śāstr-ārttha-

Third Plate ; First Side

22 tatva(ttva)s samārādhita-trivarggō niravadya-charitaḥ prati-di[va*]sam-abhivarddha-māna-prabhāvō Bhūvikrama-nāma-

---

[1] Here *sandhi* has not been observed.

[2] There are faint traces of two dots after *sā* which are perhaps intended for the *visarga*. In that case we may take it that the engraver himself discovered the wrong omission of the *visarga* and subsequently supplied it by inserting the two dots.

[3] The more familiar form is *anudhyātaḥ*.

[4] Better read : *-charaṇa-nalina-yugalō*.

[5] The letter *ma* is engraved over an erasure.

[6] The omission of *visarga* here is in accordance with the *vārttika : khar-parē sari vā visarga-lōpō vaktavyaḥ*

23 dhēyaḥ[1] api cha Nānā-hēti-prahāra-pravighaṭita-bhaṭ-ōraḥ[2]-kavāṭ-ōtti(tthi)t-āsṛik(g)-dhār-āsvāda-pramatta-

24 dvipa-śata-charaṇa-kshōda-sammardda-bhūmē [|*] sa(saṁ)grāmē Pallav-ēndran=narapatim=ajayad=yō Viḷand-ābhidhānē

25 rājā Śrīvallabh-ākhyas=samara-śata-jay-āvāpta-lakshmī-vilāsaḥ [|*] Tasy=ānujō nata-narēndra-ki-

26 rīta-kōṭi-ratn-ārka-dīdhiti-virājita-pāda-padmaḥ [|*] lakshmyā svayaṁvṛita-pa[ti*]r=nNavakāma-nāmā śishṭa-priyō=

27 ri-gaṇa-dāruṇa-gīta-kīrttiḥ [|*] tasya Koṅgaṇi-mahārājasya Śivamāra(r-ā)para-nāma-dhēyasya pautraḥ sa-

28 mavanata-samasta-sāmanta-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-bahala-ratna-vilasad-amara dhanuḥ-[2] khaṇḍa-maṇḍita-chara-

Third Plate ; Second Side

29 ṇa-nakha-maṇḍalō Nārāyaṇa-charaṇa-nihita-bhakti[ḥ*] śūrapurusha-turaga-varavāraṇa ghaṭā-saṁghaṭṭa-dā-

30 ruṇa-samara-śirasi nihit-ādma(tma)-kōpō Bhīmakōpaḥ prakaṭa-rati-sama[3]ya-samanuvarttana-chatura-yuvati-ja-

31 na-lau(lō)ka-dhūrttō Lōkadhūrttaḥ sudurddhar-ānēka-yuddha-mūdhni(rdhni)labdha-vijaya-sampad=ahita-gajaghaṭā-kē-

32 sarī Rājakēsarī[4] api cha Yō Gaṅg-ānvaya-nirmmal-āmbara-tala-vyābhāsa[na*]-prōllasan-māda(rtta)ṇḍō=ri-bha-

33 yaṅkaraḥ śubhakaras=san-mārgga-rakshākaraḥ [|*] saurājyaṁ samupētya rāja-samitō(au) rā[ja*]n-guṇair-uttamai rājā Śrīpuru-

34 shaś=chiraṁ vijayatē rājanya-chūḍāmaṇi[ḥ |*] Kāmō rāmāsu chāpē Daśarata(tha)tanayō vikramē Jāmadagnyaḥ

35 prājy-aiśvaryyē=r[4]Balārir=bahu-mahasi Ravis=cha[5] prabhutvē Dhanēśaḥ [|*] bhūyō vikhyāta-śakti[6] sphuṭatara-

Fourth Plate ; First Side

36 m-akhila-prāṇa-bhājā Vidhātā dhātrā sṛishṭaḥ prajānāṁ patir iti kavayō yaṁ praśaṁsanti nityaṁ(tyam) [|*] tēna pra-

37 tidina-pravṛirtta(tta)-mahādāna-janita-puṇyāha-ghōsha-mukharita-mandir-ōdarēṇa Śrīpurusha-prathama-nā-

38 madhēyēna Pṛithuvī-koṅgaṇi-mahārājēna ◎ Purā paritrāṇa-suhṛit-prajānāṁ śakti-trā(tra)y-ābhyuchcha-

---

[1] Here *sandhi* has not been observed.

[2] The sign of *jihvāmūlīya* resembles the form of *sh*.

[3] Here the engraver seems to have first proceeded to carve the next letter *ya*, since the trace of the first part of *ya* can be seen in the place of *ma*.

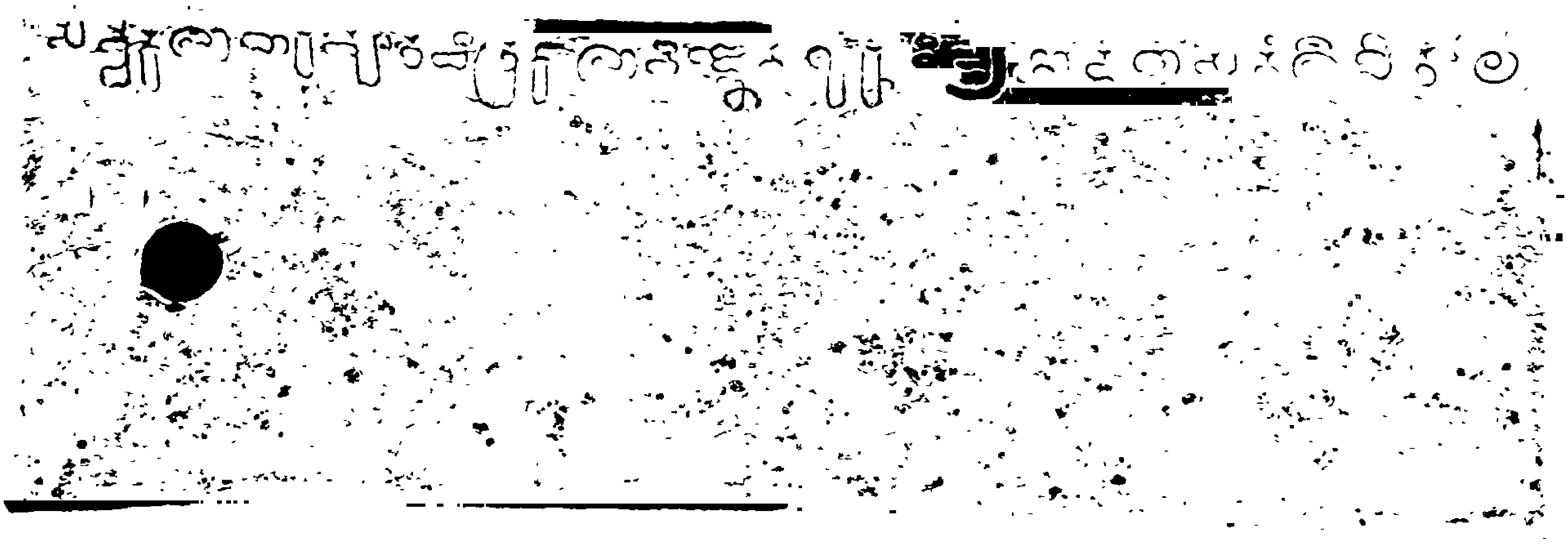
[4] This *r* is superfluous.

[5] Read : *Raviś=cha*.

[6] See note 6 on p. 149.

SALEM PLATES OF GANGA SRIPURUSHA: SAKA 693

v.b.



Seal: From Photograph



B. CH. CHHABRA
REG. No 3977 E'36 - 515'48

SCALE THREE-FOURTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

39 ya-nirjjit-ārih [|*] śuddhair=yyaśōbhir=vvidit-ādi-rājō Nannappa-nāmā nṛipatir=babhūva [||*] Lē[bhē] sa

40 putraṁ Śivarājam=ārjau(jau) sva-khaḍga-vitrāsita-śatru-sainyaṁ [|*] śiv-ōpasampāda-nataḥ=prajānāṁ anvartthatāṁ

41 yasya jagāma nāma [||*] Babhūva Gōvinda-samāna-kāntir=gGōvindarājas=tanayas=tadīyaḥ [|*] samaṁ guṇā yasya

42 śaśī(śi)-prakāśāḥ manāṁsy=akarshat=suhṛidāṁ dvishāñ=cha [||*] Dēvī Vinayavaty=āsīt tasya yasyāḥ=pit=ābhavat [|*] cha-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side

43 tur-ddig-adhipa[ḥ*] śrīmān=Vikramāditya-bhūpatiḥ [||*] Sushuvē sā satī vīṭuṁ[1] Indarājaṁ yaśasvinī [|*] vāpēna[2] sadṛiśan=nē

44 shu(śu)r=yyasya saṁyatsu śatravaḥ [||*] Agrajā tasya jātyasya Kañchiyabb=āmbujānanā [|*] dēvī dēva-samā(ma)sy āsīt(d) Duggamā-

45 rasya bhūbhṛitaḥ [||*] Yau dampatī samālōkya janas=sandṛishṭavān=iva [|*] Sa(śa)chī-Va(Ba)ladvishōr=yyōgaṁ ta[thā*] Gaurī-Pinākinō[ḥ *]

46 Sā Gaṅga-kula-chandrasya tasya vakshō-vihāriṇī [|*] Padmā Nārāyaṇasy=ēva **babhūva** parama-priyā [||*] Gatē=

47 tha kālē kasmiṁśchit(d) Indarājō divaṁ yayau [|*] didṛikshay=ēva lōkānām ājji(arjji)-tānāṁ sva-karmmabhiḥ [||*] Vijñāpi-

48 tāya putrāya Duggamārāya dhīmatē [|*] dattaṁ brāhmaṇassā(sā)d =dēvyā tav=ēti kriyatām=iti [||*] Harita-gō-

49 trasya Nīlakaṇḍa(ṇṭha)-nāmadhēyasya Prāvachana-charaṇasya tat-putrāṇāṁ pañchānāṁ tat-kanishṭa(shṭha)-Nīlaga(ka)ṇṭha-

Fifth Plate ; First Side

50 śarmmaṇē shach-chha(ṭ-śa)tēshu navati-tri-saṁvatsara-Śaka-varishē(rshē)shv=atītēshu Chandra(Bhādra)pada-śukla-pakshē dvitīyāyāṁ tithau Uttara-

51 Phalguni(nī)-nakshatrē Śukla(kra)-vārē Śukl(kr)-ōdayē Pudukanda-nāmadhēya-vishayē Komāramaṅgala-nā(grā)masya pūrvvasyān di-

52 śi taṭākasy ādhastāt khaṇḍuka-dvayaṁ vrīhi-kshētraṁ tathā paśchima-taṭākasy=ādhastāt khaṇḍuka-dvayaṁ vri(vrī)hi-kshē-

53 traṁ kramuka-kadalīnāṁ yōgyaṁ khaṇḍuka-dvayaṁ kshētraṁ priyaṅgu-śyāmāka-yōgyaṁ arddha-kara-parimā-

54 ṇaṁ sa-gṛiham sarvva-parvva-parihār-ōpēta-kshētraṁ dattaṁ [|*] Pā(Phā)la-kṛishṭa-(shṭāṁ) mahin dadyāt sa-vījāṁ saṁyamā(sya-śā)linīṁ [||*] yāvat=sū-

55 ryya-kṛitā lōka(kāḥ)tāvat svarggē mahīyatē [||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharā[m |*] shashṭhiṁ(shṭiṁ)-varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhā-

56 yāṁ jāyatē kṛimiḥ [|*] Vindhy-āṭavīshv atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [||*] kṛishṇ-āhi(ha)yō bhijāyantē brahmadēy-āba(pa)hāraka(kā)ḥ ◎

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[1] This gives no sense. The correct reading might be *vīram*.

[2] Better read : *vātēna*.

Fifth Plate ; Second Side

57 Sarvva-kal-ādhāra-bhūta-chitrakal-ābhijñēna Guruśishyēṇ=ēdaṁ śāsanaṁ likhitaṁ ◎

TRANSLATION

(For the translation of ll. 1-37, see above, Vol. XII, pp. 53-5, where the text is practically the same as that given in our inscription.)

(Ll. 38-9) Formerly there was a king Nannappa by name, (who was) well known for (his) faultless victory, a refuge to the friendly subjects and a conqueror of the enemy by the three-fold power.[1]

(Ll. 39-41) He obtained a son called Śivarāja who, by his own sword, had caused to tremble the army of the enemies and who, by the act of promoting the welfare (*śiva*) of his subjects, had justified the significance of his name (Śivarāja).

(Ll. 41-3) To him was born a son called Gōvinda whose splendour equalled that of Gōvinda (*i.e.* the God Vishṇu) and whose qualities, shining like the moon, attracted the minds of the friends and the enemies alike. His queen was Vinayavatī whose father was the illustrious king Vikramāditya, lord of the four quarters.

(Ll. 43-4) That illustrious lady (Vinayavatī) gave birth to the brave Indarāja whose enemies disappeared in the battle like (or, with the speed of) the wind.

(Ll. 44-6) His (Indarāja's) own elder sister Kañchiyabbā, of the lotus-like face, became the queen of king Duggamāra, who was like a god. When people saw this couple, it was as if they saw the union of Śachī and Indra as also of Gaurī and Pinākin. She, captivating the heart of him who was a moon to the Gaṅga family, became dear to him, like Padmā to Nārāyaṇa.

(Ll. 46-7) Thus, after the lapse of some time, Indarāja went to heaven, as if desirous of seeing the worlds (*puṇya-lōkas*) obtained by his own (good) deeds.

(Ll. 47-8) (By Śrīpurusha mahārāja the grant was made) to (his) son the learned Duggamāra (who had been) requested by (his) queen (and who in turn) gave the grant to the possession of the Brāhmaṇa (requesting him) to make (the grant) his own (property).

(Ll. 48-51) (The grant was made to) Nīlakaṇṭhaśarman, the youngest of the five sons of Nīlakaṇṭha of the Harita *gōtra* and the Prāvachana *charaṇa* when *six-hundred and ninety-three* years of *Śaka* era had elapsed, on the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half of *Bhādrapada*, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, on Friday, at the time of the appearance of the (planet) Śukra (*i.e.* Venus).

(Ll. 51-4) (Details of the grant) : To the east of the village Komāramaṅgala (situated) in the Pudukanda *vishaya*, below the tank, rice field (on which) two *khaṇḍukas* (can be sown) ; likewise, below the western tank, rice-field (on which) two *khaṇḍukas* (can be sown) ; land suitable for betel-nut trees and plantain trees, (on which) two *khaṇḍukas* (can be sown) ; and land measuring half *kara* (a measure ?), suitable for (sowing) pepper and *śyāmāka* (a kind of corn), was given, with a house free from all imposts (taxes).

(Ll. 54-6) Customary imprecatory verses.

(L. 57) The inscription was written by Guruśishya, an expert in fine arts, the basis of all arts.

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[1] Namely *prabhu-*, *mantra-* and *utsāha-śaktis*.

No. 26—SRINAGAR INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN DIDDA

(*1 Plate*)

KEDAR NATH SASTRI, SARNATH

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab (10″×8½″) which was discovered in a private house in **Srinagar**, Kashmir, and was later presented by Dr. G. W. Leitner to the Central Museum, Lahore, where it is now preserved. It has already been noticed by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel,[1] and briefly described by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni.[2] The **script** is Śāradā and the **language** Sanskrit. It is **dated** in the year 68, obviously of the Laukika era (corresponding to A.D. 992), in the bright fortnight of the month of Śuchi (Jyēshṭha or Āshāḍha) in the reign of queen Diddā of Kashmir. The year falls within her reign as recorded in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and testifies to the correctness of Kalhaṇa's chronology. The top and bottom portions of the slab are broken and a good deal of the inscription has been lost, both at the beginning and at the end, including the benedictory stanzas, the genealogy of the donor, as well as the dedicatory portion recording the purpose of the epigraph. Due to a lateral fracture in the slab along its left edge, the opening letters of seven lower lines have progressively suffered damage.

The record consists of ten lines comprising three verses, two of which are almost complete while the third is only partly preserved. The average size of the letters is about ½″×⅜″.

As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the letters *m* and *s* are very much alike except that the vertical vowel stroke in the latter is slightly elongated downwards. Similarly, the difference between *v* and *dh* is not very marked except that the bulge in the latter is more pronounced and a little longer. The confounding letters can be made out more with the help of the context than from their forms. In line 3 *upadhmānīya* has been used for *visarga* and is superposed on the following letter *pu*. Generally, the composition is free from ungrammatical forms and mistakes in prosody, save for one or two minor flaws.

The first verse mentions that a certain lady, whose name is not traceable in the text, gave birth to a son, named **Dharmāṅka** lovely as Madana (lit. bearing the stamp of Madana),[3] and a great benefactor of cows. The second describes Dharmāṅka as a devoted son who gladdened his mother as Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati, Āditya and Kṛishṇa gladdened theirs, by charitable diggings (of wells, tanks, etc.), which made the Lord of gods and the people rejoice. The third verse, though incomplete, is more important as it records the date. It informs that in the bright fortnight of the month of Śuchi, in the year 68 of the Laukika era, corresponding to A.D. 992, in the reign of queen Diddā, he (Dharmāṅka) honoured his mother with utmost devotion (by dedicating some charitable work to perpetuate her memory).

It seems rather queer, that in this inscription, as in another of her reign now preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar,[4] Diddā should have been eulogised by the masculine epithet of *rājan*[5] (king) instead of *rājñī* (queen) which was her due. It may be observed in this connection that she was an energetic and powerful queen who ruled over the destinies of Kashmir for nearly half a century. She was the daughter of Siṁharāja of Lohara, and a grand-daughter from maternal

[1] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I, p. 258, Appendix.

[2] *Annual Progress Report Archl. Survey, Hindu & Buddhist Monuments, N.C., Lahore,* for 1918-19, p. 20, and Appendix C, no. 9.

[3] I take *Madanāṅka* to be an adjective and not the name of the son which is obviously Dharmāṅka as given in the second verse.

[4] In the inscription preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar, she is styled as Diddā-dēva instead of Diddā-dēvī.

[5] [The Kākatīya queen Rudrāmbā of Warangal was similarly called Rudradēva-Mahārāja in her epigraphs.—C.R.K.]

side of king Bhīmadēva of the well-known Shāhi dynasty of Gāndhāra. By virtue of her ancestry she had inherited the valour, statesmanship and other characteristics of the two houses. During the lifetime of her weak and effeminate husband, Kshēmagupta, she was the virtual head of the State and wielded sovereign powers. On the coins of Kshēmagupta the letter *Di* is prefixed to the name of the king, meaning Diddā-Kshēma, which became the nickname of the king, casting reflections on his political impotency as against his all-powerful queen who acted for him and ruled like the real king. No wonder then, if, on account of her valour, political astuteness and masculine traits, she was styled by people as king Diddā in the lifetime of her husband[1] and during the period when she acted as regent first for her son Abhimanyu and, after his death, for her grandsons.[2] Probably this appellation became favourite with her and she preferred to be styled by it when she became the *de facto* independent monarch and ruled the State in her name for 23 years (A.D.980-1003).[3]

Dharmāṅka, the donor of the record, does not seem to be a prominent personality of the time, as he is nowhere mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The chronicle, however, mentions one Dharmārka, who was an official under Tuṅga, the well-known Prime Minister of the queen and her successor Saṅgrāmarāja.

I acknowledge with grateful thanks the emendations kindly made in the article and the text by Rao Bahadur C.R. Krishnamacharlu and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra. Without their guidance, it would not have been possible for me to bring out the article in its present form.

TEXT[4]

[Metres :—V. 1 *Mālinī* ;, vv. 2 and 3, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 व्यवहिततरदेशा[शेष]धेनूपकार[प्रव]ण[जन]-

2 कभावस्यास्पदं [सूद्ग]तस्य । अविकलफलभाजां [भा]-

3 जनं पौरुषाणां समजनि मदनाङ्क‿पुत्ररत्नं च

4 [य]स्याः ॥[१॥]* गौरीं शक्तिधरो यथा गणपतिर्देवीं यथा

5 [जा]ह्नवीम्भास्वानप्यदितिं यथा नरकभिद्देवो यथा

6 [देव]की[म्।] उत्खातैस्त्रिदशाधिनाथजनतासन्तोष स-

7 [म्पा]दकैर्यामानन्दयति स्म धर्मपरमो धर्माङ्कना-

8 [मा] सुतः ॥[२॥*] अष्टाषष्टितमांशधाम[नि] शु[चे]-

9 [र्मासस्य] पक्षे सिते दिद्दानामनि राज्ञि भाव-

10 ⏑ ⏑ — — [द्रा]न्तराभ्यासजः भक्त्या यां श्रितवांश्च

— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [॥३॥*]

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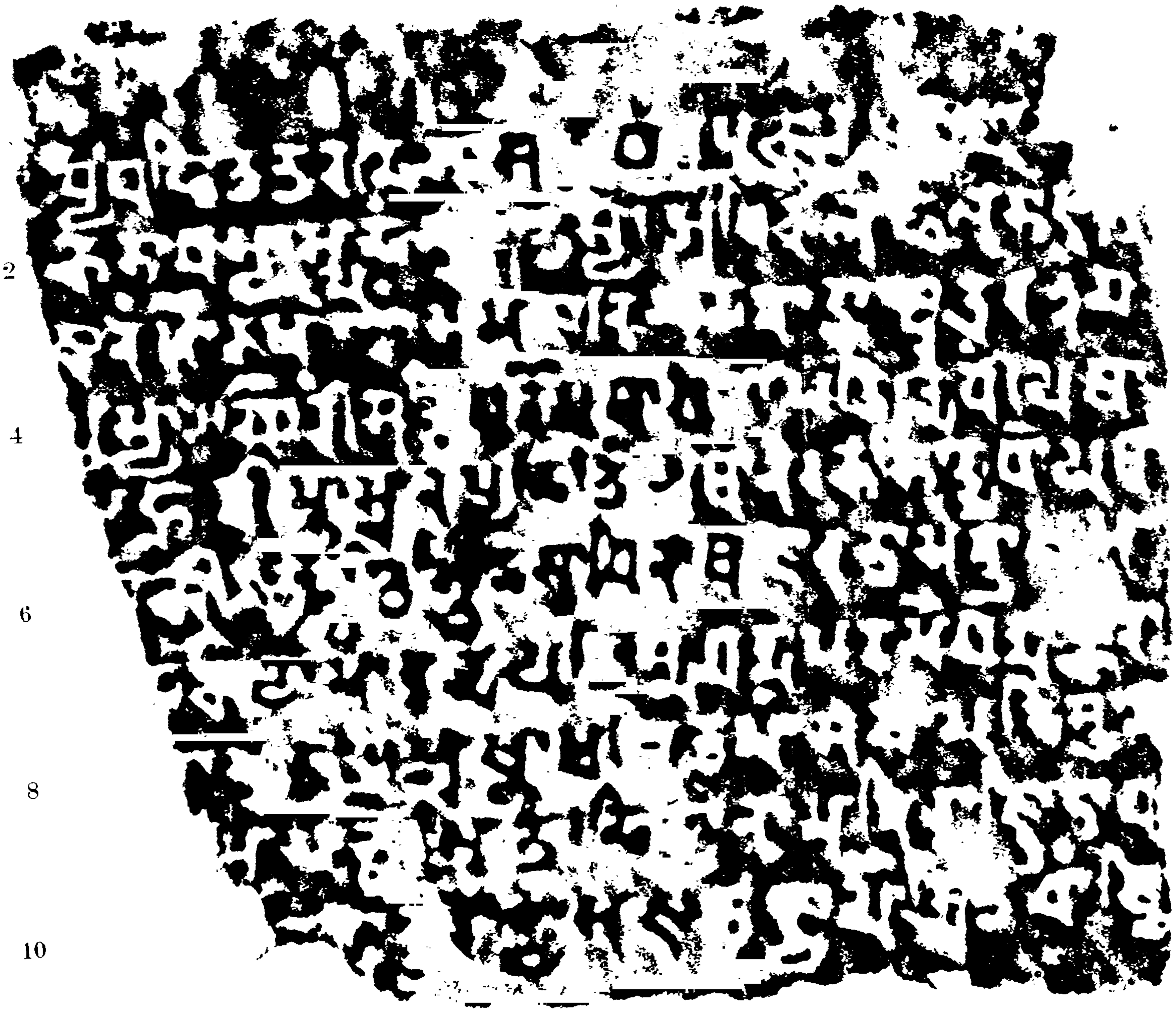
[1] Kshēmagupta was on the throne from A.D. 950 to A.D. 958.

[2] Diddā acted as regent for her son Abhimanyu and, after his death, for her grandsons from A.D. 958 to A.D. 980.

[3] It would be interesting to find out from the *Dharmaśāstras* if the practice of calling the ruling queens by the masculine epithet of *rājan* or *dēva* had a religious sanction behind it. This remark has been prompted by the fact that the Kākatīya queen Rudrāmbā of Warangal was also called Rudradēva-Mahārāja in her epigraphs, as observed by Rao Bahadur Krishnamacharlu in a note above.

[4] From the original stone and ink-impressions.

Srinagar Inscription of Queen Didda



SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS

B. Ch. Chhabra.

Reg. No. 3977 E 36 - 495'48

Survey of India, Calcutta.

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1)—(*The lady*) who gave birth to a worthy son, lovely as Kāmadēva, who, with well-manifested fatherly love, was a great benefactor of all the cows (coming from) far off lands; (and who was) an abode of manly acts which bear consummate fruit.

(Verse 2)—Just as Kārttikēya gladdened Gaurī, Gaṇapati the divine Jāhnavī, Āditya Aditi, Lord Kṛishṇa Dēvakī, even so, her son, Dharmāṅka by name, unrivalled in the performance of pious acts, gladdened her by (*charitable*) diggings (*of wells, tanks, etc.*) which made the Lord of gods and the people rejoice.[1]

(Verse 3)—(*In the year*) sixty eight, in the bright fortnight of (*the month of*) Śuchi, when king Diddā (*was ruling*), (Dharmāṅka) honoured his mother (*by dedicating some charitable work to perpetuate her memory*).

No. 27—NOTE ON EIGHT INSCRIPTIONS OF KADAVA CHIEFS

V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, MADRAS

In his article on the eight inscriptions of Kāḍavarāya chiefs (above pp. 80 ff.), Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan attempts to give a connected genealogy of the Kāḍava chiefs of Kūḍal, from Vaḷandaṇār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar who flourished about the time of the Chōḷa sovereign Vikrama-chōḷa down to Kōpperuñjiṅga and his supposed three sons: Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ, Śōḷakōṉ and Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ. Though in this attempt he has followed the lead given in the early *Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* requiring revision, the genealogy given in the above article is open to controversy. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the editor of the new edition of the Mysore Gazetteer[2] has fallen into a similar error in mentioning the three persons noticed above as sons of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva. Without going into other details of Mr. Vaidyanathan's article, I shall confine my remarks to two salient points arising out of the subject:

(1) about Kōpperuñjiṅga's father and

(2) his supposed three sons.

Mr. Vaidyanathan agrees with me that Kōpperuñjiṅga's father was **Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ** who is identical with **Jīya-Mahīpati** of the Tripurāntakam record[3] and with **Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ** and **Aḷagiya-Pallavaṉ**[4] of other records and that he was the first Kāḍava chief of the Kūḍal family to assert his independence after the battle of Teḷḷāṟu. He quotes the Vailūr record[5] edited by me, but misses the main point that Kōpperuñjiṅga is therein called Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ,[6] as in another record from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[7] Further, Mr. Vaidyanathan quotes my father Venkayya approvingly for taking 'Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ' as a *name* and not as a title.

Since Jīyamahīpati's son is also known as Kōpperuñjiṅga in the Tripurāntakam record, both the father and the son must have been known by the same name. I have arrived at the same conclusion from a record of Kōpperuñjiṅga found at Chidambaram[8] wherein an inscription of 'Periyadēvar' is referred to, which has been identified[9] and shown to be a record of Kōpperuñjiṅga.

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[1] The expression may also mean that 'the diggings made gods and men rejoice'.

[2] Vol. II, part II, p. 1221.

[3] *A. R.* No. 198 of 1915.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 23.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 174-82.

[6] The wording of the inscription is: *Sakalabhuvanachch-akkaravatti Śrī-Kōpperuñjiṅgan Śōḷaṉai=tTeḷḷāṟṟilveṉṟu sakala parichchinnamuṉ=koṇḍu Śōḷaṉai=chchiṟaiy=iṭṭu vaittu Śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ.*

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 90.

[8] *A. R.* No. 103 of 1934-35; also *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 215.

[9] *Journal of the University of Madras*, Vol. XIII, pp. 98ff.

Since the term *Periyadēvar* is applied in inscriptions, not to a ruling monarch, but *only* to a previous ruler, it will be clear that there were two chiefs of the name Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva.

Secondly, Mr. Vaidyanathan takes Śōḷakōṉ as the eldest of the three sons of Kōpperuñjiṅga, though he does not show him as such in the genealogy above. The full name of this officer is *Piḷḷai* Araśūruḍaiyāṉ Perumāḷ-Piḷḷai *alias* Śōḷakōṉ. *Piḷḷai* is here used as a term of endearment and Perumāḷ-piḷḷai is a proper name and should not be construed as the son of Perumāḷ, *i.e.*, chief or prince. It may be noted in this connection that in the inscriptions of Kōpperuñjiṅga, he is *always* referred to as '*dēvar*' only and not as 'Perumāḷ'. There is therefore no justification for taking Śōḷakōṉ as the son of Kōpperuñjiṅga. In literature and inscriptions the term *piḷḷai* along with *magaṉ* and *kumāraṉ* is freely used, not in the sense of 'son' but only as a term of affection and endearment. This term[1] is applied to Bhujabala Siddharasa and Tirukkāḷattidēva in records of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa (*Nel. Ins.* pp. 1406 and 1218), to Rājarāja Śambuvarāya in a record of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla (No. 302 of 1912), to Gaṇḍagōpāla and Pirudigaṅgar in records of Rājarāja III (Nos. 6 of 1893 and 410 of 1923 and 496 of 1902), to Śeḷiyakōṉār in a record of Rājēndra-Chōḷa III (No. 278 of 1923) and among the Vaishṇava teachers, to Lōkāchārya, Tirumalai-Nambi, etc. Such instances are easily multiplied. Even where *nam-magaṉ* meaning 'our son' is applied to Śēma-ppiḷḷai in a record of Rājēndra-Chōḷa III, Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has rightly taken it as a term of esteem and not as 'son' (*Cōḷas*, Vol. II, p. 207). My strong objections against Mr. Vaidyanathan's interpretation are :

(1) Śōḷakōṉ is introduced in inscriptions only as 'dēvarmudali', *i.e.*, an officer of the king,

(2) this officer hailed from Araśūr whereas Kōpperuñjiṅga's native place was Kūḍal, and

(3) this person is nowhere called a Pallava, Kāḍava, etc., to indicate his relationship with the Kūḍal family.

Again, Mr. Vaidyanathan confuses the name Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ given to Kāḍava-Kumāraṉ in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record with that of the younger brother of Śōḷakōṉ mentioned above. This brother is uniformly called in inscriptions as Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṉ.[2] This Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṉ is not even called a *Piḷḷaiyār* and if, as assumed by Mr. Vaidyanathan, he was really the son of Peruñjiṅga and the 'conqueror of Mallai, Mayilai, Kāñchi, Daṇḍaka-nāḍu, Kōval', etc., he would not be introduced in inscriptions merely as the younger brother of Śōḷakōṉ, an officer of Kōpperuñjiṅga,[3] even in a record of this chief. He is also not called a *Pallava* or *Kāḍava*, and as such, he should not be taken as a son of Kōpperuñjiṅga.

Nor is there any justification for taking Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ as another son of this chief. On the strength of the title *Piḷḷai*[4] applied to him, Dr. Hultzsch was inclined to take him as the son of Kōpperuñjiṅga. This interpretation, in the light of later researches, needs modification. Nīlagaṅgaraiyar assumed the surname Bhūpālanōdbhava or Puviāḷappiṟandāṉ[5] corresponding to Avaṉiyāḷappiṟandāṉ of his master Kōpperuñjiṅga, just as the chiefs Vikramaśōḷa Chēdiyarāyaṉ,[6]

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[1] The following phrases may be compared in this connection :—
'*Piḷḷaiyār* Pañchanadivāṇaṉ Nīlagaṅgaraiyar *kumārargaḷil* Aruṇagirip-perumāḷ' (*A. R.* No. 365 of 1919) and 'Piḷḷaiyār tirumēnikkum kumāragaḷukkum' (*A. R.* No. 13 of 1911). '*Nam-piḷḷai* Vīra-Pāṇḍya dēvarku yāṇḍu'; *Piḷḷai* Pañchavan Brahmādhirāyar (No. 431 of 1929-30); *Piḷḷaiyār* Edirilisōḷa Śambuvarāyar (No. 175 of 1939-40).

[2] In only one inscription he is called Vēṇā[vu]ḍaiyāṉ, *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 94.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 770 and Vol. VIII, No. 94.

[4] He is called *Piḷḷaiyār* in a record of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla and so has he to be taken as the son of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla also ?

[5] *A. R.* No. 41 of 1893.

[6] *A. R.* No. 349 of 1921 and 285 of 1902.

Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ Śambuvarāya,[1] Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa Śambuvarāya,[2] Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyar[3] assumed the appellations of their masters Vikrama-Chōḷa, Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ and Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa respectively. The adoption of the epithet Puviāḷappiṟandāṉ by Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ only shows his subordination to the Kāḍava chief.

Further, Mr. Vaidyanathan accepts that this Nīlagaṅgaraiyar hailed from Āmūr in the Chingleput District, far away from the Kūḍal of Kōpperuñjiṅga. He also feels that the epithet *Pañcha-nadivāṇaṉ* applied to this officer is not favourable to his identification, yet he takes him as another son of Kōpperuñjiṅga, admitting at the same time that Nīlagaṅgaraiyar may not be a member of the Kāḍava family. It will thus be evident that the genealogy given by Mr. Vaidyanathan needs modification.

Finally, I may also point out a few errors that have crept into his article.

(1) The Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record of Kōpperuñjiṅga is not dated in the 26th, but only in the 16th regnal year of the chief. The statement in the *Annual Report* in this connection has to be corrected.

(2) In No. 439 and 443 of 1921 the title Tribhuvanachakravartin noticed as having been assumed by Kōpperuñjiṅga has likewise to be corrected into [Sakalabhuvanachakra]vartin.

(3) The interpretation of No. 514 of 1918 has also to be altered. It was Kōpperuñjiṅga, and not Sōmēśvara, who built the fortifications along the north bank of the Kāvērī.

(4) There is no evidence for taking Rājēndra-Chōḷa III as the son of Rājarāja III.

(5) The utmost northern limit of Kōpperuñjiṅga's dominion is taken as Drākshārāma in the Godavari District. The mere existence of Kōpperuñjiṅga's inscription at that place does not prove that he had really extended his territory so far north, overthrowing the Telugu-Chōḍas and the Kākatīyas.

No. 28—GOKARNA PLATES OF KADAMBA KAMADEVA : SAKA 1177

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates was secured for study during my annual tour in the Bombay Karnatak, in February 1940, through a resident of the place, at **Gōkarṇa,** North Kanara. It is noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1939-40. I am editing it here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of **four copper-plates,** each measuring 8½" by 5¼", with their rims slightly raised to preserve the writing. All the plates are engraved on both the sides. The writing is in a fair state of preservation except in a few places ; *e.g.*, ll. 7-9. Ll. 44-45, 54-60 and 67-69 are palimpsest. The plates are numbered at the left top of the ring-hole on the reverse of each plate. They are held together by a circular copper ring measuring about 2½" in diameter, which passes through a ring-hole about ½" in diameter near the left margin. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of an oval seal measuring about 2¼" in length. The **seal** bears in relief the figure of a **couchant bull** with a chain and a bell round its neck, facing the proper left. There is no reference to this emblem in the text of the record. The Pallavas of Kāñchī had the figure of a couchant bull on the seals of their copper plates.[4] The Kaḷachuryas that ruled in Karṇāṭaka had the same emblem on the seals of their copper plates. It is referred to in their records as Suvarṇa-vṛishabha.[5]

[1] *A. R.* No. 487 of 1921.
[2] *A. R.* No. 57 of 1908.
[3] *A. R.* No. 440 of 1913.
[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 297.
[5] Above, Vol. XV, p. 320.

The **alphabet** is Kannaḍa of the 13th century and agrees with the general formation of the period. The medial *ē* sign is shown independently above the letter *ya* in *patayē,* l. 1. Attention may be drawn to the cursive form of *ma* which is used occasionally, *e.g., Madhukēśvara,* l. 14. A few instances of **orthographical** peculiarities and faulty spelling may be noticed. *Gōkarṇa* is written as *Gōkaṁrṇna,* ll. 16 and 28. The form *Chandā-ura* of the place-name (l. 25) isnoteworthy. *Ḷa* is written for *ḷa* in *kaḷgaḷa,* l. 19 : *Rādēya* is a mistake for *Rādhēya* l. 20 ; *Iṁdhyāṭavī* for *Viṁdhyāṭavī,* l. 78.

The **language** of ll. 1-12 and 75-80, containing invocation, description of Kāmadēva's genealogy and imprecation, is Sanskrit ; all the remaining lines are in Old Kannaḍa.

A post-script in late characters of about the 17th century is engraved in the space remaining after the end of the main record. It runs from l. 80 to l. 88 and records in modern Kannaḍa, the grant of several privileges to certain Brāhmaṇas for the worship of the god Mahābaḷēśvara, with the alleged authority of the chief Vīra-Kāvadēvarasa of the early record.

The **object** of the record is to register a *sarvamānya* gift of lands by **Kādaṁba-chakravarti Vīra-Kāvadēvarasa** to Āhitāgni Mahēśvara-Bhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmitra *gōtra* and others at the *agrahāra* village of **Mūṟūr** (ll. 24-68). The gift was made in the presence of the god Mahābaḷēśvara of Gōkarṇa in the **Śaka year 1177**, the cyclic year being **Rākshasa, on Māgha śuddha 15, Guruvāra,** on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse** (ll. 26-28). The details of the date regularly correspond to **A.D. 1256, January 13, Thursday.**

The record happens to be a royal grant and the donor chief Kāmadēva is described with a long string of epithets and titles (ll. 12-24), some of which are significant. That the chief, notwithstanding his assumption of the high-sounding title of *Chakravartin* (l. 23), was only a petty ruler is partly disclosed by the epithet *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda* (l. 12), indicative of his subordinate status. The epithets, **Banavāsipuravarādhīśvara** and **Jayantī-Madhukēśvara-dēva-labdha-varaprasāda,** in conjunction with **Kādaṁba,** prove his connection with the later branches of the Kadamba lineage. The earlier stock of the Kadambas split up subsequently into a number of families that are known to have ruled in the western and southern parts of ancient Karṇāṭaka from the 10th century onwards.[1] The better known of these are the Kadambas of Hānagal,[2] of Goa,[3] of Bayalnāḍ,[4] of Bēlūr,[5] of Bankāpur[6] and of Nāgarakhaṇḍa.[7] But the family to which Kāmadēva of the present record belonged, seems to be different from any of those hitherto known. His genealogy as given in this record (ll. 7-12) consists of the following three names :

Vīra
|
Taila
|
Kāmadēva

A chief named *Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Kāmadēva, who is called *Tailamana-aṅkakāra* was a scion of the Hānagal branch of the Kadambas, who governed Banavāsi and other districts.[8] The latest date available for him is A.D. 1211.[9] This precludes the possibility of identifying him with the Kāmadēva of the present record. Another Kāmadēva, who is almost contemporaneous

[1] Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions,* p. 27.
[2] *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 558.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 564.
[4] *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. IV, Intro. p. 3.
[5] *Ibid.,* Vol. V, Intro. p. iv.
[6] Above, Vol. XIII, p. 169.
[7] *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VII, Intro. p. 11.
[8] *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 563.
[9] *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sb. 59.

with the chief of our record is found associated in administration with Shashṭhadēva II of the Goa branch.[1] But his parentage and marriage alliance with the Goa chief prove that he was not a Kadamba prince. A few more Kadamba chiefs bearing the name Kāmadēva are met with in inscriptions ; but the disparity of dates and other details stand in the way of establishing their identity with this chief.

The seal of our record, which is described above, lends additional support to the view that this Kāmadēva is not connected with any known families of Kadamba rulers. All the Kadamba families, as a rule, had the emblem of lion depicted on their seals (*siṁha-lāñchhana*).[2] None of them, on the contrary, appears to have used the bull-symbol on their seals. This indicates that he belongs to a hitherto unknown line of Kadambas.

A glance at the political condition of the country during this period may help us to understand the circumstances of the rise of the new chiefdom of this Kāmadēva in the neighbourhood and at the expense of the already existing two other principalities of Goa and Hānagal in the region of the West Coast. The last quarter of the 12th century witnessed the downfall of the mighty Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the growth of the two powers that contended for the mastery of their dominions from the north and the south, *viz.*, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Hoysaḷas. The Yādavas under their resourceful ruler Siṅghaṇa II overran the territory south of the river Kṛishṇā as far as the banks of the Kāvērī before A.D. 1237-38.[3] The Kadambas of Hānagal who were governing the strategic province of Banavāsi as semi-independent rulers had eventually to submit to the suzerainty of the Yādavas.[4] The Kadambas of Goa also were reduced to the same fate as indicated by the Haralahaḷḷi record which says that Vīchaṇa, the victorious general of Siṅghaṇa vanquished the Kadambas who were glorious in the Koṁkaṇa.[5] Taking advantage of this disturbed political situation in the wake of the Yādava invasion, Kāmadēva of this record seems to have carved out a small kingdom for himself. It cannot be said when exactly this event took place ; but it is clear that it must have happened sometime before A.D. 1256, the date of the present record.

Of the two ancestors in the above genealogy of Kāmadēva, the first member appears to be more or less legendary and is reminiscent of the progenitor of the later Kadamba records, who is often described as a warrior and variously styled Jayanta, Trinētra or Mukkaṇṇa.[6] The second member, Taila, is a name more than once met with in the Hānagal line and it is probable that he was in some way connected with that branch. This suggestion gains support from one of the titles borne by Kāmadēva, *viz.*, *Kādamba-chakravartin*, which is found applied to more than one ruler of the Hānagal family.[7]

An inscription on stone at Kambaḷikoppa in the Sagar taluk, Shimoga District, Mysore State, refers to *Kādamba-chakravartin* Kāmadēva, son of Taila of Chandāvura (*Kādamba-chakravarti Chandāvurada Tailapadērana maga*).[8] It is known from the present record that Taila was the father of Kāmadēva and that **Chandāura was his capital** (ll. 10-11 and 24-25). It appears that there were more rulers than one bearing the name Kāmadēva at the time and hence the author of the Kambaḷikoppa record distinguishes his Kāmadēva with a specific reference to the latter's father and the place from where he hailed, which was probably his capital also. Unfortunately

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 288.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 560 and 566 ; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Hg. 75 ; above, Vol. XIII, p. 170, etc.

[3] *J.B.B.R.A.S.* Old Series, Vol. XV, p. 384.

[4] Mallidēva who styled himself *Kādamba-chakravartin* in earlier records uses the subordinate title *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in a record of 1231 A.D. (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 224, 188 and *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 564.).

[5] *J.B.B.R.A.S.* Old Series, Vol. XV, p. 385.

[6] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 566.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 59, 224 and 439.

[8] *Ibid.*, Sa. 30.

the inscription at Kambaḷikoppa bears no date which would have helped to establish his identity ; but as other details coincide it is tempting to identify the Kāmadēva of our record with that of the Kambaḷikoppa inscription.

A rough idea of the extent of the territory under Kāmadēva may be formed from the geographical references occurring in this record. **Chandāura,** his capital should be identified with the modern Chandāvar, an old town of strategic importance, situated in the Honavar taluk and about five miles south-east of Kumta, North Kanara District.[1] **Mūṟūr,** the village granted by the chief is the same as modern **Mūrūr** about ten miles north of Kumta, in the Kumta taluk of the same district. As the chief styles himself **Lord of the Western Ocean** (*Paśchima-samudrādhipati*),[2] it is likely that he held a strip of land on the west coast. It is possible to conclude from this that Kāmadēva's principality extended over portions of the modern taluks of Kumta and Honavar including the west coast ; and, if his identity with the namesake of the Kambaḷikoppa inscription be correct, over a part of the Shimoga District of the Mysore State.

The Śaivite persuasion of Kāmadēva is attested by the **bull-symbol** on his seal, and his epithet Mahāmāhēśvara (l. 13). This in no way conflicts with his devotion to the god Madhukēśvara (l. 14) of Jayantī, *i.e.*, Banavāsi,[3] who was the tutelary deity of the early Kadambas,[4] as well as of the later branches of the family, as evidenced by the epithet, Jayantī-Madhukēśvara-labdha-vara-prasāda. The god worshipped at Banavāsi under the name of Madhukēśvara from early times is Śiva in the form of a *liṅga*, said to have been installed by Vishṇu after his destruction of the demon Madhu or Madhuka.[5] It is clear from this and numerous allusions in inscriptions that the Kadambas, early as well as later, were devotees of Śiva. In the light of this, the statement of the late Dr. Fleet that " their family god was Jayantī-Madhukēśvara or Vishṇu under the name of Madhukēśvara " requires correction.[6]

The phrase, *Hara-Dharaṇī-prasūta-Trilōchana-Kadambarum=appa*, occurring among the epithets of Kāmadēva needs explanation. The chief is here metaphorically identified with Trilōchana-Kadamba, who, according to a legend which gained currency in the later Kadamba records of 11-12th centuries, was the first ancestor of the Kadamba family.[7] This mythological personage is represented to have been born from the union of Śiva and Earth in the records of both the branches of the Kadambas, Hānagal and Goa ; and there exists little material difference in the accounts of his origin as imagined by Dr. Fleet.[8] This observation is substantiated by the occurrence of the expression *Hara-Dharaṇī-prasūta* in some records of the Goa branch as well as in those of the Hānagal branch.[9]

TEXT[10]

First Plate ; First Side

1 Śrī-Gaṇādhipatayē namaḥ [||*] Namaḥ(s)=tuṅga-śiraś-chuṁ-
2 bi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē [|] trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-
3 mūla-staṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē || [1*] Sa jayati Ma-

[1] *North Kanara Gazetteer*, Pt. II, p. 277.
[2] Unless it be a formal title with no particular significance.
[3] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 278, f.n.2.
[4] *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 26.
[5] Local tradition and *sthala-purāṇa*. That the god Madhukēśvara of Banavāsi is a *liṅga* is self-evident to those who have visited the place in person.
[6] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 560.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 566.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *E.g.* above, Vol. XIII, p. 308.
[10] From the original plates.

4 hāvarāhō ya(d)-daṁshṭrā-kōṭi-dhāritā dha-
5 raṇī [|*] rajatamaya-daṇḍa-maṇḍita-b[ā]hā-chha-
6 tra-śriyaṁ vahati | [2*] Pratīta-nri(ṛi)pa-saṁtānē **Vī-**
7 **ra**-nāmā narādhipaḥ [|*] babhūva bhūpati-brātaḥ(vrāta)-
8 mastakaṁ(ka)-nyasta-śāsanaḥ || [3*] Tasmāt=**Taila**-mahīpālaḥ
9 pālit-āvani-maṁḍalaḥ [|*] [Sa]d-asad-vṛitta-sad-yōgaḥ
10 pratāpa iva Bhāsvaraḥ || [4*] Tasy=ātmabhūr=abhū-

First Plate ; Second Side

11 d=ātma-kāya-kāṁti-jit-ātmabhūḥ [|*] **Kāmadēvaḥ** kavi-
12 stōma-padma-rājīvinī-patiḥ || [5*] Svasti samadhigata-paṁ-
13 cha-mahā-śabda mahā-māhēśvaraṁ Banavā-
14 si-puravar-ādhīśvaraṁ Jayaṁtī-Madu(dhu)kēśvara-dē-
15 vara(va)-labudha-vara-prasādaṁ sahaja-mṛiga-ma-
16 d-āmōdaṁ Śrī-Gōkaṁrṇna(karṇa)-Mahābaḷadēvara dibya-śrī-
17 pāda-padm-ārādhakaruṁ parabaḷa-sādhakaruṁ hu-
18 sivara-śūla nigaḷaṁka-malla chaladaṁka-Rāma'rāya-ga-
19 ṁḍara-dāvaṇi kaligaḷa(ḷa)-mokhada-kai subhaṭa-chū-
20 ḍāmaṇi sāhasōttuṁga satya-Rād(dh)ēya śaraṇāga-
21 ta-vajra-paṁjaraṁ

Second Plate ; First Side

22 paśchima-samudrādhipati Hara-Dharaṇī-prasūta-Trilōcha-
23 na-Kadaṁbarum=appa Śrīma[t*]-tribhuvana-pratāpa Kādaṁba-cha-
24 kravartti kaligaḷ=aṁkusaṁ **Śrī-Vīra-Kāvadēvarasaru rājadhā-**
25 **ni-Chandāuradalu** sukha-siṁhāsan-ādhirūḍharāgi
26 rājyaṁmaṁ pratipāḷisuttav-idda **Śaka-saṁvatsarada 1177 ne-**
27 **ya Rākshasa-saṁvatsarada Māgha śuddha 15 Guruvā-**
28 **ra Sōma-grahaṇadalu** Śrī-Gōkaṁrṇna(karṇa)-Mahā-
29 baḷēśvaradēvara saṁnidhiyalli Śrīmad-anādi-agrahā-
30 raṁ Mūṛūra grāmadoḷage taṁma haravariya bhū-
31 miya kāragaddeyoḷage Vōṭūra Gokaṁḍada Viśvāmi-
32 tra-gōtrada Śaṁkarabhaṭṭ-āhitāgnigaḷa makkaḷu Ma-

Second Plate ; Second Side

33 hēśvarabhaṭṭ-āhitāgnigaḷiṁge Muḍitinihalasina-gadde go-
34 raṁte-araṭi-kaṁḍa sahita gadde mūḍe 10 avara
35 tammaṁdiru Gaṁgādharabhaṭṭariṁge Muḍutini-muṁ-
36 ḍagere Koḍali-gadde sahitavāgi mūḍe 10 mattaṁ avara
37 tammaṁdiru Purushōttamabhattara maga Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa-
38 rige Kappāse-gadde mūḍe 10 Sūgāniya-Maṇaliya
39 Bhārggava-gōtrada Kēśava-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyara maga Vā-
40 sudēva-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyarige Hoṁneya-māu(vu) a-
41 raṭi-kaṁḍa Ekkala-gadde Baṭṭa-gadde Kāḷuva-gadde sahitavāgi ga
42 dde mūḍe 12 ā gaddeya mēlaṇa tōṭa mane makke ā-
43 rave sahitavāgi Vōṭūra Vasishṭha-gōtrada Eḍā-
44 rakuḷiya Madhusūdanabhaṭara maga [Vi]shṇu-bhaṭṭō-
45 pādhyāyariṁge Konigāra-gaddeyo[ḷage]

Third Plate ; First Side

46 daḍiga-mūḍe 3 Kallajjana kaḍahu-mūḍe 1 Nāriya-guṁ-
47 ḍi-mūḍe 1 Dala-mābalana kaḍahu-mūḍe 2 mūḍa-
48 ṇa heggadde adara mēgaṇa koḍaṁge eraḍaralliyū mū-
49 ḍe 2 Baṁṇaṭe mūḍe 2 Muṁḍina-māḍuva-baḷu
50 mūḍe 1 chikko-biṭṭuva-koḍaṁge mūḍe 1 adara mēgaṇa
51 tōḷa ārave kaṁbi sahitavāgi || Karuvada
52 Āṁgīrasa-gōtrada I(Ī)śvarana Kattigana makaḷu Nā-
53 rāyaṇa-bhaṭṭariṁge Bāḷeyaguṁḍi koli-
54 kaṁḍa kalla-gadde aṁtu mūḍe 10 ||......
55 [Aṁgirasa-gōtrada mūḍakō].....
56 [bhārata maḍidalli] ....

Third Plate ; Second Side

57 ....(palimpsest)
58 Śrī-Vīra-Kāvadēvarasaru....................(palimsest)
59 ....(palimpsest)
60 ....aṁtu ā[ḷu] manusya Brāhmaṇariṁgū
61 gadde mūḍe 69 ā bhūmige baṁda tōṭa
62 ārave kambi mane sahitavāgi ā Mūrū-
63 ra grāmānumatadiṁda ā āḷu manusyariṁguṁ
64 vrirtti(vṛitti)gaḷanu nidhi nikshēpa sahitavāgi siddhā-
65 ya ye(o)sage kāṇike bēduṁgoḷu akara sarvva-
66 bādhā-parihi(hṛi)tavāgi sarvvanamasyavāgi ā ā[ḷ]u

Fourth Plate ; First Side

67 manusyariṁgū **Śrī-Vīra-Kāvadēvarasaru** hiraṁ-
68 ṇyōdaka-dhārāpūrvvakavāgi koṭṭaru iṁ-
69 tī dharmmava āvaṁū obba pratipāḷisidavaru
70 Śrī-Gaṁge Vāraṇāsi Sētu Kurukshētra Śrī-Gōkaṁ-
71 ṇṇa(karṇa) Gae(ye) Prayāge eṁba puṇya-kshētraṁga[ḷo*]ḷu graha-
72 ṇa saṁkramaṇa bya(vya)tīpātav-eṁba puṁṇya-kālaṁgaḷa-
73 lu sāvira Vēda-pāragar-appa Brāṁhaṇargge sāvira
74 kavileya alaṁkāra dakshiṇe sahitavāgi dā-
75 navaṁ koṭṭa pa(pha)laṁgaḷ-aku(akkuṁ) || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vvā(vā
76 yō haiēta vasuṁdharām [||] shashṭiṁ rvva(va)shsha(rsha)-saha-
77 srāṇi vittāvāṁ (shthāyāṁ) jāyatē krimi[ḥ*] || [6*]

Fourth Plate ; Second Side

78 I(Vi)ṁdhy-āṭavīsu(shv)=atōyāsu śukha(shka)-kōṭara-
79 vāsinaḥ [|] krisṇa(kṛishṇa)- appā(sarppā) hi jāyaṁtē
80 Brāhmaṇa-dral (v)ya-hāriṇaḥ || 7*] [1]Bhārgava-gōtrada-
81 vaṁge trikāḷadalu Śrī-Mahābaḷēśvaradēvara mahāpūje-
82]=agramarvā[de] [Vi]śvāmitra-gōtradavaṁge sarvake[la]sadalu svatha(ta)-
83 ṁtranāgi Gāvakārike-Bijōra-maryāde Vasi[shṭha]-gōtradavaṁge paṁchā-
84 ṁga-maryāde Āṁgirasa-gōtradavaṁge pāṭhaka-maryādegaḷanu
85 ..Śrī-Mahābaḷēśvaradēvara saṁnidhiya Brāhmaṇariṁguṁ māmū-
86 linaṁte Śrī-Vīra-Kāvadēvarasaru āchaṁdrārkavāgi Mūlūra
87 grāmānumatadiṁd=ārājaru koṭṭaru sarva-kāryaṁgaḷalu yaluva-
88 ru pratepāḷisivaru rāja-mudrā-sahita tāṁbra-sādana koṭṭaru [||*]

[1] The remaining lines from here are inscribed in late and indifferent characters and faulty language.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Lines 1-6 Invocation to Gaṇapati, Śiva and Mahāvarāha.

Ll.6-12 In the renowned line of rulers was born a king named Vīra, who established his command on the heads of multitude of kings. To him was born king Taila, who protected the earth. Kāmadēva is his son, who surpasses in form the mind-born (God of Love) and is the sun to the lotuses in the form of poets.

Ll.12-69 The illustrious **Kādaṁba-chakravarti Śrī-Vīra-Kāvadēvarasa,** while he was protecting the kingdom, seated on the throne in happiness at his capital **Chandāura** endowed *(on the specified date)*, in the presence of the god Śrī-Gōkarṇa-Mahābaḷēśvara, lands as *sarvamānya* in the *agrahāra* village of Mūrūr, wet land, *mūḍe* 10 to Mahēśvarabhaṭṭa Āhitāgni of the Viśvāmitra *gōtra* ; *mūḍe* 10 to his brother's son Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa : *mūḍe* 12 to Vāsudēva Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya of the Bhārgava *gōtra* ; *mūḍe* 10 to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa of the Āṁgirasa *gōtra* ; etc., in all *mūḍe* 69 including the garden area and other adjuncts.

Ll.69-80 Imprecation.

No. 29 - SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

This inscription, though listed in the first edition of R. B. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, published in 1916, was very briefly noticed only in the second edition of that work, published in 1932. It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which I examined *in situ* and from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, and by the Government Epigraphist for India.

At **Saugor,** the chief town of the Saugor District in the Central Provinces, a number of sculptures were collected from the neighbouring places many years ago and built up into small imitation kiosks in the four corners of the garden of the military mess-house.[1] The inscription is incised on a slab of red sandstone fixed on the top of a panel of the same kind of stone which is built into one of these kiosks. In the panel below, the principal figures are those of a man who has folded his hands in salutation, and a woman, probably his wife, who has placed her right hand on the head of a small figure, evidently their daughter, who also stands with folded hands. Behind the male figure appears a horse and behind the latter, another male figure, apparently a groom, holding the reins of the horse.

The record has very much worn away by exposure to weather. It consists of five lines, of which the last one commences in the centre. Several *aksharas* in the last three lines have become more or less indistinct. The average size of letters is 1". The **characters** are of the proto-Nāgarī alphabet, resembling those of the stone inscription at Chhoti Deori.[2] The form of the initial *i* is, however, different, since the curve below the two dots is here open at the top : *t* has not yet developed a vertical at the top : in some cases the letter is laid on its side, see *Bhaṭṭāraka-*, in l. 2 ; *j* still retains its three horizontal bars, see *Mahārājādhirāja-*, l. 1 : *p* is open at the top, while *v* which resembles its upper portion, is closed, see *pravarddhamāna-*, l. 2 : the lower end of the wedge of *r* is in some cases very much elongated, see *Paramēśvara-*, l. 3. These palæographical peculiarities

[1] *Saugor District Gazetteer*, p. 237.

[2] See below, p. 171 and plate.

indicate that the record probably belongs to the middle of the eighth century A. D.[1] The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** does not call for any special notice.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Śiva. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Śaṅkaragaṇadēva** who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Vāmarājadēva.**[2] The **object** of the inscription is to record some meritorious work (*kīrti*) done by a lady named Krishṇadēvī for the religious merit of her mother and father. This appears to have been a temple which, as the opening words show, was probably dedicated to Śiva. If this conjecture is correct, the panel with the present inscription at the top may have been originally put up at the temple. The male and female figures in it are evidently intended to represent the father and the mother of the donor who herself is represented by a small female figure between them. She calls herself the wife of the illustrious Dēuka who was the son of a king whose name I have doubtfully read as Rāvārya. The latter was born in the family of Kalāirēya and was the Emperor of Kaśapura (Kāśīpura ?).[3]

The inscription contains no date, but as stated above, it may be assigned on palæographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century A. D. It is thus one of the earliest Kalachuri records in C. P. and Berar and is of the same age as the Chhoṭi Deori inscription which also belongs to the reign of the same Śaṅkaragaṇa. But apart from its age, the chief interest of the present inscription lies in this that it offers for the first time a satisfactory explanation of the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* which has till now baffled the attempts of scholars. As stated above, Śaṅkaragaṇa during whose reign it was put up meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* the illustrious Vāmarājadēva. A similar statement occurs in several later Kalachuri inscriptions in connection with five Kalachuri kings, *viz.,* Karṇa, Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasiṁha, Jayasiṁha and Vijayasiṁha,[4] with only this difference that the name of Vāmarājādēva is shortened into Vāmadēva. Again, in the records of some feudatory princes of Karkarēḍi (modern Kakreri in the Rewah State) the same statement occurs in the description of the contemporary Kalachuri Emperor,[5] with the addition of one more epithet, *viz., Paramamāhēśvara,* which is prefixed to Vāmadēva. The statement is again repeated in connection with the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman in the Rewah plates of his feudatory Kumārapālavarman.[6] Judging from other records, the expression *pād-ānudhyāta* should ordinarily indicate immediate succession such as that of a son to his father or of one brother to another. But Vāmadēva could not plainly have been the immediate predecessor of all these kings. A similar difficulty had presented itself in connection with some Valabhī records which mentioned that certain kings meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* the illustrious Bappa, but Dr. Fleet who noticed an analogous expression in the records of some other dynasties also, solved it satisfactorily by taking the statement to mean that these kings meditated on the feet of their father.[7] Such an

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[1] R. B. Hiralal also called this inscription the oldest Kalachuri record (in the Central Provinces), but he referred it to the fourth quarter of the ninth century A. D., as he thought that the king Śankaragaṇa mentioned in it was identical with the homonymous prince who was the son of Kōkalladēva (I). See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 49.

[2] R. B. Hiralal doubtfully read this name as *Vāgharājadēva. Ibid.,* p. 49. My personal examination of the record *in situ* has convinced me that the name is undoubtedly Vāmarājadēva.

[3] The horse and the groom are perhaps intended to indicate that Krishṇadēvī's father did not belong to the locality where the panel was put up, but had come from some distant place.

[4] Above, Vols. II, p. 309 and XI, p. 144 ; Vols. II, p. 5 and XII, p. 213 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 212 ; above, Vol XXI, p. 95 ; *J. A. S. B.,* Vol. XXXI, p. 119.

[5] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVII. pp. 224 ff.

[6] *Ibid.,* Vol. XVII, pp 230 ff.

[7] *Bappa* (*Bāp* in Marāṭhī) means father. See *C. I. I.,* Vol. III, pp. 186 ff, n. 1.

explanation is impossible in the present case as Vāmadēva does not denote the sense of any relative, but is apparently a proper name. Scholars have therefore offered several explanations of the expression **Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta**, some of which are noticed below :—

(1) In translating the Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa, R. B. Hiralal took Vāmadēva to be a name of Śiva. Most of the Kalachuri princes were devotees of Śiva.[1] The expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* could therefore have been used in the sense of 'meditating on the feet of Śiva'. But in all these records Vāmadēva is mentioned with the paramount titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* which are not known to have been used elsewhere in connection with the names of gods. It may perhaps be argued that the paramount titles were prefixed to the name of Vāmadēva (Śiva), because these Kalachuri kings believed that the kingdom belonged to the god and they only administered it on his behalf.[2] There is, however, no evidence of such a belief in any of their inscriptions. Besides, all these records describe the reigning king as *Paramamāhēśvara,* 'a devout worshipper of Śiva', which would thus be superfluous. Again, as already stated, Vāmadēva himself is called **Paramamāhēśvara** in the records of the Kakreri princes, which clearly shows that Vāmadēva was a devotee of Śiva, and not identical with Śiva himself.

(2) Dr. Barnett suggests that 'these princes who are called Vāmadēva were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that deity that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself'.[3] This would, in a way, explain the use of paramount titles as well as the epithet *Paramamāhēśvara* in connection with the name Vāmadēva, but it is doubtful if such a belief was current at the time. Besides, it is unlikely that *all* these princes were so fervent devotees of Śiva that they came to be identified with that god immediately after their death. There is certainly nothing to warrant it in the eulogistic portions of their successors' grants.

(3) It has been recently suggested that Vāmadēva was the name of a Śaiva ascetic. While editing the Malkāpuram stone pillar inscription[4] of Rudradēva (Rudrāmbā), Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu first put forward the conjecture that Vāmadēva was identical with the Śaiva pontiff Vāmaśambhu mentioned in that record. This inscription, which is dated Śaka 1183 (A. D. 1261-62), says that Vāmaśambhu's feet were caressed by the garlands on the heads of kings and that even now (*ady=āpi*) the Kalachuri kings are honoured for worshipping his feet.[5] This Vāmaśambhu was second in *spiritual* descent from Sadbhāvaśambhu, the founder of the Gōḷakī *maṭha* in the Ḍāhala country, who obtained the gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva.[6] Dr. D. C. Sircar has recently suggested that this Vāmaśambhu was the spiritual preceptor of the Kalachuri king Karṇa and flourished in the middle of the eleventh century A. D.[7] The description in the Malkāpuram inscription that even then (*i.e.*, in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.) the feet of Vāmaśambhu were worshipped by Kalachuri kings squares with the fact that the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs in almost all records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī from Karṇa downwards.

It is, however, doubtful how far the statements in the Malkāpuram inscription about the early Śaiva *āchāryas* of the Gōḷakī *maṭha* can be taken to be correct. The name of Sadbhāvaśambhu

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[1] Above, Vol. XII, p. 216.

[2] A similar belief is held by the Rāṇās of Udaipur and the kings of Travancore. The former believe that the kingdom belongs to the god Ēkaliṅgajī and the latter to Padmanābhasvāmin.

[3] H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 776.

[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff.

[5] अथ नृपशेखरमालालालितपादोत्र वामशंभुरभूत् ।
अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥

[6] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 157.

[7] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.

does not occur in any record of the time of the Kalachuris, nor is the magnificent gift of practically one third of the Ḍāhala country[1] mentioned in any of them. Further, it is not stated whether it was Yuvarājadēva I or Yuvarājadēva II who made this gift. Yuvarājadēva I is indeed known to have invited some Śaiva ascetics to his country,[2] but he and his queen Nōhalā[3] donated only a few villages to them. If the Śaiva pontiffs had obtained such a magnificent gift from the Kalachuri Emperor, they would, in all probability, have mentioned it in their records. As for Yuvarājadēva II, none of his gifts is indeed recorded, but it is certain that the Gōḷakī *maṭha* was founded long before his time, if it was identical with the hypaethral temple at Bherā-Ghāṭ near Jubbulpur;[4] for the inscriptions on the pedestals of the Yōginīs installed in it are in characters of about the beginning of the tenth century A. D.,[5] and therefore belong to the reign of Yuvarājadēva I, not to that of Yuvarājadēva II. Again, it is doubtful if Vāmaśambhu was a contemporary of Karṇa. The Malkāpuram inscription states that more than a thousand disciples and disciples' disciples of Vāmaśambhu lived in the Gōḷakī *maṭha* and that *in that line, in course of time*, there was Kīrtiśambhu, the disciple of Śaktiśambhu.[6] The tenor of the description suggests that Śaktiśambhu was separated from Vāmaśambhu by several generations of Śaiva pontiffs. From the Jubbulpur stone inscription of Vimalaśiva, however, which I have recently edited in this journal,[7] it appears clear that Śaktiśiva (who is plainly identical with Śaktiśambhu) was the *rājaguru* of Gayākarṇa. He must therefore have been separated from Vāmaśambhu or Vāmadēva, the supposed *rājaguru* of Gayākarṇa's grandfather Karṇa, by one generation only. Besides, the Malkāpuram inscription does not state why Vāmaśambhu was so much venerated by Kalachuri kings. Its statement that even in A. D. 1261 the Kalachuri kings were worshipping Vāmaśambhu's feet is not supported by what we know of the history of the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala. The last known Kalachuri king of Ḍāhala was Vijayasiṁha who was ruling in the Kalachuri year[8] 96(?) (circa 1210 A. D.). Within two or three years afterwards, we find the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman had annexed his kingdom and the Śaiva *āchārya* too had become his preceptor.[9] That the petty rulers who held parts of Ḍāhala continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chandēllas appears plain from the Īśvaramaū (Hiṇḍariā) inscription, dated V. 1344 (A. D. 1287) which mentions Vāghadēva as a feudatory of Bhōjavarman of Kālañjara.[10] It is therefore doubtful if there was any Kalachuri king ruling in Ḍāhala[11] in A. D. 1261 who in his records described himself as *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta*. For

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[1] In the *Skandapurāṇa* the Ḍāhala country is said to have contained nine lakhs of villages.

[2] The Śaiva *āchārya* invited by Yuvarājadēva I was named Prabhāvaśiva, above, Vols. XXI, p. 149, and XXII, p. 130.

[3] The Śaiva *āchārya* to whom Nōhalā made gifts of villages was Īśvaraśiva, above, Vol. I, p. 238.

[4] R. B. Hiralal identified the Gōḷakī *maṭha* with this temple at Bherā-Ghāṭ. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 137-40.

[5] The characters of these inscriptions are much earlier than those of the Bilhāri stone inscription which belongs to the reign of Yuvarājadēva II. See also, Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), p. 78.

[6] तस्मिन्मठे तस्य गुरोर्बभूवुश्शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्च पर[:*]सहस्राः । विनिग्रहीतुं समनुग्रहीतुं
क्षोणीश्वरान्दक्षकटाक्षपातैः ॥ इत्थं काले याति सत्संप्रदाये सन्तानेस्मिन्नर्थिसन्तानकल्पे ।
शैवाम्भोधेश्शक्तिशम्भोरुदाराच्छिष्यः श्रीमान् कीर्त्तिशम्भुर्बभूव ॥

[7] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 312.

[8] The last figure of the date is illegible. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has read it as 2. *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

[9] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff. See the expression *tri-śati(tī)-rājy-ādhipati-śrīmat-Trailōkyamalla-pād-a(ā)rchchana-rataḥ* which is incorrect for—*Trailōkyamall-ārchitapādaḥ* in l. 12 of the Rewah plates of Trilōkyamalladēva, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

[10] Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 56.

[11] The kings of Ḍāhala defeated by the Yādava princes Singhaṇa and Rāmachandra appear to be Chandēllas and not the Kalachuris as I had thought before.

all these reasons I am inclined to look with suspicion on the statements in the Malkāpuram inscription about the early Śaiva pontiffs of the Gōḷakī *maṭha*.[1] Even if Vāmadēva was a Śaiva pontiff, the use of imperial titles in connection with him would be difficult to explain, for we have not till now come across a single instance of the assumption of such titles by spiritual teachers.

An insuperable objection to the identification of Vāmadēva with Vāmaśambhu is that the former is mentioned with the same imperial titles in the present inscription which is nearly three centuries *earlier* than the time of Karṇa whose *rājaguru* Vāmaśambhu is supposed to be. The form Vāmarājadēva of his name which occurs here plainly indicates that he was a king and not a Śaiva pontiff. In a subsequent record the name Vāmarājadēva was probably contracted into Vāmadēva which seems to have been copied in all later inscriptions.[2]

When did this Vāmarāja flourish? Though the present inscription states that Śaṅkaragaṇa meditated on his feet, it would be rash to assert that he was his immediate predecessor: for we find the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* repeated in connection with as many as five other kings. The history of Ḍāhala or modern Bāghelkhaṇḍ after the overthrow of the Uchchakalpa and Parivrājaka Mahārājas is enveloped in obscurity. Towards the close of the sixth and in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. the Kalachuris were ruling over an extensive empire comprising Malwa, Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāshṭra from their capital Māhishmatī. After the defeat of Buddharāja by Pulakēśin II they seem to have remained for some time in obscurity:[3] for we have no information about the successors of Buddharāja. As the Chālukyas and thereafter the Rāshṭrakūṭas were supreme in the south from the seventh century onwards, the Kalachuris seem to have turned their attention to the north where there was no great king to check their advance after the death of Harsha in A. D. 647. Vāmadēva seems to be the founder of this northern Kalachuri power. He overran Bundelkhaṇḍ and Bāghelkhaṇḍ and established himself at Kālañjara, the impregnable fort in the Banda District, 90 miles west-south-west of Allahabad. This fort has from very ancient times been sacred to Śiva. It is mentioned as one of the nine holy places in north India. In the fifth century A. D. it was in the occupation of Udayana, the founder of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty, who was probably a feudatory of the Maukharis.[4] The subsequent history of

[1] As shown before, Śaktiśambhu and his disciple Kīrtiśambhu are probably identical with Śaktiśiva and Kīrtiśiva. The latter's successor Vimalaśiva is also mentioned in a Kalachuri record. Other names do not agree.

[2] Vāmadēva was not an ancestor of the Chandēllas. It may therefore be asked how his name is mentioned in connection with the Chandēlla prince Trailōkyavarman in a record of his feudatory Kumārapālavarman of Karkarēḍi. The ancestors of Kumārapālavarman were the feudatories of the Kalachuris. Two of their records, which have been published, naturally contain the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* in connection with the name of their suzerain. The drafter who wrote the aforementioned grant of Kumārapālavarman has blindly copied the expression from the earlier records of the family and used it to describe the Chandēlla suzerain. It may be noted that he has done the same in regard to the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati* also which is not met with in the records of the Chandēllas themselves.

The identification of Vāmadēva was discussed by me in an article entitled 'Vāmadēva, An Early Kalachuri King' in the *F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume*, pp. 152 ff. Dr. D. C. Sircar has recently objected to the identification of Vāmarājadēva with Vāmadēva on the ground that 'it is difficult to believe that Vāmarājadēva of the Saugor record was remembered after full three centuries by Karṇa and his successors who called themselves *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* in their records.' (*New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, pp. 36-7). In this connection we must remember that the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* generally occurs in the copper-plate grants of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The earliest known official grant of the Kalachuris of Tripurī is the Benares copper-plate inscription of Karṇa. In the absence of the grants of earlier kings it is not safe to assume that Vāmadēva was forgotten in the meanwhile.

[3] They seem to have tried to rehabilitate themselves during the reign of the Chālukya Vinayāditya, but the attempt was not attended by success and they were reduced to the same state of servitude as the Āḷuvas, Gaṅgas and others, who had already become the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas.

[4] A stone inscription of this king recording the erection of a temple of Vishṇu has been found at Kālañjara, Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and pl. IX. His descendants removed to Chhattīsgarh where we find them ruling in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D.

the fort is not clear until its occupation by the Kalachuris. It seems to have remained in their possession up to the end of the eighth century A. D. Afterwards it was occupied successively by the Pratihāras,[1] Rāshṭrakūṭas,[2] Chandēllas[3] and Muhammadans,[4] but the connection of the Kalachuris with the fort was remembered for a long time. The Kaḷachuryas of South India mention in their records with pride the title *Kālañjara-pura-var-ādhīśvara* 'the lord of Kālañjara, the best of cities.'[5] This, like other similar titles, must be interpreted to mean that these princes were descended from a Kalachuri king who formerly ruled at Kālañjara.

The Kahlā plates of Sōḍhadēva state that an illustrious Kalachuri prince established himself at Kālañjara from where he raided and conquered Ayōmukha (modern Partabgarh and Rai Bareli Districts of the U. P.).[6] We are further told that having defeated his enemies, he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja. As I have shown elsewhere,[7] this Lakhmaṇarāja was identical with the first prince of that name mentioned in the Kasiā stone inscription.[8] As the great-grandson of the latter, *viz.*, Lakshmaṇarāja II *alias* Rājaputra, flourished about A. D. 775, Lakshmaṇarāja I can be placed in *circa* A. D. 700. The elder brother who placed him in charge of the territory round Kālañjara is unfortunately not named in the Kahlā plates, but in view of what has been said above, he may be identified with Vāmarāja. Vāmarāja may therefore be referred to the close of the seventh century A. D.

Vāmarāja thus ruled over a large kingdom extending from the Gumti in the north to the Narmadā in the south and comprising the modern Bundelkhaṇḍ and Bāghelkhaṇḍ. the Saugor and Jubbulpur Districts of the Central Provinces and the central portion of the United Provinces. He assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara.* As the founder of the northern Kalachuri empire, he seems to have been held in great veneration by all his successors who ruled at Tripurī and so we find it stated in almost all subsequent official records that they meditated on his feet. As no records of his time have yet been discovered, we have no further knowledge of the political events of his reign.

Since the time of Vāmarāja, the Kalachuris came to be known as Chaidyas or lords of the Chēdi country. As Pargiter has shown, Chēdi was orignally the name of the country along the southern bank of the Jumna from the Chambal on the northwest to the Karvi (which flows north-east of Chitrakūṭa) on the south-east. Its limits southwards were the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhaṇḍ.[9] In later times Chēdi came to signify the modern province of Bāghelkhaṇḍ which remained in the possession of the Kalachuris till their downfall. Vāmarāja seems to have transferred his capital from Māhishmatī to Tripurī, modern Tewar, 6 miles from Jubbulpur. This city dates back to very ancient times. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and is also known from very rare copper coins with the legend *Tipuri* (Sanskrit, Tripurī) in Brāhmī characters of the late third or early second century B. C.[10] Varāhamihira places the city in the south-eastern division[11]

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[1] The Barah plate of Bhōjadēva shows that in the beginning of the ninth century A. D. the Kālañjara-maṇḍala was ruled over by Śarvavarman who was a feudatory of Nāgabhata II.

[2] In the tenth century A. D. the Pratihāras lost both Chitrakūta and Kālañjara which were occupied by the Rāshtrakūtas probably during the northern campaign of Indra III. The two forts were in the occupation of the Rāshṭrakūtas in the time of Kṛishṇa III. Above, Vol. V, p. 194.

[3] According to the Khajuraho stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp. 127-28) the fort of Kālañjara was occupied by the Chandēllas during the reign of Yaśōvarman (circa A. D. 930-950).

[4] It was taken by Kutub-ud-din Aibak in April A. D. 1203, but was soon recovered by the Chandēllas.

[5] See, *e.g.*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 330.

[6] Above, Vol. VII, p. 89.

[7] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 259.

[8] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 128 ff.

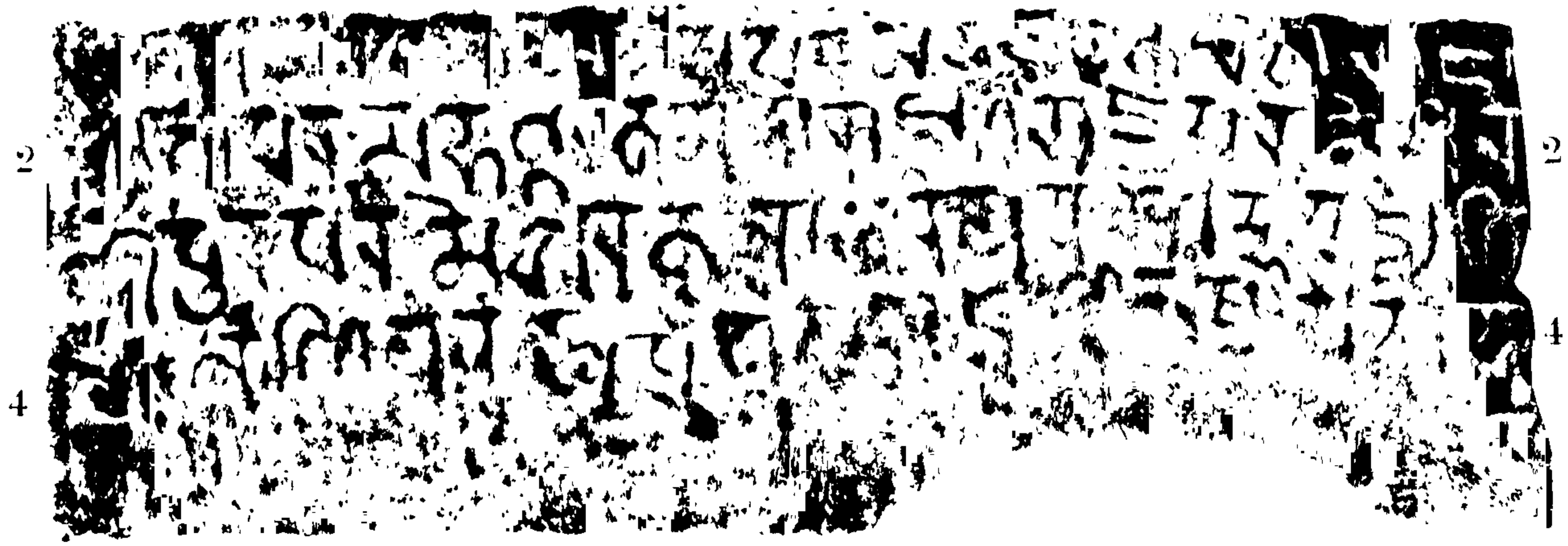
[9] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 249 ff.

[10] Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient Coins, Introduction*, p. cxl.

[11] *Bṛihatsamhitā*, adhyāya XIV, v. 9.

SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA

Left Half



Right Half



B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36 – 475 '48.

SCALE: THREE-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

and Hēmachandra calls it Chēdi-nagarī 'the capitlal of the Chēdi country'. The surrounding country called Traipura is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* [1] and the *Matsyapurāṇa*.[2] The Tripurī *vishaya* (the district of Tripurī) is mentioned in the Betul plates of Saṅkshōbha as situated in the Ḍabhālā (*i.e.*, Ḍāhala) country, which was under the rule of the Parivrājaka kings down to A. D. 528 at least. It is, however, not known who was ruling the country when Vāmarāja invaded it and annexed it to his kingdom.

Two or three generations seem to have separated Vāmarāja from Śaṅkaragaṇa. We do not know the names of the princes who ruled in the meanwhile. Perhaps Māyurāja, the author of the Sanskrit play *Udāttarāghava* was one of them. He is described by Rājaśēkhara as the best Kalachuri poet.[3] Another Sanskrit poet Bhīmaṭa whom Rājaśēkhara mentions as the lord of Kālañjara perhaps belonged to the same royal family. Rājaśēkhara tells us that he composed five plays of which *Svapnadaśānana* was judged to be the best.[4]

Śaṅkaragaṇa during whose reign the present inscription was put up belonged to the main Tripurī branch of the great Kalachuri dynasty. He must therefore be distinguished from the homonymous princes mentioned in the Kasiā stone inscription and the Kahlā plates, who were ruling over the Gorakhpur District. This Śaṅkaragaṇa is, again, the earliest prince of this name in the Tripurī branch and may therefore be called Śaṅkaragaṇa I. Two other princes of the same name ruled at Tripurī, *viz.*, (i) Śaṅkaragaṇa II who bore the *birudas Mugdhatuṅga*, *Prasiddhadhavala* and *Raṇavigraha*[5] and was the son and successor of Kōkalla I, and (ii) Śaṅkaragaṇa III[6] who was the son and successor of Lakshmaṇarāja II and the elder brother of Yuvarājadēva II. The former may be referred to the period *circa* A. D. 890—910 and the latter to *circa* A. D. 970—980.

TEXT[7]

1 सिद्धिः[8] [।*] ओं नमः शिवाय । [स्वस्ति] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा[ज]पर[मे]श्वरश्रीवा-[म[9]]राजदेवपा[दानु]-

2 [ध्या]त ।[10] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्व]रश्रीशङ्करगणदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये क-

3 [श]पुरपरमेश्वरकलाइरेयवंशोद्भवज्योतिस(स्स)न्ततिरा[वा]र्यराजपुत्रश्रीदेउक[:*] । तस्ये(स्यै)व भा-

4 र्या लोणियवंशे प्र[सूता राज्ञी] श्रीकृष्ण[दे]वी या [चै]तौ[11] मातापितृपुण्ये[12] क्षितितले कीर्त्ति प्रख्या-

5 पयतिः[13] । [14]तवालोका म...॥

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[1] Sabhāparvan (Chitraśālā Press), adhyāya, XXXI, v. 60.

[2] *Matsyapurāṇa*, adhyāya 114, v. 53

[3] *Sūktimuktāvali* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 46 : *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLI, pp. 139 ff.

[4] *Sūktimuktāvali*, p. 46.

[5] He is called Śankaragaṇa and Raṇavigraha in some Rāshṭrakūṭa records. His *birudas Mugdhatunga* and *Prasiddhadhavala* are mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Benares plates respectively.

[6] He is mentioned in the Kārītalāī stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II as well as in the Benares plates. See also above, Vol. XXV, p. 280.

[7] From the original stone and inked estampages. I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. L. Rao for the readings of a few words in this transcript.

[8] Expressed by a symbol.

[9] The loop on the left of this *akshara* has now become somewhat indistinct, but it is there.

[10] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[11] The context requires a reading like *ch=aitan=mātā-pitri* ..

[12] One would expect a reading like *puṇy-ārthaṁ* here.

[13] This *visarga* is superfluous. Notice that a similar *visarga* occurs at the end of the Chhoṭi Deori record, below, p. 172.

[14] I am not certain about these eight *aksharas* at the end of the present record.

TRANSLATION.

Success : Ōm ! Adoration to Śiva ! Hail ! During the increasingly victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmarājadēva—

(There is) the illustrious Dēūka, the son of Rāvāryarāja, the mass of light sprung from the family of Kalāirēya (*who is*) the *Paramēśvara* (*ruler*) of Kaśapura. The wife of the same is the queen, the illustrious Kṛishṇadēvī, born in the family of Lōṇiya, who announces this meritorious work (*kīrti*)[1] on the surface of the earth, for the religious merit of these, (*her*) mother and father...

No. 30—CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

This inscription was first brought to notice by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India Report* for 1883-84. He again referred to it in the next year's report and published a lithograph of it.[2] The inscription was subsequently noticed by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in Mr. Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India* for 1903-4, p. 54, and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.[3] Though noticed several times, the inscription has defied all attempts at interpretation; for, Cunningham was told that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit. Dr. Bhandarkar also has remarked: 'What the language of the inscription is cannot be made out.' The inscription is edited here for the first time from ink impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

Chhoṭi Deori (Small Deori) is situated on the left bank of the Ken, about 16 miles to the west of Jokāhi, in the Murwārā *tahsīl* of the Jubbulpur District in the Central Provinces. The village is so called probably to distinguish it from the larger village named Deori which lies about five miles to the west. It is also called Māḍhā Deori on account of a number of small temples (*maṭhīs*), from thirty to forty in number, which lie buried in dense jungle. According to Cunningham, all these were most probably Śaiva shrines. The pillar on which the present inscription is incised must have also belonged to a Śaiva temple as is indicated by its contents. 'The pillar is 7 feet 2 inches high and 1 foot square. The inscription of 11 lines is near the top; in the middle there are two seated figures, male and female,[4] and below there is a standing male figure.'[5]

As stated above, the inscription consists of eleven lines. It covers a space 1′ ½″ broad by 1′ 2″ high. It is in a state of fair preservation. The **characters** belong to the proto-Nāgarī alphabet, resembling those of the Saugor stone inscription.[6] They are very carelessly written. Several groups of *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated in ll.4 and 5 as well as in ll.10 and 11. The marks for the medial vowels and *visarga* are omitted in many cases. The form of *kh* in *khaṁ[ḍ]a-*, l.4, *likhataṁ*, l.9, and *likhitaṁ*, l.10 is peculiar. It resembles somewhat the conjunct *ksha*, with

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[1] This probably refers to the temple of Śiva where the inscribed panel was apparently put up.

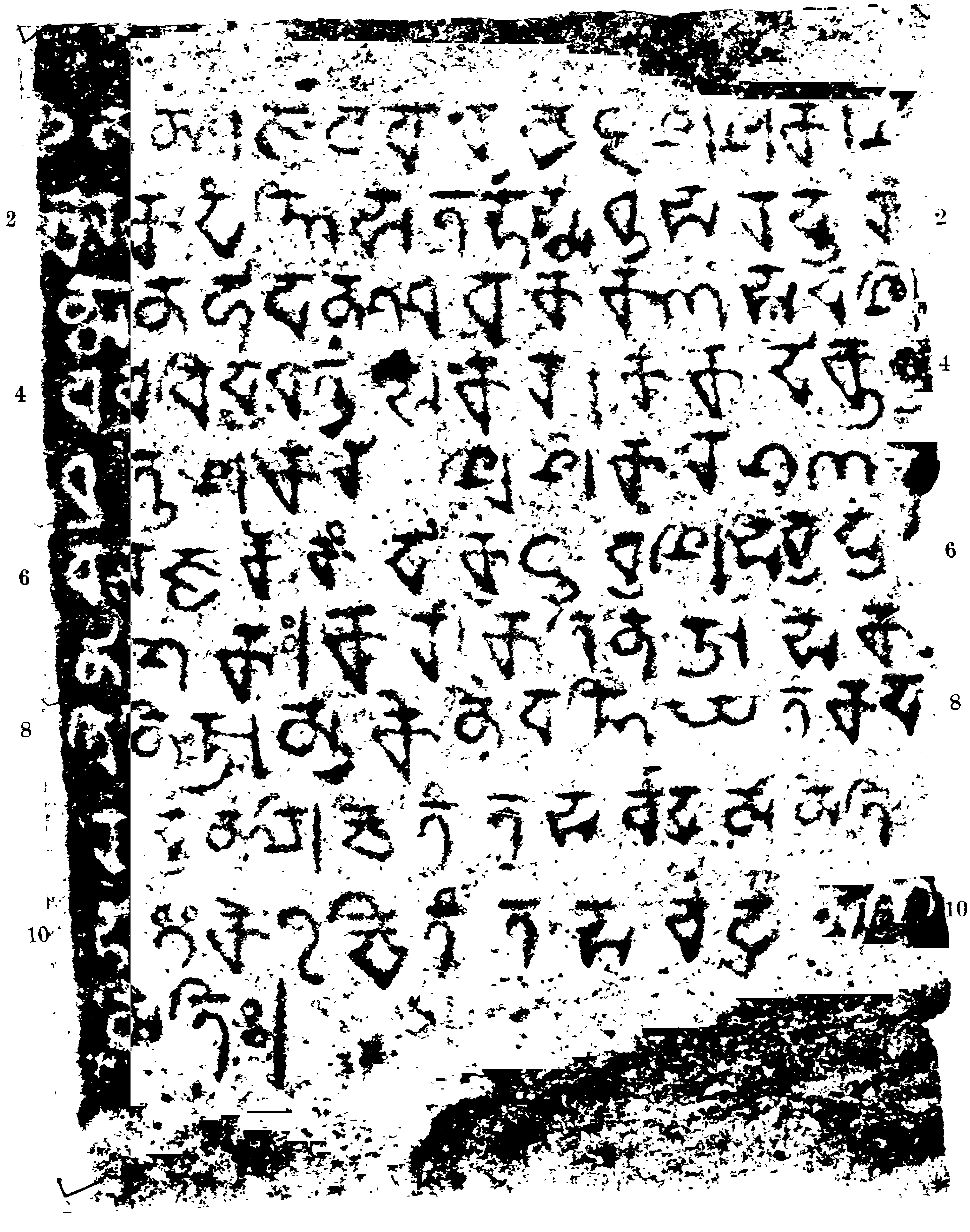
[2] Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 100 and 159, plate XXVIII.

[3] Second edition, p. 38.

[4] R. D. Banerji identified these with Śiva and Pāravatī. See his *Haihayas of Tripurī*, etc., (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), p. 77.

[5] Cunningham *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 100. For a photograph of the pillars see R. D. Banerji *Haihayas of Tripurī*, etc., plate XXVIII.

[6] Above, pp. 163 ff.



SCALE: ONE-HALF

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36 - 475'48

this difference that the lower curve is turned to the left instead of to the right. The form of *p* in *kapali*, l.2 and *puna*, l.9, which closely resembles that of *d* is also noteworthy. *L* has three different shapes in *lighataṁ*, l.8, *likhataṁ*, l.9 and *likhitaṁ*, l.10. The form of *ś*, the left limb of which has developed a curve separated from the vertical on the right and that of *k* which has a triangle on the left show that the inscription is not earlier than the seventh century A.D. On the other hand, *j*, though slanting, has not yet turned its middle horizontal bar into a vertical: *d* and *r* show no tail and the upper part of *p* is not closed. In these respects the characters of the present inscription show a much earlier stage than those of the Kārītalāī stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja I, dated K. 593 (A.D. 841-42).[1] It does not, therefore, appear to be later than the middle of the eighth century A.D.[2]

The **language** is very incorrect Sanskrit, being probably influenced by the local dialect. *Vishayē* for instance is written as *vuśē*, l.6, and *haïke* used in the sense of *iha*. Except for a verse in praise of Śiva, the whole record is in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any special notice.

After the opening *Siddhiḥ namaḥ*, the inscription has a verse in praise of Śiva which indicates that the temple to which the inscribed pillar belonged must have been dedicated to Śiva. We are next told that during the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa, there was Chuṭu Nāgaka in (charge of) the *vishaya* of Kakandakuṭu. The next two lines are somewhat obscure, but they seem to record his donation of a granary (*kadaru*, Sanskrit *kridara*) in Karīkatin and Asēkatin which appear to be the names of two villages in the neighbourhood.

From the palaeography of the present inscription detailed above, it is clear that the king **Śaṅkaragaṇa** mentioned in it is identical with the homonymous ruler mentioned in the Saugor stone inscription. As shown in the article on that inscription, he probably flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D.

There are three place-names mentioned in the present record, but none of them can be satisfactorily identified. **Kakandakuṭu** may be identical with Khuṭunda about 6 miles to the east of Deori, if we suppose that the original name has lost its initial part. **Karīkatin**, which in its initial portion resembles Kārītalāī (situated about 30 miles to the east), is perhaps represented by Khurai, 4 miles to the south of Deori Māḍhā. **Asēkatin** cannot be identified.

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धिः[4] [।*] नमः [।*] जटाधर[:*] खं[ड]शशं[5](शां)का ।[6] [शे]-

2 [ख]र[:*] कप(पा)लि(ल)[माल:*] स(सि)तभस्मंधु(धू)सर[7][:*] दुरा-

3 त्मनहा[8] पनगध[र]ककण[9] सब(दा) शि-

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 255 ff.

[2] Cunningham thought that the characters of the inscription are perhaps as early as the 7th century. See his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 159. R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, identified the king Śankaragaṇa mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Lakshmaṇarāja (II) whom he placed in the middle of the tenth century A. D. See his *Haihayas of Tripurī*, etc. (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), p. 13. But the characters of the inscription are too early for such a late date.

[3] From inked estampages.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] The *anusvāra* on *kha* and *śa* is very faint.

[6] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[7] What looks like an *anusvāra* on *bha* and *ra* is a fault in the stone.

[8] Read *durātmahā*.

[9] Perhaps *pannaga-dhāri-kaṁkaṇaḥ* is intended, but it does not yield a good sense. Read *pannaga-hasta-kaṅkaṇaḥ*.

4 वं व(वो) विदध(धा)तु सं(शं)कर[:*]। [।१॥*][1] क[2]कदकुटु-

5 धुतु शकर[3] श्रि(श्री)शंकरगणदे-

6 वरज्य(राज्ये) ककंदकुटुवुशे[4] सि(श्री)चु[टु[5]]

7 नागकः । करीकतिनि असेक-

8 तिनि अमुकेनैव[6] लिधतं[7] कद-

9 रु[8] पुन लि ।[9] खतं त[10] सवं प्रमामिति[11][।*]

10 हइके[12] लिखितं त[10] सवं प्रम(मा)ण-

11 मितिः[13] ।

TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration!

(Verse 1) May that Śaṅkara,—who wears matted hair, who has the crescent moon on his head, who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroys the evil-minded, who has a bracelet of serpents —always cause your welfare!

(Line 4) During the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa (*there is*) the illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka in (*charge of*) the *vishaya* of Kakandakuṭu.

(Line 7) He has himself recorded (*the gift of*) a granary in (*the villages of*) Karīkatin and Asēkatin. It is again written that all that is authoritative. Whatever is written here is authoritative.

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[1] Metre: *Vaṁśastha*. Some of the epithets of Śiva in this stanza occur in the following verse in lines 8 and 9 of an unpublished stone inscription of Brahmadēva from Raipur, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum.

जटाध[रं] खंडशशांकशेखरं सदामहापन्नगवस्र(स्त्र)कंकणं(णम्) [।*]

कपालमालासितभ[स्म]भूख(ष)णं न पुन्य(ण्य)हि(ही)ना[:*] प्रणमंति शंकरं(रम्) ॥

[2] There is a curve on this *akshara* here and in line 6 where the same name is repeated. The word is superfluous here.

[3] These five *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated.

[4] Read *Kakandakuṭu-vishayē*. The name of this *vishaya* is written as *Kakadakuṭu* in line 4.

[5] I am not certain about this letter. It differs from *ṭa* which occurs in lines 4 and 6 in that it has a horizontal stroke at the top and has not a perfectly round back. Nor is it exactly like *d*, for the form of which, see *durānmanahā*, ll. 2-3.

[6] *Amukēn=aiva* seems to be written here in the sense of *amun=aiva*.

[7] Read *likhitam*.

[8] The medial *u* of *ru* is very faint. Read *kridaram*. This word occurs in another Kalachuri record discovered at Bargaon, not far from the findspot of the present inscription. See above, Vol. XXV, p. 280.

[9] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read *punar-likhitaṁ*.

[10] Read *tat*.

[11] Read *sarvaṁ pamāṇam=iti*.

[12] This appears to be a Prakrit word meaning *iha*.

[13] This *visarga* is superfluous.

No. 31—BONANGI COPPER-PLATE GRANT ; SAKA 1508

G. RAMADAS, JEYPORE

Sewell in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* Vol. I, p. 13, gives the following note under Śṛiṅgavarapukōṭa :—

" Bōnaṅgi ;—6 miles north-east of Śṛiṅgavarapukōṭa. A copper-plate grant in possession of Karikari Jānki Rāmayya. It records a grant in Śaka 1508 (=A.D. 1586) to a Brahman by a local chief."

Several times I tried to see it but failed. I found it noticed as No. 3 of Appendix A of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1937-38. On my request the Government Epigraphist lent me the excellent impressions of the said plate and I now edit the same from those impressions.

The **language** of the record is Telugu written in Telugu **characters**. The few peculiarities in the script will be shown in the foot-notes to the text. It is written on a single plate about $5\frac{1}{4}''$ by $3\frac{1}{2}''$. The mode of writing is peculiar to the copper-plate charters issued by the Nandapur Bhūpatis and their vassals. The first three lines of the record which give the date of the gift are written lengthwise on the obverse and the writing, which is breadthwise thereafter, then continues on the reverse of the plate. The donor's name, the donees and the object of the gift are mentioned there. The concluding part of the record again runs on to the obverse.

The document begins with an invocation to Umāmahēśvara. It is **dated** Śaka 1508, Vyaya, Māg[h]a ba. 14, Monday. But the details do not correspond to any date in the month of Māgha in Vyaya. In the previous year (Pārthiva), however, they do work out correctly for Monday, 7th February A. D. 1586, the month being *amānta*.

The donor was Vijaya-Raṇa-siṁha Chaubaḷa-Mahāpātra Śrī-Soṭrāvu Vīra-Uddaṇḍa-Rāya. Raṇa-siṁha means a lion in fight ; Chaubaḷa-Mahāpātra seems to stand for the leader of the four sections of the army;[1] Soṭrāvu appears to be a contraction of Chhōṭa (small) Rawoot (horseman), Rawoot being a title conferred on a person who performed a valiant deed. Gāṇadēva of Koṇḍavīḍu was made a Rawoot-rāya when he vanquished two Mahomedan warriors :

" Rājā Gāṇa-mahīpatiḥ samudabhūt=tasmān=mahī-va[llabhād=bā]hubhyāṁ vi[ji]tau [Tu]rushka-nṛipatī tad=rautarāy=āhvayaḥ" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol XX, p. 391, text ll.19-20).

This Uddaṇḍa-Rāya was a minor warrior. Uddaṇḍa was his personal name. With his epithets expanded and re-arranged, his name mentioned in the record under review would read ' Chhōṭa-Rawoot-Rāya Vīra-Uddaṇḍa Chaubaḷa-Mahāpātra '.

On pages 469-70 of Vol. III of the *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* by Briggs, a certain Rawoot-Rāya is referred to in the following terms :

" Rawoot Row, a petty rājā in the command of a body of cavalry and infantry, and who was famed for his courage, had sometime before joined, and subsequently acted in concert with Ameen-ool-Mulk ; but being offended at some orders issued by him, Rawoot Row quitted the King's camp without permission, and afterwards induced Hurrychundur to quit it also, and to unite with him in an attempt to establish Hurrychundur in the government of his ancestors at Cossimcota. The first display of open violence evinced by Rawoot Row was to collect a force of ten thousand infantry, with which he made night attacks on the King's army, whose vengeance they escaped by taking shelter in the woods and fastnesses in that strong country. They were, however, pursued ; and in a skirmish which took place Rawoot Row lost his life by an arrow-wound. "

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[1] *Chau* is a contraction for *chaturanga, ratha,—gaja,— turaga,—padātayaḥ*—chariots, elephants, horses and footmen. These are the four sections of an army. So Chaubaḷa Mahāpātra means ' the leader of the army composed of four sections'.

This extract furnishes us with an account of Rawoot Row who may be identical with the Mahāpātra Sotrāvu of our inscription. The dates of the several events narrated above, which would have helped us to confirm the identity are not given. Nevertheless it is possible to work out these dates.

Quli Kootb Shah determined to remove his seat of government to a newly built town in A. D. 1589. Many years elapsed without any war taking place. The king thereafter extended his conquests south of the Krishṇā. His war with an impostor who claimed to be the eldest son of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and the wars with the younger Mukunda Bhay-bulundar as well as with the king of Beejanagar[1] must have occupied him some eight years, *i.e.*, up to 1597 A. D.

An inscription at Śrīkūrmam[2] records the subjugation of Bhay-bulundar and other Hindu rājas. It says :

"Commanded by Hazarat Mahomad Quli Padshah, Motab Daulat, etc., Ameen-ool-mulk defeated Mukunda Bāhubalēndra and Vidyādhara, as they refused to pay tribute to the king, and killed Sarvarāja and other great men in the battle fought near Chintapalli ghāṭ.[3] Mukunda Bāhubalēndra and Vidyādhara ran away leaving their territories and he pursued them as far as Bāṇapuram (Bānpūr). While returning he halted at Śrīkūrmam in the Śaka year 1521, Vikāri, Chaitra ba. 10, Tuesday."[4] The details of the date correspond to A. D. 1599, April 10, Tuesday.

Allowing about a year for the Mahomedan leader to pursue the fugitives as far as Bānpūr and return to Śrīkūrmam, we may consider that the **battle of Chintapalli,** which is not mentioned by Briggs, was fought in about A. D. 1598. **Our Uddaṇḍa-Rāya Mahāpātra may have been one of those that fell in the battle or after it.**

The record under review says that a piece of land, eight *garises* in extent, in the village of Bōṇaṅgi located in the Tālru-maṇḍala of the *mokhāsa-samatu* Dēvupalli ' was given away.

The village Bōṇaṅgi is about 6 miles from Śriṅgavarapukōṭa, the headquarters of a Revenue Taluk in the Vizagapatam District. Tālru that gave its name to the *maṇḍala*, is not found in the map. It may be a contraction of Taṇḍraṅgi, a village which is mentioned in a few inscriptions of Siṁhāchalam and which is 6 miles S. E. of Bōṇaṅgi. Dēvupalli is 18°15′ N. Lat. and 82°50′ E. Long. and is about 5 miles S. W. of Gajapatinagaram. The *mokhāsa* of this chief extended from Dēvupalli in the north along the foot of the ghāṭs to the upper course of the river Śāradā. In this region lie Dēvupalli, Gōpālapalli, Śriṅgavarapukōṭa, Lakkavarapukōṭa and other places, all of which were fastnesses indicative of the military strength of the country.

This hilly region is full of Śiva temples and waterfalls. Near Śriṅgavarapukōṭa is Puṇyagiri, a place of pilgrimage especially on the Śivarātri day. A perennial stream of water falls from a rock about 20 ft. high on a thousand *liṅgas* below. Four miles to the South-East of Śriṅgavarapukōṭa is Dharmavaram where a Jaina image[5] in *Kāyōtsarga* posture is worshipped as *Sanyāsi-ayya*. Up to the loins the whole of the lower part of the image is buried under ground. The portion above ground is about 3 ft. high. The whole image, when taken out stands about 6 feet. Women desirous of progeny make offerings to this Sanyāsayya and if they are blessed with offspring, the child is named Sanyāsi or Sanyāsi-amma according to its sex.

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[1] Briggs : *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol. III, pp. 451-469. There was a Bāhubalēndra family to the south of the Krishṇā.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1312. This Mukunda Bāhubalēndra was quite different from the one mentioned above He was the Chief of Casimkōṭa.

[3] Chintapalli is (82° 22′ E. long. 19° 50′ N. Lat.) in the Golakonda agency, Vizagapatam District.

[4] The same event appears to have been referred to in another record dated Śaka 1526, also from Śrīkūrmam, (No. 1260 of *S. I.I.*, Vol. V.)

[5] Digambara. It is not possible to identify the Tīrthaṅkara as the crest on the pedestal is underground. The head is bald as is the case with all Jaina images in this posture.

The **sign-manual** consists of two parts : the first looks like the Telugu syllable Vṛī ; it cannot be taken to be the initial letter of the name of the donor : nor can it be understood to be Śrī[1] for the main letter in the centre has no form of *s*. The second one is the sign of a weapon, one end of which has a *trident* and the other a *lance* : the handle in the middle is shown in a spiral. This may be the crest of the donor himself. Regarding this kind of sign-manual generally found in the charters issued by the Oriya rulers and chiefs, I propose to write more elaborately when writing on the charters of the rulers of Nandapur.

TEXT

First Side ; lengthwise

1 Śrī Vu(U)mā-mahēśvara (a small circle and a line)
2 Svasti Śrī [||*] Śakādba(bda)ḥ 1508 kāṁgānu agunēṭi
3 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsara Māga(gha) ba 14 Sō

Second Side ; breadthwise

4 Vijaya-Raṇa-si(si)ṁhva(ha) Chauba-
5 ḷa-Mahāpātra Śrī-Soṭrā-
6 vu Vi(vī)ra-Vu(U)ddaṇḍa-Rāyiniṅggā-
7 ru Kukkara Gōpāḷa-Śāsturlla-
8 gāriki dayaśāyan=audhariṁchchi[2]-
9 na bhūdāna dharma-śāsana-paṭṭa
10 nirnnayamu | mā mokhāsā
11 samatu Dēvupalli śima(sīma)
12 Tālru || maṁ || Bōṇaṁggi[2]lō-
13 nu Nēreḍu karrivāni yintuvā[3]
14 guḍḍelu meṭṭupallālu ga 8
15 yenimidi gariśela bhūmi
16 arppitamu[4]
17 ganu yistimi ganaka chervu
18 chēskuni virivigā bha(ba)laparuchu-
19 kr(ko)ni aṁdduvalla phalasāyaṁ mī
20 putra-pautra-pāraṁparyaya[5] ṁ anu-

First Side ; breadthwise

21 bhaviṁstu vuṁḍḍi(ḍḍē)di [||*]Svadattā[d*]=
22 dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ pa-
23 radatt-ānupālanaṁ (nam) [|*] para-
24 datt-ā apa(āpa)hārēṇa sva-
25 dattaṁ nishphalaṁ bhavē-
26 t || (sign-manual)

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[1] cf. *Śrī* in ll. 1, 2 and 5.

[2] The consonant after *anusvāra* is doubled.

[3] Read *yistuva*.

[4] Some blank space is left in the beginning of this line : perhaps this line is to be understood to read in continuation of the first line Śrī Umāmahēśvara, both together meaning 'dedicated to the god Umāmahēśvara.

[5] The second *ya* is redundant. [Perhaps the intended reading is *pāraṁparyaṁ*.—Ed.]

No. 32—KOLHAPUR PLATES OF SILAHARA GANDARADITYA ; SAKA 1037

(*1 Plate*)

G. H. KHARE, POONA

The set of copper plates which I edit here belonged originally to Mr. R. N. Apte, Principal (now retired), Rajaram College, **Kolhapur**. He handed it over to the late Prof. K. B. Pathak, who entrusted it to me with a tentative reading of the same. I edited it in Marāṭhī some years ago in the *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, pp. 33 ff. I re-edit it here for the benefit of a wider circle of scholars.

The set consists of **three plates** measuring $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{8}''$ strung on a circular ring with a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}''$. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a rimmed rectangular **seal**, which bears in relief the figure of a flying *Garuḍa* facing front, with a cobra in his left hand. The first and the third plates are written on the inner side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is well preserved. The whole set together with the ring and the seal weighs 278 *tolas*.

The record is written in Kanarese **script** of the 12th century A.D. and calls for only a few remarks. The writing in general resembles that of the Śilāhāra Mārasiṁha's grant of Ś. 980.[1] Initial short *i* has two forms, the one in *ity-ākhyāṁ* (1.29) and *iti grāma* (1.47), and the other in *Iḍuvarādityaḥ* (1.41). The Dravidian *ṟ* occurs only in one place, *viz., Maṟuvakka* (1.39). The end of most of the stanzas is marked by a spiral, sometimes ornamental. The stops of the prose portions in lines 50 and 61 are also indicated by spirals.

The **orthography** has some peculiarities. Lingual *ḷ* is generally substituted for dental *l*; but in some words such as *Lakshmī, Mahālakshmī, Gōṅkala, Gūvala, Bhillama, Ballāḷa*, the dental *l* is retained. The *upadhmānīya* which resembles *sha* is found in two places : *tanayaḥ=pratāpa-* (1.7) and *Lakshmīḥ prād°* (1.9). Consonants preceded by the *rēpha* have been generally doubled; but there are exceptions. Second and fourth letters of the five classes when doubled after a *rēpha* change the prior consonant to the first or the third letter of the same class as in *garbbhair=* (1.35) and *jīvit-ārtthaṁ* (1.19) : but this observance also is not without exception. In *tibra* (1.30) alone *v* has been changed to *b*. In *varṇnatē*, (1.19) and *°ssalabhāyitaḥ* (1.21) and *saka-* (1.45) we find *n* and *s* substituted for *ṇ* and *ś* respectively. On the other hand in *Maṟuvakka-śarppaḥ* (ll.13, 39) *ś* has been substituted for *s*.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit intermingled with a few Kanarese words and phrases such as *gampaṇa* for *kampaṇa* (1.46), *-āruvanaṁ* (1.48), *kodevaṇaṁ* (1.50), *Maṟuvakka-śarppaḥ* (ll.13, 39), *Ayyana-siṁhaḥ* (1.39), *Iḍuvarādityaḥ* (1.41), *nārggāvuṇḍā* (1.48). The portion between the verses 20 and 21 as well as that following the verse 24 is in prose while the rest of the record is in verse.

After invoking the Boar form of Vishṇu, the record introduces the Śilāhāra dynasty of Karāḍ or rather Kolhapur and gives the genealogy of the family from Jatiga I to Gaṇḍarāditya who issued the present grant.[2] This genealogy has some omissions which it is very difficult to account for.

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[1] *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* by J. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji, p. 102.

[2] The genealogy given is as follows :

1 Jatiga I
|
2 Nāyima
|
3 Chandra
|
4 Jatiga II
|
5 Gōṅkala — 6 Gūvala I

5 Gōṅkala
|
7 Mārasiṁha
|
8 Gūvala II — 9 Bhōja — 10 Ballāḷa — 11 Gaṇḍarāditya

Kīrttirāja and Chandrāditya who are mentioned in other records of the dynasty[1] as the younger brothers of Gōṅkala (I) and Gūvaḷa II are omitted here. Further, Gaṅgadēva who is stated to be a younger brother of Gūvala II in the Kolhapur inscription of Vijayāditya does not find a place in the present grant. This grant is not also of much help to decide the priority of Gōṅkala (I) to Gūvala I, though it seems to imply that the former was the elder of the two.[2] It was not certain so far whether Bhōja (I) or Ballāḷa was the elder brother. This record clearly states that Ballāḷa was younger.[3]

Let us now turn to the historical information contained in this grant. About Jatiga I, the earliest member of the family, two facts have been noted: (1) he was the commander of the fort Gōmantha and (2) he was the maternal uncle of Permānaḍi Gaṅga. (1) It is very difficult to identify Gōmantha. The word might possibly have some connection with Gōmantaka; but it must be remembered that the former is the name of a fort and the latter signifies a small tract of country. Moreover in a copper-plate grant from Kotavaḷḷi dated Śaka 1268 (A.D. 1347) Chandragupti or modern Chandragutti (Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District, Mysore) is stated to be situated on the Gōmanta mountain and that its other name was Gōmanta mountain itself.[4] Its antiquity can be traced back to at least the 3rd quarter of the 12th century A. D.[5] It is, therefore, probable that Chandragutti might have been meant by the Gōmantha fort of our record. There are remains of an old fort there in addition to a new fort.[6] The Permānaḍi Gaṅga referred to here should be identified with the second son of Gaṅga Būtuga, whose period of governorship extended at least from Śaka 885 (A.D. 963-4) to Śaka 895 (A.D. 973-74).[7] Nothing particular has been said about Nāyima or his successors down to Bhōja. The following events about Bhōja are described: (1) he worshipped the feet of the emperor Vikramāditya (probably the sixth prince of that name of the Chālukya family) with the lotus, *viz.*, the head of Kadamba Śāntara; (2) the Kōṅgaja king fell a victim to his wrath; (3) Bijjaṇa, of the solar race, went to the abode of the gods, through his rage; (4) Kōkkala became a moth to the lamp, his anger; (5) he was a wild fire to Vēṇugrāma (Belgaum); (6) he was a very deluge to Gōvinda; (7) he was a thunderbolt to the mountain Kurañja; (8) he conquered Koṅkaṇa; and (9) he liberated Bhillama. The Śāntara Kadamba mentioned herein seems to be the same as Kadamba Śāntivarman (II), called also Śānta or Śāntayya whose latest known date recorded by Fleet appears to be A.D. 1089.[8] If the verse implies that Bhōja killed Śāntara and took his head to Vikramāditya, then the event could not have happened before A.D. 1089. But if it simply means that Bhōja overpowered him and took him to Vikramāditya, then the incident might have taken place at any time between 1076 A.D. when Vikramāditya ascended the throne and A.D. 1089.[9] I am able

[1] See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 2; above, Vol. XXIII, p. 30; *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* Vol. III, p. 393. The Kaśeḷī plates published in the *Annual Report of the B. I. S. Maṇḍaḷa* for Śaka 1835, pp. 222 ff., seem to be identical with the Satara plates; above, Vol. III, pp. 209 ff.

[2] The third line of verse 6, wherein occur the names of the two brothers, runs thus: *Tasy=ātmajau Gōṅkala-Gūval-ākhyau.* Here the metre would not have stood in the way of the composer had he wished to place the name of Gūvala first. Hence he seems to have held that Gōṅkala was older than Gūvala.

[3] It may, however, be noted that if the reference in the Kolhapur inscription to the five sons of Mārasiṁha is considered to be in a chronological order, then it contradicts the statement in the presen plates. But it is not necessary to suppose that way.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 375.

[5] *An. Rep. of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1923, p. 121.

[6] *Ibid.* for 1931, p. 55.

[7] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 305 *et. seq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 561. Prof. Moraes in his *Kadambakula* has shifted this date to Śaka 1016 (genealogical tree facing p. 93). But I could not trace any evidence in support of this statement.

[9] *Ibid.*

neither to identify the Kōṅgaja king nor to say with certainty whether the word should be connected with the Koṅgu country. Bijjaṇa of the solar race seems to belong to the Kaḷachurya family of Kalyāṇī. For the Harihar inscription of Kaḷachurya Bijjala expressly states that Jōgama, the grandfather of the former, had a paternal uncle by name Bijjala.[1] The Hire-Muddanūr inscription of A.D. 1105-06 clearly states that this Jōgama or rather Jōgamarasa and Jōgamarāṇa, as he is named there, was the *Maṇḍalēśvara* of Maṅgaḷavāḍa, *i.e.*, Maṅgaḷavēḍhē[2] and belonged to the *sūryavaṁśa* or the Solar race. His uncle Bijjala or Bijjaṇa thus belonged to the same race.[3] As Jōgama flourished, it seems, in the last quarter of the 11th century, his uncle must have lived in the 3rd quarter of the same century, *i.e.*, about Śaka 1000, which is the approximate date of Bhōja's exploits. I am unable to identify Kōkkala. Unfortunately the grant does not tell us why Bhōja destroyed Vēṇugrāma ; but it may be due to the enmity that existed between the Śilāhāras and the Raṭṭas of Saundatti who were trying to extend their power and who had most probably brought Vēṇugrāma (Belgaum) under their sway. I cannot identify Gōvinda with certainty ; but I would like to connect him with either Gōvindarāja, the last member of the Maurya family referred to in the Vaghli inscription[4] of Yādava Sēuṇa dated Śaka 991 or with Gōvindarāja of the Nikumbha family mentioned in the Pāṭaṇ epigraph[5] dated Śaka 1075 and who might be reasonably ascribed to the period *circa* Śaka 1000. The cause of his destruction is not known. Kurañja remains unidentified. The name Bhillama tempts one to relegate him to the early Yādava family ; he may perhaps be identified with Bhillama III though there is some difficulty in doing so, for his date is prior to Śaka 991, the date of the Bassein grant[6] of Sēuṇachandra (II), the successor of Bhillama III, but of unknown relationship to him. The foregoing conjectures of mine may prove correct or otherwise ; but one thing appears to me quite certain. All the antagonists of Bhōja whom he vanquished must have sided with Sōmēśvara II or Jayasiṁha III against Vikramāditya VI, in the fratricidal wars fought before and after the latter's accession to the throne in Śaka 998. Bhōja, probably owing to the matrimonial connection between him and Vikramāditya VI, joined the latter in his attempts to retain the throne and the subjugation or annihilation of hostile feudatories. Hence all his exploits that are enumerated here should be relegated to the period about Śaka 1000. Bhōja's younger brother was Ballāḷa about whom the plates tell us nothing. Then comes his younger brother Gaṇḍarāditya about whom the following information is recorded in the grant : (1) Vikramāditya conferred the title *Niśśaṅkamalla* upon him, (2) by the stroke of his sword the king Daṇḍabrahman, the ruler of the Kuṇḍi country went to heaven. It is very difficult to identify Daṇḍabrahman. According to Fleet, the Raṭṭa king Sēna II was ruling the Kuṇḍi province as a subordinate of Chāmuṇḍa during the viceroyalty of Jayakarṇa between A.D. 1102 and 1121.[7] But none of these three persons had, it appears, the appellation Daṇḍabrahma.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of two villages by Gaṇḍarāditya who is introduced with the usual attributes, to his vassal Nōḷamba.

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 468.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 448 and n. 3. A Kanarese inscription from Mhaswad (Satara) of Śaka 1069 also refers to Maṅgaḷavēḍhē and Bijjala its overlord (ink impression in the *B.I.S.M*).

[3] Later records of the Kaḷachurya family connect it with the Lunar race (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 468). Another instance of this type is of the Chālukya family. The Parbhaṇī plates of Chālukya Arikēsarin III (*Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. II, p. 49) state that the Chālukya family belonged to the Solar race. But there are genuine records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī which assert that the family was of the Lunar race (above, Vols. XIII, p. 38, Vol. XV, pp. 106, 349). [Can this Bijjaṇa of the Solar race be the Telugu Chōḍa chief Bijjana who 'gained a victory over Ballaha'? ; see *Ep. Rep.* 1900, page 17.—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. II, p. 225.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 39.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 199.

[7] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 554.

The grant gives the genealogy of Nōḷamba as follows : in the Nigumba family was born Hōrima, who was the very sun to the lotus, *viz.*, Jaina congregations. His son was Bīraṇa and the latter had a younger brother named Arikēsarin. Bīraṇa had a son Kundāti and his younger brother was Nāyima. Nāyima's son was Nōḷamba, whose banner was marked with a golden fish and a cobra and who acquired the favour of a boon from the goddess Padmāvatī. He received the grant of the village Ādage, excluding the tax *āruvaṇa*. In it were included the two villages Aṅkulage and Boppēyavāḍa. These villages belonged to the *gampaṇa* and country of Miriñje. The conditions of the grant are described thus.[1] If the *Nārgāvuṇḍas* of the place were to serve actively they would not get anything in cash towards their maintenance or salary from the donee (except Kōdevaṇa) *i.e.*, they must maintain themselves with the dues of Kōdevaṇa which they would get in their capacity of *Nārgāvuṇḍas* and if they did not wish to continue in their offices, they would not get *Kōdevaṇa* (even).

The **date** of the record given in ll.44-46 is Śaka 1037 expressed both in words and in numbers, the cyclic year Manmatha, Wednesday, the 8th of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. It is quite regular for the expired Śaka year 1037, the European equivalent being Wednesday, 27th October, A.D. 1115.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the grant, Vēṇugrāma, Koṅkaṇa, Kuṇḍi, Tagara and Miriñje are well known. Gōmantha has been dealt with above. Aṅkulage and Boppēyavāḍa were the two villages assimilated into the village Ādagē. A word about Vaḷayavāḍa may not be out of place here. Scholars have expressed different views about its identification. The late Dr. K. B. Pathak suggested, in a talk with me, that it might be identified with Waḷiwaḍe, about 5 miles to the east of Kolhapur. I personally visited the above village, but did not find there any old remains which would testify to its antiquity. I do not know, however, whether there are any antiquarian remains at the other places with which the village has been identified. I am unable to identify with certainty, any of the three villages granted but I would just suggest some identifications. About three miles to the south-west and north-west of Miraj, are two villages Anklī and Kūpwāḍ which may now represent Aṅkulage and Boppēyavāḍa. Or about thirty miles to the south-west of Miraj are two villages Ankōḷ and Ādī which may be identical with Aṅkulage and Ādagē ; but they are rather too far away to be included in the Miriñje-kampaṇa. Besides these villages, the Postal Village Directory of the Bombay Circle has included one Anklī in the Kolhapur State and falling under the Shirol Road (present Jayasinghpur) postal beat, which is only 8 miles to the south-west of Miraj. This may be a modern substitute for Aṅkulage.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : Vv. 1, 12, 16, 17 *Anushṭubh* ; 2, 15, 20 *Mālinī* ; 3, 6, 8, 10, 14, 19, 21, 22, 24 *Indravajrā* ; 4, 13, 18 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 5, 7, 9, 11, 23 *Vasantatilakā*.]

[1] The passage here is rather ambiguous and I explain it with much diffidence : *āruvaṇa* and *kōdevaṇa* seem to be the names of two taxes like *sikāvaṇa*, *mahasvaṇa*, etc., in Marāthī, but the meaning of the terms is not clear to me. [To me the passage seems to mean that the *Nārgāvuṇḍas* would not get any gold for their maintenance, *i.e.*, as salary, excepting the *aruvaṇa*, if they were prepared to do the duties connected with their office, but if they refused to shoulder the responsibilities of office, they would not get even the *koḍevaṇa* (read as *kōdevaṇa* by the author) to which they were entitled as hereditary holders of the office of *Nārgāvuṇḍa*. That *koḍevaṇa* is a tax is clear from l.44 (there read as *kōḍevaṇa*) of the Kargudari inscription of the Kādamba prince Tailapa (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 253), where it is mentioned along with *manedere* (house-tax). It was probably a tax on umbrellas, though Fleet took it in the sense of ' a *haṇa* or *paṇa* stamped with the device of an umbrella ' (*ibid.*, p. 255 n.).—N.L.R.]

[2] Prepared from the original. I am thankful to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for suggesting better readings of the place-names.

First Plate

1 ◎ स्वस्ति । जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्णवं(वम्) [।*] दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रा-

2 न्तभुवनं वपुः ॥ [१॥*] जयति जगति रूढो राजलक्ष्मीनिवासः प्रविजितरिपु-

3 वर्ग्गस्वी(स्वी)कृतोत्कृष्टदुर्ग्गस्स(: । स)कळसुकृतवासो वीरलक्ष्मीविळासो जनितसुजन-

4 रागः श्रीशिळाहारवंशः ◎ [॥२॥*] श्रीमत्शि(च्छि)ळाहारनरेंद्रवंशे श्रीकीर्त्तिकान्ताः कमनी-

5 यरूपाः [।*] विख्यातशौर्य्या बहवो नृपेंद्राः संपाळयामासुरिमां धरि-

6 त्री(त्रीम्) ◎ [॥३॥*] तद्वंशे नृपतिर्ब्बभूव जतिगो गोमन्थदुर्ग्गाधिपो मामः श्रीवनितापतिस्सु-

7 चरितो गंगस्य पेर्म्मानडेस्त(:। त)स्याभूत्तनय॥प्रतापनिळय(यः) श्रीनायिमां-

8 को नृपः कर्ण्णाटीकुचकुंकुमांकिततनुर्व्विद्याधराधीश्वरः ◎ [॥४॥*] तस्यात्म-

9 जस्सुपरिवर्द्धितराज्यलक्ष्मी॥प्रादुर्ब्बभूव समुपार्ज्जितपुण्यपुंजः [।*]

10 चंद्राह्वयो जगति विश्रुतकीर्त्तिः(र्त्ति)कान्तस्त्यागार्ण्णवो बुधनुतो नयनाभि-

11 रामः ◎ [॥५॥*] तस्सा(स्या)पि पुत्रो जतिगो नरेंद्रो जातः प्रवीरो गजयूथनाथः [।*] तस्या-

12 त्मजौ गोंकलगूवलाख्यौ जातावुभौ वैरिकुळाद्रिवज्रौ ◎ [॥६॥*] तद्गोंकलस्य तनुजो रिपुदन्ति-

13 सिंहः श्रीमारसिंहनृपतिर्म्मरुवक्कश(स)र्प्पः [।*] प्रादुर्ब्बभूव समरांगणसूत्र-

14 धारो विख्यातकीर्त्तिरिह पण्डितपारिजातः ◎ [॥७॥*] तस्याग्रसूनुर्ज्जगदेकवीरो वी-

15 रांगनाबाहुलतावगूढः । कीर्त्तिप्रियो गूवलदेवनामा बभूव भूपाळ-

16 वरो नरेंद्रः ◎ [॥८॥*] तस्यानुजस्सकळमंगळजन्मभूमिरासीन्नृपाळतिळको भुवि भोज-

17 देवः [।*] प्रोत्तुंगवीरवनिताश्रयबाहुदण्डश्चण्डारिमण्डळशिरोगिरिवज्रदण्डः [॥९॥*]

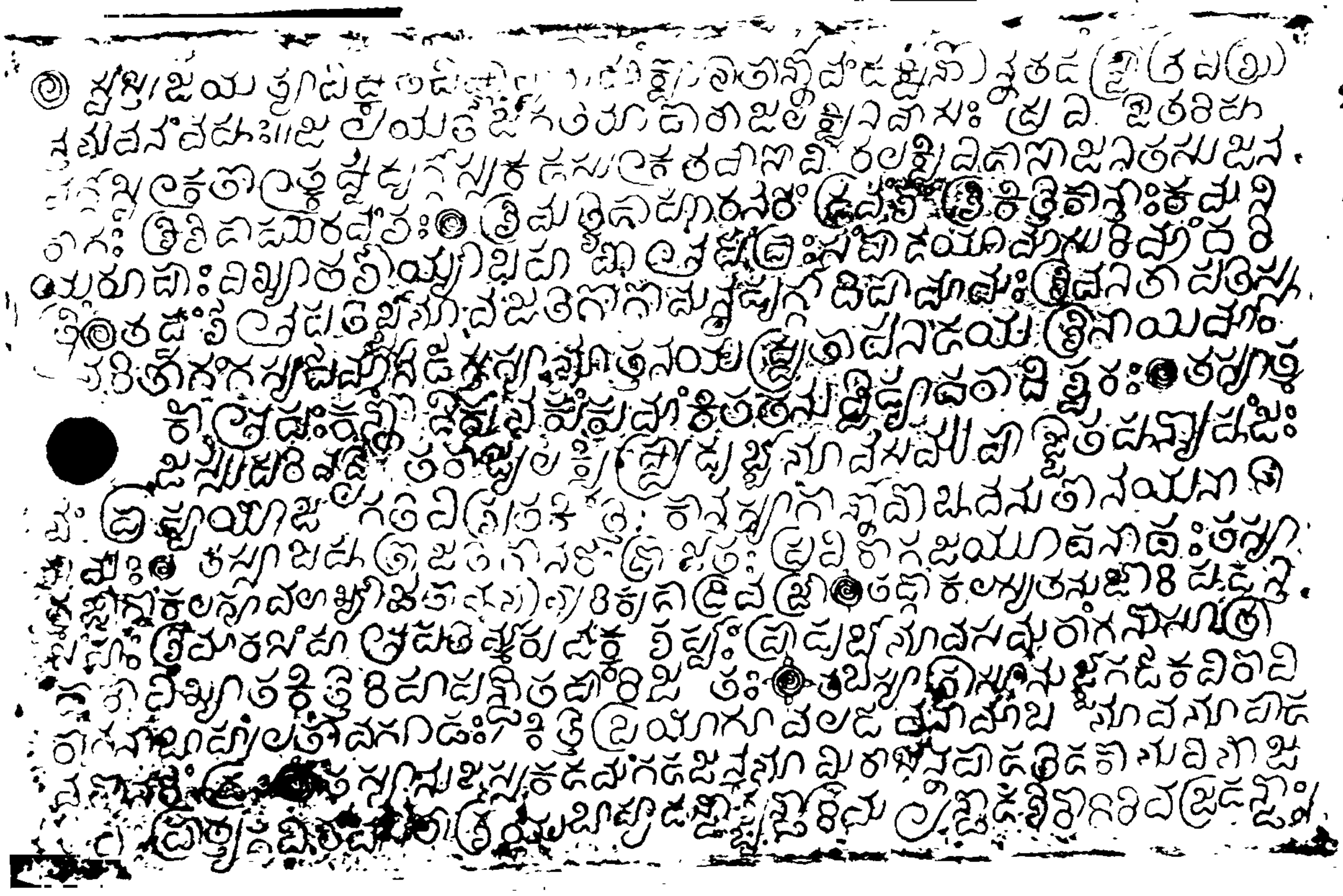
Second Plate; First Side

18 श्रीमत्कदंबांबरतिग्मरश्मेश्शिरस्सरोजं खळु शान्तरस्य[।*] पूजां प्रचक्रे स च चक्रवर्त्तिश्रीविक्र-

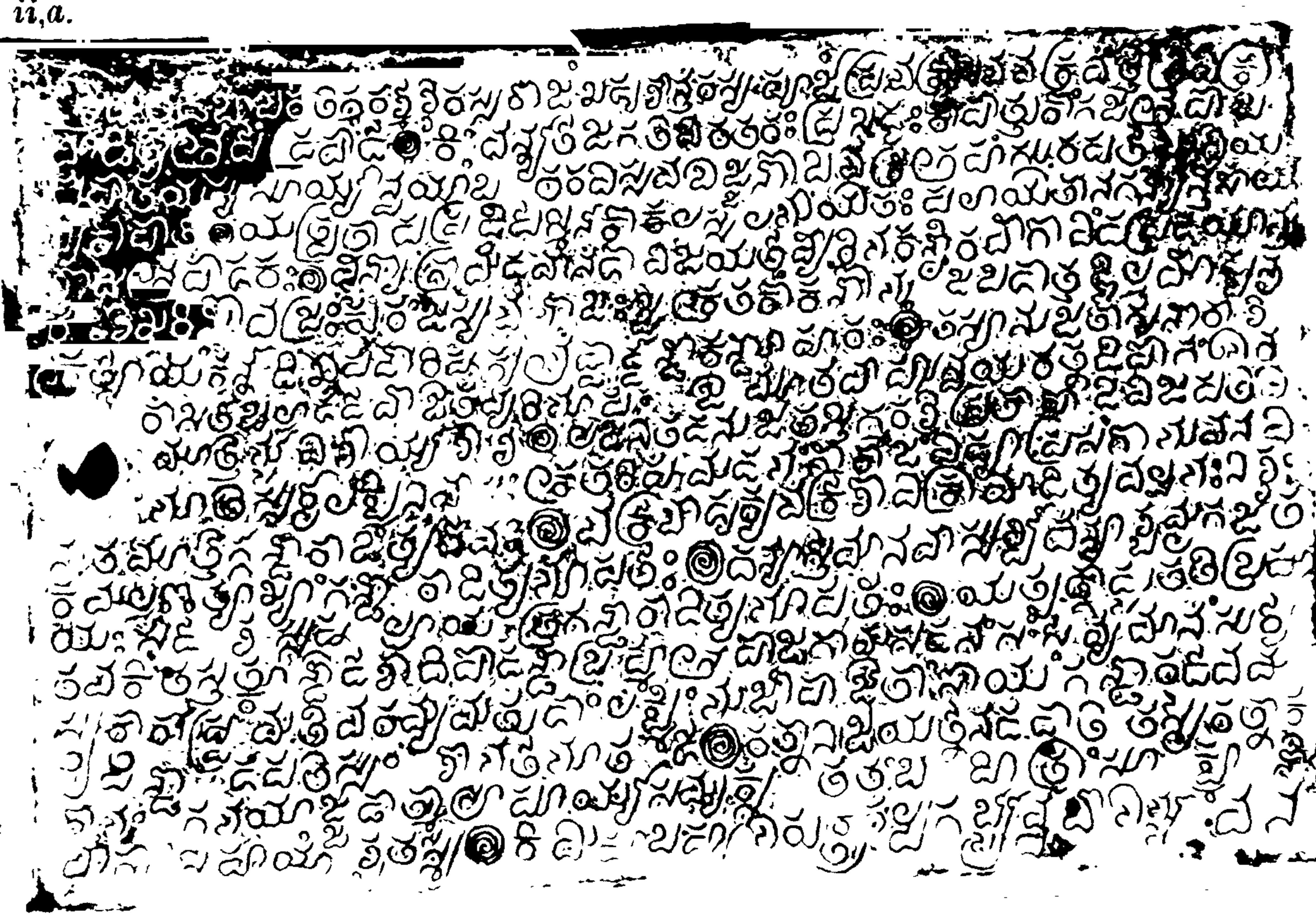
19 मादित्यनृपेंद्रपादे ◎[॥१०॥*] किं वर्न्न(र्ण्य)ते जगति वीरतरः प्रसिद्धः कोपात्तु कोंगजनृपोपि

20 पपात यस्य [।*] सूर्य्यान्वयांबररविस्स च बिज्जणोपि चक्रे गृहं सुरपतेर्भुवि य-

i.



ii,a.



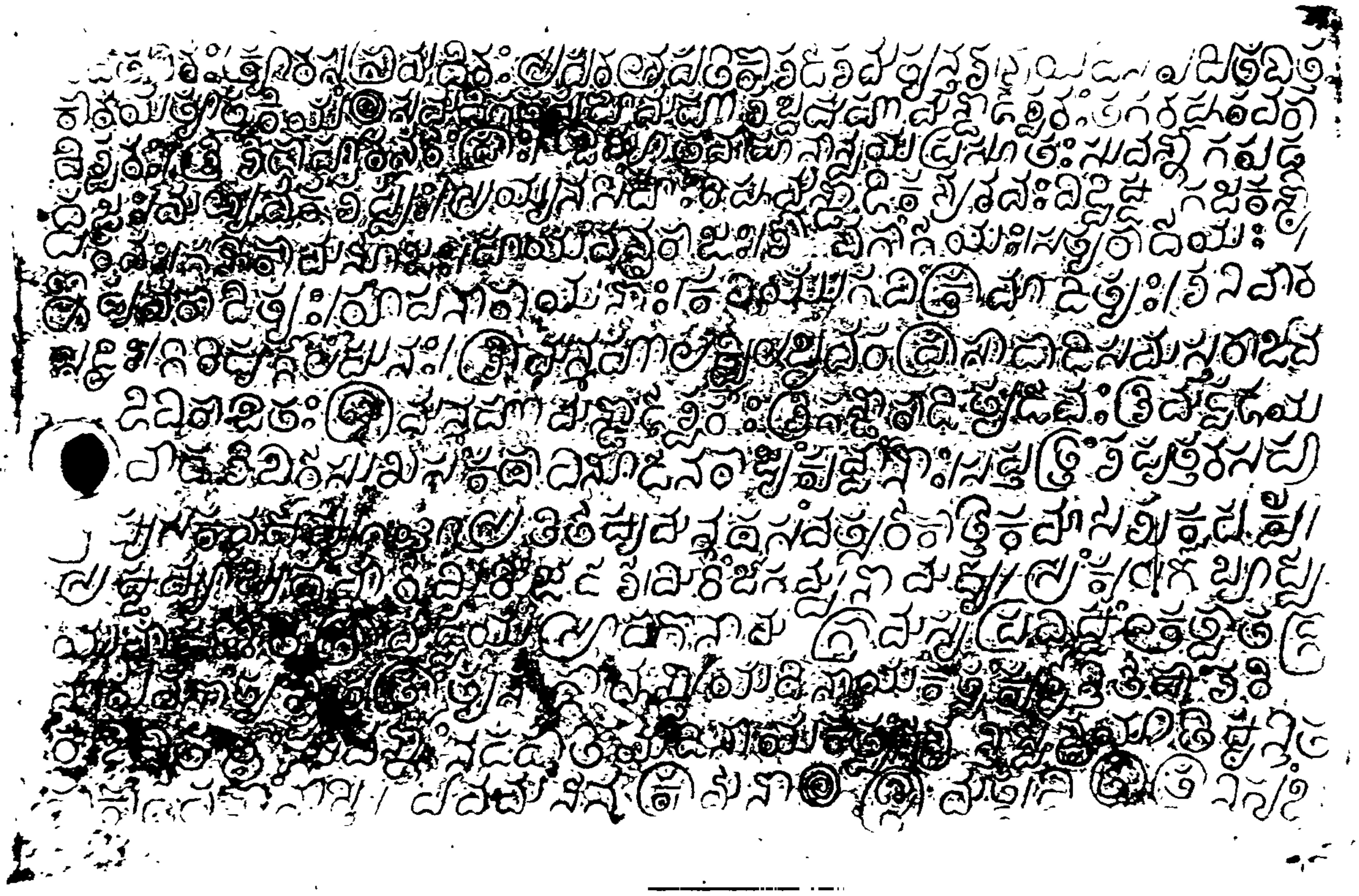
B. CH. CHHABRA.

(From Photographs)

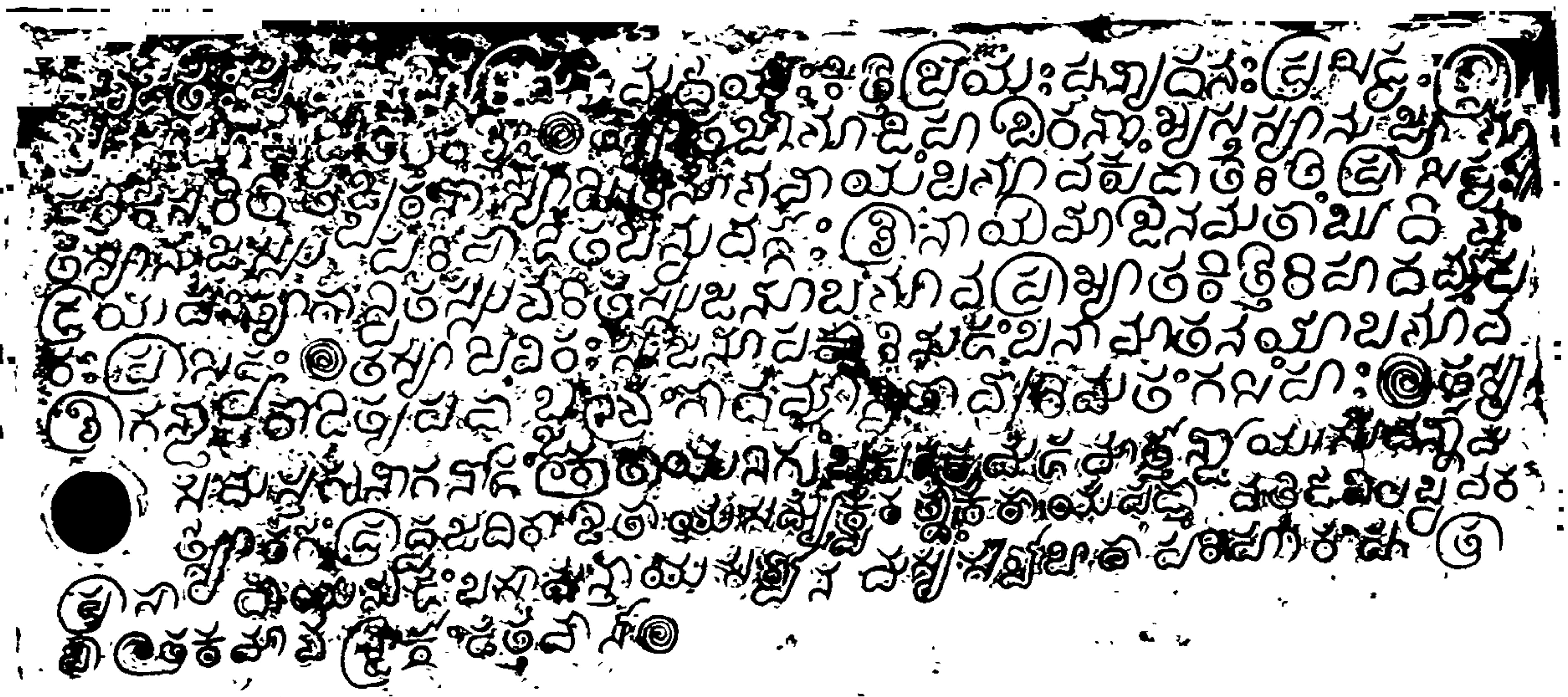
SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3977 E.36 – 475'48.

ii,b.



iii.



21 स्य कोपात् ◎[॥११॥*] यत्प्रतापप्रदीपेस्मिन् कोक्कलस्स(श्श)लभायितः [।*] पलायिता न गण्यन्ते सोयं

22 भोजनृपालकः ◎[॥१२॥*] वेणुग्रामदवानळो विजयते वैरीभकण्ठीरवो गोविंदप्रळयान्त-

23 कः शिखरिणो वज्रः कुरंजस्य च [।*] भोजः स्वीकृतकोंकणो भुजबळात्तड्डिल्लमोद्दन्ध-

24 कृत्सोयं कर्न्न(र्ण्ण)दिशापटो रिपुकुभृद्दोर्द्दण्डकण्डूहरः ◎[॥१३॥*] तस्यानुजातो गुणराशि-

25 रासीत्(द्) बल्लाळदेवो जितवैरिभूपः [।*] जीमूतवाहान्वयरत्नदीपो गंभीर-

26 मूर्त्तिर्भ्भु(र्ब्भु)वि शौर्य्यशाली ◎[॥१४॥*] अजनि तदनुजातस्तिग्मरश्मिप्रतापो दिविजपतिवि-

27 भूतिस्सर्व्वलक्ष्मीनिवासः [।*] कृतरिपुमदभंगो राजविद्याप्रसंगो भुवनवि-

28 नुतमूर्त्तिर्ग्गण्डरादित्यदेवः ◎[॥१५॥*] चक्रे चाळुक्यचक्रेशो विक्रमादित्यवल्लभः [।*] निश्शं-

29 कमल्ल इत्याख्यां गण्डरादित्यभूपतेः ◎[॥१६॥*] धन्यास्ते मानवास्सर्व्वे धन्याश्च मृगजात-

30 यः [।*] स देशस्सफलो यत्र गण्डरादित्यभूपतेः(तिः) ◎[॥१७॥*] यत्खड्गाद्भुततीब्र(व्र)घा-

31 तचकितस्तत्कूण्डिदेशाधिपो दण्डब्रह्मनृपो जगाम सदनं संसेव्यमानं सुरै-

32 स्त्य(ः। त्य)क्त्वा राष्ट्रमतीवरम्यमतुळां लक्ष्मीं भुजोपार्ज्जितां सोयं गण्डरदेवम-

33 ण्डळपतिस्संशोभते भूतळे ◎[॥१८॥*] रत्नानि यत्नेन ददाति तस्मै रत्नाक-

34 रो भंगभयाज्जडात्मा [।*] आपूर्य्य सम्यक्सततं ब(व)हित्रं सूक्ष्माणि

35 वासांसि हयांश्च तस्मै ◎[॥१९॥*] किमिह बहुभिरुक्तैरल्पगर्भ्भैर्व्वचोभिर्भ्भु(र्ब्भू)वन-

Second Plate ; Second Side

36 विदितवीरः क्रूरसंग्रामधीरः [।*] अपरनृपतिकोशं देशमत्यन्तशोभं यदि स कुपितचित्तः

37 कारयत्यात्मकीयं ◎[॥२०॥*] समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहामण्डळेश्वरः [।*] तगरपुरवरा-

38 धीश्वरः । श्रीशिळाहारनरेंद्रः । जीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतः सुवर्ण्णगरुड-

39 ध्वजः । म[illegible]वक्कश(स)र्प्पः । अय्यनसिंहः [।*] रिपुमण्डळिकभैरवः [।*] विद्विष्टगजकण्ठी-

40 रवः । गणिकामनोजः । हयवच्छ(त्स)राजः । शौचगांगेयः । सत्यराधेयः ।

41 इडुवरादित्यः । रूपनारायणः । कलियुगविक्रमादित्यः । शनिवार-

42 सिद्धिः । गिरिदुर्ग्गलंघनः । श्रीमन्महालक्ष्मीलब्धवरप्रसादादिसमस्तराजाव-

43 ळीविराजितः श्रीमन्महामण्डळेश्वरः श्रीगण्डरादित्यदेवः श्रीमद्वळय-

44 वाडशिबिरे सुखसंकथाविनोदेन राज्यं कुर्व्वाणः । सप्तत्रिंशदुत्तरसह-

45 स्रेषु स(श)कवर्षेषु १०३७ अतीतेषु मन्मथसंवत्सरे कार्त्तिकमासे शुक्लपक्षे ।

46 अष्टम्यां बुधवारे मिरिंजेदेशे । मिरिंजेगम्पणमध्ये । अंकुलगे बोप्पे-

47 यवाड इति ग्रामद्वयं आदगेनामग्रामस्य प्रविष्टं कृत्वा तद्ग्रा-

48 मारुवण त्यक्त्वा तत्रत्यनाग्गावुण्डा यदि नायकत्वं कुर्व्वन्ति तेषां शरी-

49 रजीवितार्त्थं सुवर्ण्णं न ददाति यदि नायकत्वं नेच्छन्ति स्वेच्छया तिष्ठन्ति त-

50 दा कोदेवणं नास्ति । एवमनेन क्रमेण ◎ श्रीमत्पवित्रेत्र निगुंब-

Third Plate.

51 वंशे जातः पुमान् होरिमनामधेयः [।*] कीर्त्तिप्रियः पुण्यधनः प्रसिद्धः श्री-

52 जैनसंघांबुजतिग्मरश्मिः ◎[॥२१॥*] तस्यात्मजोभूदिह बीरणाख्यस्तस्यानुजोभू-

53 दरिकेसरीति [।*] तद्वीरणस्यो(स्या)पि तनूभवोयं बभूव कुंदातिरिति प्रसिद्धः ॥[२२॥*]

54 तस्यानुजस्सुपरिपाळितबन्धुवर्ग्गः श्रीनायिमो जिनमतांबुधिचं-

55 द्र ये(ए)षः [।*] त्यागान्वितस्सुचरितस्सुजनो बभूव प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिरिह धर्म्मप-

56 रः प्रसिद्धः ◎[॥२३॥*] तस्यापि वीरः सुजनोपकारी नोळंबनामा तनयो बभूव [।*]

57 श्रीगण्डरादित्यपदाब्जभृंगो धर्म्मान्वितो वैरिमतंगसिंहः ◎[॥२४॥*] तस्मै

58 समस्तगुणगणाळंकृताय निगुंबकुळकमळमार्त्तण्डाय । सुवर्ण्णम-

59 त्स्योरगेंद्रध्वजविराजिताय सम्यक्त्वरत्नाकराय पद्मावतीदेवीलब्धवर-

60 प्रसाधा(दा)य नोळंबसामन्ताय सर्व्वनमस्यं सर्व्वबाधापरिहारं पुत्र-

61 पौतृ(त्र)कमाचन्द्रार्क्कं दत्तवान् ◎

No. 33—MEHAR PLATE OF DAMODARADEVA

(1 Plate)

B. M. BARUA AND PULIN BEHARI CHAKRAVARTI, CALCUTTA

This copperplate was discovered in February 1940 in the village of **Mehār,** Chandpur Sub-division of the District of Tippera, P. S. Hajiganj, by Muhammad Rahimuddin of Mehār, while he was digging a ditch by the side of his homestead to a depth of about 8 feet. He found it inside a small masonry work, in which it was deposited. He naturally took it to be made of a precious metal, and cut off a small bit from its lower edge, thereby causing a loss of two letters, one representing a number,—better, a certain sum of money, and the other, the syllable *ta* which has been supplied in the present edition.

On receiving information about it from Mr. Nagendra Kumar Choudhuri, a local Hindu zemindar, Mr. Pulin Behari Chakravarti (one of the authors) lost no time in approaching Mr. Golam Muhammad Mian, the Officer-in-Charge of the Hajiganj Police Station, and it was mainly through his efforts that Mr. Chakravarti was able to procure the plate for the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University.

This is **a single plate** which measures 11″ by 10″ with a thickness of about ⅛th of an inch. The semi-circular seal forms a curvature in the middle of its upper edge. Its maximum length from the top of the curvature is about 13 inches. It contains a Sanskrit inscription of the 13th century A.D., consisting of 43 lines, 24 engraved on the obverse and 19 on the reverse. Its **seal** precisely like that of the other copper-plate of **Dāmōdara** found in the District of Chittagong,[1] presents on the obverse side a figure of Vishṇu either riding on Garuḍa, his traditional vehicle, or in the angry attitude of slaying a fallen foe, and on the reverse side, a rayed disc of the sun set upon and inside a crescent. Both the rayed disc of the sun and the horizontally disposed crescent are installed each on a finely disposed pedestal. Vishṇu who is supposed to be in his Purushōttama or Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva form, is two-armed and wears a *kirīṭa* on his head. His figure is full of vigour and valour, and shows a strong fighting pose. The lower figure is either Garuḍa with his prominent nose and other characteristics and flying attitude or, as Mr. Debaprasad Ghosh, Curator of the Asutosh Museum, suggests, a fallen foe about to be killed. It is not unlikely that here we have a scene of the wrestling duel of Mādhava with Chāṇūra, justifying the epithet of **Chāṇūra-Mādhava** applied in the present inscription to Dāmōdaradēva.

The representation of Vishṇu on Garuḍa or of Mādhava overpowering Chāṇūra is certainly symbolical of the Vaishṇava faith of king **Dāmōdara** who issued the copper-plate. The Vaishṇava faith of the royal dynasty to which Dāmōdara belonged is evident from his name as well as those of his three predecessors. One may indeed observe with N. G. Majumdar that this dynasty "professed the Vaishṇava faith like the Varmmans and the Sēnas."[2]

The **date** of the issue of the charter is the 22nd day of Jyaishṭha in the 4th year of Dāmōdara's reign, corresponding to the 1156th year of the Śaka era (= 1234 A.D.), while that in the Chittagong plate is the 1165th year of the same era. The present plate is therefore earlier by nine years than the other, and we know that king Dāmōdara reigned at least for 13 years, if not for more.

As regards the **palaeography** of the present record, we may mention that its letter-forms are in almost all respects the same as those of the Chittagong plate. The characters of the latter are, in the opinion of N. G. Majumdar, "evidently proto-Bengali and akin to those used in the Bodhgayā inscriptions dated in years 51 and 83 of the Lakshmaṇasēna era and the Gayā inscription of Gōvindapāla of 1175 A.D."[3] In the present plate, the syllables *tu* and *tta, tha* and *ndha* are represented alike ; the only difference between the two letters, *ma* and *sa*, is that in the case of the latter, the loop to the left is generally open. The form of *śn* again, is different from the *śn* we come across in other Bengal inscriptions and the Chittagong plate. It resembles the letter *tha*. The figures representing the numbers and fractions are practically the same as those met with in the Madanapāḍā and the Sāhitya-Parishat copper-plates of Viśvarūpasēna. The only exception to be noted is one which relates to the notation adopted for representing the number *2*. Strangely enough, this particular number has been represented in one and the same record by two totally different symbols : one resembling the consonant *t* in line 43 after *Jyaishṭha-dinē* and the other approaching the modern Bengali form of *ta* in lines 18, 24 and 32. It may be asked : why

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLIII (1874), Part I, pp. 318-24, Pl. XVIII ; *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 158-63.
[3] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p 159.
[3] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 158-9.

do we not take one of them to stand for *2* and the other for *9* ? This is not possible. Firstly, in the case of *Jyaishṭha-dinē* ξξ, we cannot but take ξξ to stand for 22. Secondly, in the statement, *ēvaṁ śāsanika-brāhmaṇa* <o (line 32), the figure <o must be taken to represent *20* and not *90*, for, the Brahmins in whose favour the charter was granted are found to be twenty only. Similarly in line 18, the figures < ∧ must be taken as 25 to tally with the income of 25 *purāṇas* expressed in words (*pañchaviṁśati-purāṇ-ōtpattika*).

The **language** of the copperplate is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography,** we may note a perceptible tendency of Bengali to do away with the difference between *b* and *v* in the spelling of such words as *brā*(hmaṇa) and *vrā*(hmaṇa), *byābhū* and *vyā-bhū*. The word *bandhu* is spelt as *vandhu* (line 12), *baddha* as *vaddha* (line 15), and *bahu* as *vahu* (line 37). The letter *ṝ* is replaced by *ṛi*, *e.g.*, Śṛipatēḥ (line 30) and Śṛivatsa (line 31).

The present record, like the other plate of Dāmōdara and some of the Sēna inscriptions, contains a few abbreviated forms of words and phrases, such as *brā*, *vrā*, *ṭī*, *byā-bhū*, *nā-bhū*, *gṛi-ṭī*, *mu-ṭī*, *bi-khi-mu-ṭī*, *sāṁ-hi*, *ē-da*. The restoration of the intended words and phrases along with their technical significance has been attempted with tolerable success in the following pages. We shall be very glad indeed if any further light can be thrown on this point.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Ōṁ* and closes with the date of transaction. The *Ōṁ* is followed by an adulatory stanza, which, too, confirms the Vaishṇava faith of the royal dynasty. In it, **Purushōttama,** the synonym of Vishṇu, is chosen in honour of the *ādi-purusha* of the dynasty, while in the other plate the synonym selected is **Dāmōdara,** which is also the name of the reigning king. In both the plates, the royal family is claimed to have descended from the Moon ; in other words, they professed to have been Chandravaṁśīya Kshatriyas. Both mention four generations of the family, represented by **Purushōttama, Madhumathanadēva** (**Madhusūdana** of the other plate), **Vāsudēva** and **Dāmōdaradēva.** In the Chittagong plate, no phrases are used, indicating the kingly position of Purushōttama, the first member of the family.[1] In the present plate, he is introduced as a headman of the Dēva family, *Dēv-ānvaya-grā-maṇī*, a phrase which is in effect the same as *Dēv-ānvaya-kamala-vikāśa-bhāskara* applied to king Daśarathadēva in his Ādāvāḍī copperplate.[2] It is not unlikely that from the position of a *grāmaṇī* Purushōttama's son Madhusūdana rose to the eminence of a king.

Further, in the present plate, Dāmōdaradēva assumes the *biruda* of *Arirāja-Chāṇūra-Mā-dhava* which cannot but remind us of similar *birudas* assumed by Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavasēna in their inscriptions and applied by them to their three predecessors—Vijayasēna, Vallālasēna and Lakshmaṇasēna : *Arirāja-vṛishabha-Śaṅkara*, *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara*, *Arirāja-Madana- Śaṅ-kara*, *Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-Śaṅkara*, and *Arirāja-asahya-Śaṅkara*. These are all Śaivite in their form. It may indeed be shown that *Vṛishabha-Śaṅkara* and *Niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara* were the epithets assumed respectively by Vijayasēna and Vallālasēna. But in their fuller forms, the *birudas* came to be applied symmetrically only in the inscriptions of Lakshmaṇasēna's two sons and successors. The *birudas* with **Arirāja** ' arch enemy ' prefixed to them are highly significant when considered together with the additional title, *Garga-Yavan-ānvaya*[3]*-pralaya-kāla-Rudra* assumed both by Viśvarūpa and by Kēśava. These are at once suggestive of their valorous and terrible struggles against the onslaughts of Muslim forces in Bengal. Though of the same political signi-

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[1] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 159.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 181.

[3] Jayaswal is inclined to think that the actual reading might be *Garjha* or *Garjiha* and that it might be taken to correspond to Ghurjistān, Gharj or Ghor ; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. III, p. 266 ff. This is not only ingenious but far-fetched. We think that the expression *Garga-Yavan-ānvaya* simply meant 'those who were descendants of the Yavanas mentioned by Garga (*i.e.*, in the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*).'

ficance, the *biruda* of Dāmōdaradēva is Vaishṇavite in its form, and in this respect, it stands much nearer to the *biruda*, *Arirāja-Danuja-mādhava*, prefixed to the name of Daśarathadēva, identified by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali with Danujamādhava who flourished after the Sēna rule.[1]

Both Dāmōdaradēva and Daśarathadēva were Dēvānvayas and Sōma- or Chandra-vaṁśīya Kshatriyas, and both of them were worshippers of Vishṇu.

These points of coincidence need an explanation. We may only ask: do they not suggest that Daśarathadēva was a descendant of Dāmōdara, if not his immediate successor and certainly the most powerful king of the Dēva family ?

In the present plate, Dāmōdaradēva is called *Gajapati* only, while in the Ādāvāḍī plate Daśarathadēva is honoured with the epithet of *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rājatray-ādhipati*. In the former, there is no epithet indicating the place of which Dāmōdara was the king; while in the latter Daśaratha boldly claims to have obtained the kingdom of Gauḍa and issued the charter from Vikramapura, which he could not have done had he not succeeded the later Sēnas after their fall or extermination.

The Chittagong plate of Dāmōdara refers to a village called Kētāṅgapālā, which was bounded on the north by the Mṛitachchaḍā and had in its neighbourhood, if not actually within it, Bāghapōkhirā 'Tiger's Pond'. The village may be identified with the modern Kētaṅgyāpāḍā, forming a part of the village of Hāshimpur, P. S. Paṭiyā, and bounded on the north by the Marāchharā-Pukhariyā which is still the name of a hamlet by the hillside, on the southern bank of the river Śaṅkha.[2] In other words, the inscription relates to a village in the district of Chittagong, and not elsewhere.

The present inscription places the village of **Mēhāra** in the *khaṇḍala* (subdivision) called **Vāyisagrāma** which in its turn was included in the **Paralāyi** *vishaya* of the **Samataṭa** *maṇḍala* lying within the **Pauṇḍravarddhana** *bhukti*. The **Mēhāragrāma** of the record being no other locality than the present village of Mehār, it is easy to determine that Dāmōdaradēva's kingdom extended at least over the three districts of Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong.

Now the question arises whether the rule of Dāmōdara, or for the matter of that, of all the three kings of the Dēva family, was confined to the three districts of Chittagong division, or it was coextensive with not only the whole of the Samataṭa *maṇḍala* but also with the whole of the Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti*, as it was then known. Apart from being described as *Gajapati* in one plate and *Sakala-bhūpati-chakravartin* (the Lord of all the kings), in the other, there is no other indication whatever that Dāmōdara or any predecessor of his in his own line was a paramount sovereign. Nor does it appear that they were *Sāmantas* under the successors of Lakshmaṇasēna, who somehow maintained the position as *Gauḍēśvara* and paramount sovereign within the Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti* at least for seventeen years after the death of Lakshmaṇasēna. The length of the reign of Kēśava, the second son of Lakshmaṇasēna, is not as yet determined. But certain it is that the reign of Madhumathana-Madhusūdana at least was synchronous with that of the two later Sēna kings. Had Dāmōdara or any of his two predecessors succeeded in supplanting the Sēnas within the Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti*, he would have usurped forthwith all the high-sounding epithets including *Gauḍēśvara*, as was done subsequently by Daśarathadēva. But Dāmōdara passed as the *Arirāja-Chāṇūra-Mādhava* without the title *Gauḍēśvara*. It is in the Mehār plate of Dāmōdaradēva that Samataṭa finds mention perhaps for the first time as a *maṇḍala*, within, of course, the Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti*. And this may have been a creation of Purushōttama's family for distinguishing it from Vaṅga, apparently a *maṇḍala* under the rule of the later Sēnas within the same Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti*, which included in it Vikramapura and

[1] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 182.

[2] Kētāṅgapālā must then have comprised a much larger area than it does now.

Nāvya We need not bring in here other *maṇḍalas* within the same *bhukti*, *viz.*, Nāvya, Adhaḥ-pattana, Khāḍī, Varēndrī (?) and Kumārātālaka, that may serve only to fix the limitation of the extent of the Samataṭa *maṇḍala* in Dāmōdara's time.

The really plausible explanation of the position of the Dēva kings arising out of the Mehār plate would be that, while they were reigning in the Samataṭa *maṇḍala* of the Pauṇḍravarddhana *bhukti*, the Sēnas held supremacy over the region of Vaṅga including Vikramapura and Nāvya and passed as *Gauḍēśvaras* within the same *bhukti*. Their supremacy was disputed but could not till then be shaken off. If this inference be correct, one may even go further and suggest that the river Mēghnā was the natural boundary between Dāmōdara's territory and the dominion of Vaṅga under the latest Sēna rule.

The position of the early Dēvas even as regards their suzerainty over the whole of the district of Tippera is rendered anomalous by the Mainămati plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladēva, issued in the 17th year of his reign which corresponded to the year 1141 of the Śaka era (=A.D. 1218). From the date of this grant and the length of the reign indicated therein, it is evident that if Raṇa-vaṅkamalla Harikāladēva was not a contemporary of both the father and the grandfather of Dāmōdaradēva, he was at least a contemporary of his father, king Vāsudēva. When precisely Harikāladēva's reign ended or what happened to his line, we cannot say. From the inclusion of the city or town of Paṭṭikērā with the Mainămati (Lālmāi) hillock as its probable natural land-mark, it is certain that his principality was situated in close neighbourhood of the kingdom of the early Dēva rulers. Whether a scion of the Dēva family or not, his rule would seem to have been confined to a small portion of Tippera.

The main object of the present plate is, however, to give away by a royal charter certain plots of land in the village of Mehār to twenty Brahmins of high distinction, together with their annual income, with a perpetual right of enjoyment and use. The donees are all mentioned by name It is not unlikely that their names have been arranged in groups. At all events, some have been distinguished by the *gōtras* to which they belonged, and some by the villages from which they came. The *gōtras* mentioned are three in all, namely, **Sāvarṇya, Bhāradvāja** and **Ātrēya.** The villages mentioned consist of **Kāṇyamala, Pūrvagrāma, Si[d*]dhalagrāma, Diṇḍisā** and **Kēśarakōṇā.** One of the Brahmins is distinguished from the rest as *grihi-paṇḍita*. The charter is said to have been received from king Chāṇūra-Mādhava by Kāpaḍī of the Sāvarṇya *gōtra* on behalf of himself and the other donees concerned.

This matter which is presented in the form of a prose statement in a most business-like way has been inserted between two sets of Sanskrit stanzas, the first consisting of seven *ślōkas*, and the other of five.

Along with the four members of the Dēva family, the plate immortalises the name of **Gaṅgādharadēva,** the highly eulogised *generalissimo* of Dāmōdara. It mentions also **Munidāsa** as Dāmōdara's chief-minister for war and peace (*Mahāsāndhivigrahika*), and **Dalaēva** as *Mahāksha-paṭalika*, both of whom joined with the king in the recorded work of merit

To what extent the Mehār grant may be taken to bear information concerning the origin of the *gāñis* of the Bengal Brahmins is difficult to say. The *gāñi* as a technical term denotes the social status of a Brahmin determined by his original connection with a particular village in Bengal. According to the Rāḍhīya sect of Brahmins, the social distinction goes to 56 villages. It is note-worthy that no fewer than four villages, *viz.*, Pūrvagrāma, Siddhala, Diṇḍisā and Kēsarakōṇā, mentioned in the inscription, are included in the list of 56 *gāñis* The location of the fifth village, **Kāṇyamala,** remains yet unknown.

Lastly, the authors must express their indebtedness to Mr. N. N. Dasgupta, for some valuable suggestions regarding the reading of the inscription, to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran,

Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, for all the official facilities offered, specially in preparing the estampage of the plate, and lastly, to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Director General of Archaeology, and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Government Epigraphist for their many valuable suggestions and helpful criticism.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : V. 1 *Upajāti*, v. 2 *Pushpitāgrā*, v. 3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v. 4 *Mālinī*, v. 5 *Āryā*, vv. 6-8 *Sragdharā*, vv. 9-11 *Anushṭubh*, and v. 12 *Mandākrāntā*.]

Obverse

1 Ōṁ[2] [,] Ya[j*] jāgratō yāti jagat-prakāśaṁ nidrāyamāṇē punar=ēva yasmin [|*] nilīyamānam=bhavati kshaṇēna namō=stu ta-

2 smai Purushōttamāya[3] |[| 1*] Tri-bha(bhu)vana-jayinaḥ smarasya śastraṁ hariṇa-dṛiśāṁ lalit-aika-dṛisht(ṭ)i-pātram [|*] sakala-sura-

3 gurōḥ śirō-vataṁsō jagati tanōtu sudhām=asau Sudhāṁśuḥ |[| 2 *] Vaṁśē tasya **Purū-ravaḥ**-prabhṛitayō jā-

4 tāḥ śataṁ bhūbhujō yēshāṁ vikrama-dāna-śīla-charitair=ady=āpi pṛithvī dhṛitā [|*] ētasmin **Purushōttamaḥ** sa-

5 mabhavad=Dēvāṁ(v-ā)nvaya-grāmaṇīḥ[4] prakhyāt-ādbha(dbhu)ta-śuddha-kīrtti-visarad-vyā-pta-trilōkī-talaḥ |[| 3*] Sa **Madhumathana**[5]-

6 **dēvaḥ** prād[u]rāsīd=amushmāt lalita-madana-mūrtti[r]=viśva-vibhrānta-kīrttiḥ [|*] tadanu jagati sākshād=**Vāsu-**

7 **dēvō**=vatīrṇō vidita-sakala-śāstraḥ śastra-vidyā-dhurīṇaḥ |[| 4*] Tasmād=**Gajapatir**=abhavad=**Arirā-**

8 **ja-Chāṇūra Mādhavō**[6] vīraḥ [|*] śrī-**Dāmōdaradēvō** jagatī rājanvatī yēna |[| 5*] Yat-saṅgrām-ātisajja-

9 di(dvi)rada-vara-ghaṭā-kalpa-kādamvi(mbi)n=īyaṁ tat-ka[r]ṇṇ-ōttāla-vātyā-vraja iha marutō nyūna[7]-pañchāśad=ē-

10 va | yat=tat=sind[ū]ra-bhūshā śirasi samuditas[8]=tēgmatējāḥ[9]-sahasraṁ manyē tad=vidvishān=tat kha-

11 lu kamalabhuvō rātrir=ākasmik=īva |[| 6*] Dēvēndrasya yath=aiva Mātalir=abhūt Kṛishṇa-sya yantā varaḥ

12 khyātō Dār[u]ka-vandhulasya[10] nṛipatēr=Vārshṇēya-līlādharaḥ [,*] tat-tulyō=bhavad=asya vāraṇa-ghaṭā-sa-

13 tpātra-mukhyaḥ kṛitī śrī-**Gaṅgādharadēva** ēsha samarē **Prāgjyōtishēndr**-ōpamaḥ[11] |[| 7*] Śrīmad=**Ari**=

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[1] From the original plate and its inked estampage.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Here in the adulatory stanza, this epithet of Vishṇu is chosen in honour of Purushōttama, the *ādipurusha* of the royal dynasty.

[4] Cf. Ādāvāḍī copper-plate of Daśarathadēva (*Bhāratavarsha*, 1332 B.S., pp. 78-81 : *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 181) : *Dēv-ānvaya-kamala-vikāsa-bhāskara*.

[5] The same as Madhusūdana of the Chittagong plate.

[6] Similar epithets are applied to the Sēna kings in the inscriptions of Kēśavasēna and Viśvarūpasēna, and the *biruda* assumed by Daśarathadēva.

[7] We have to take it in the sense of *ēkōnapañchāśad*.

[8] Read *samuditam*.

[9] Read *tigmatējāḥ*.

[10] Here *vandhul=bandhur, bandhuḥ*, 'friend.'

[11] Allusion is to Bhagadatta.

14 **rāja-Chāṇūra-Mādhava-dēva-pādā** vijayinaḥ śrī-**Pauṇḍravarddhana-bhukty**-antaḥ-pāti-**Samata**-

15 **ṭa-maṇḍalē Paralāyi-vishaya**-prativa(ba)ddha-**Vāyisagrāma**[1]**-khaṇḍalīya-Mēhāra-grāma**-nivā-

16 si-yathā-pradhāna-janapadān mahattarāṁś=cha samādiśanti viditam=astu bhavatām |

17 upari-likhita-grāmē **Sāva[r]ṇṇya**-sagōtra-paṁ[2]-śrī- **Kāpaḍīkasya**[3] pañchaviṁśati-pu-

18 rāṇ-ōtpattika[4]-gṛiha-vāṭik-ādi[5]-ṭī[6] २[7] byā-bhū[8] ,* [9] sāṁ-hi[10] २५[11] tathā v(b)rā[12]-śrī-**Śāṅkōkasya** pañcha-purā-

19 ṇ-ōpatti[13]-chaṭī १ byā-bhū ७ sāṁ-hi ५ tathā brā-śrī-**Sudōkasya** chaṭī १ vyā-bhū sā[14]-hi ८ ta-

20 thā v(b)rā-**Kālēmikasya** ṭi १ byā-bhū , sāṁ-hi ४ v(b)rā-**Tārāpatēḥ** chaṭī १ byā-bhū ,, × sāṁ-hi **Bharadvā**-

21 **ja**-sagōtra-paṁ-śrī-**Paṇḍōkasya** gṛi-ṭī[15] १ byā-bhū /, < sāṁ-hi १०″ tathā v(b)rā-śrī-**Dēḍakasya** gṛiha-ṭī १ byā-bhū / ×

22 sāṁ-hi ४ tathā v(b)rā-śrī-**Sudōkasya** gṛiha-ṭī १ byā-bhū * sāṁ-hi ८ |, , **Kāṇyamalīya**-v(b)rā-śrī-**Kēśavasya** gṛi-

23 ṭī १ byā-bhū ,/ sāṁ-hi ४,,| ,/ tath=âsya mu-ṭī[16] १ byā-bhū /× sāṁ-hi ||/ tathā v(b)rā-śrī-**Brahmōkasya** gṛi-

24 ṭī १ byā-bhū ,/ sāṁ-hi २ ē-da[17] tath=âsya mu-ṭī १ byā-bhū // sāṁ-hi[18] [ta]th=âsya nā-bhū[19] ,* sāṁ-hi २

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[1] The name of the *Khaṇḍala* is *Vāṁśa* (Bengali *Bāṁs*, Skt. *Drārivaṁśa*) and not *Vāyima*. A village of the name of Vāshgāon still exists at a distance of six miles south-east of Mehār.

[2] An abbreviation of *paṇḍita*.

[3] Kāpaḍīka is the same person as Kāpaḍī in line 36.

[4] Cf. Tarpanadīghi copper-plate of Lakshmaṇasēna, lines 36-37: *saṁvatsarēṇa kapardaka-purāṇa-sārddha-śat-aik-ōtpattikā*; also Mādhāinagar copper-plate of Lakshmaṇasēna, line 43: *saṁvatsarēṇa .. mūly-ōtpattikō*; Madanapāḍā copper-plate of Viśvarūpasēna, lines 44-45.

[5] The lower vertical of the *ā*-sign is wanting.

[6] Is *ṭī* an abbreviation of *vāṭī* or *chaṭī*?

[7] The numbers are all shown in Dēvanāgarī characters to avoid confusion.

[8] For *byā-bhū* or *vyā-bhū*, cf. Sāhitya-Parishat copper-plate of Viśvarūpasēna, line 44. The word also occurs twice in the Chittagong plate, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 323. Its meaning has so far been missed. The Sāhitya-Parishat plate clearly attests that it stands only for *Chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinna-vāstu-bhūmi*, i.e., *vyāvṛitta-vāstu-bhūmi*, 'demarcated homestead land or residential site'. In it, *vyā-bhū* is aptly distinguished from *nāla-bhū*, precisely as in our plate.

[9] The asterisk is added to indicate that or a similar notation in this plate denotes a fraction of an area, a measure or an amount.

[10] N. G. Majumdar (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 146, f.n. 3) explains *sām* in the sense of *sākalyēna* 'in all', while on page 25, f.n. 2, he rightly suggests that *sāṁ-hi* stands for *sāsvatam*. In the Edilpur copper-plate of Kēśavasēna *sā* or *sām* stands for *sā(sā)śvatan dāy-ōtpattika(m)*, *hi* being obviously *sahita* (Madanapāḍā copper-plate of Viśvarūpasēna, line 44).

[11] Evidently the number 2 is represented by two different signs and <, २, 2

[12] *Vrā* or *bra* stands for *brāhmaṇa*.

[13] Read *ṇ-ōtpatti*-.

[14] Read *sāṁ*.

[15] *gṛi-ṭī* = *gṛiha-ṭī* = *gṛiha-vāṭī*, cf. line 27: *gṛiha-chaṭī*, cf. line 31. *vāṭī* compounded with *pushpa*, *udyāna* and *lavaṇ-ōtsava* has been used on p. 320 of *J.A.S.B.*, XLIII.

[16] *mu-ṭī* is obviously = *mukhya-vāṭī* or *mukhya-chaṭī*.

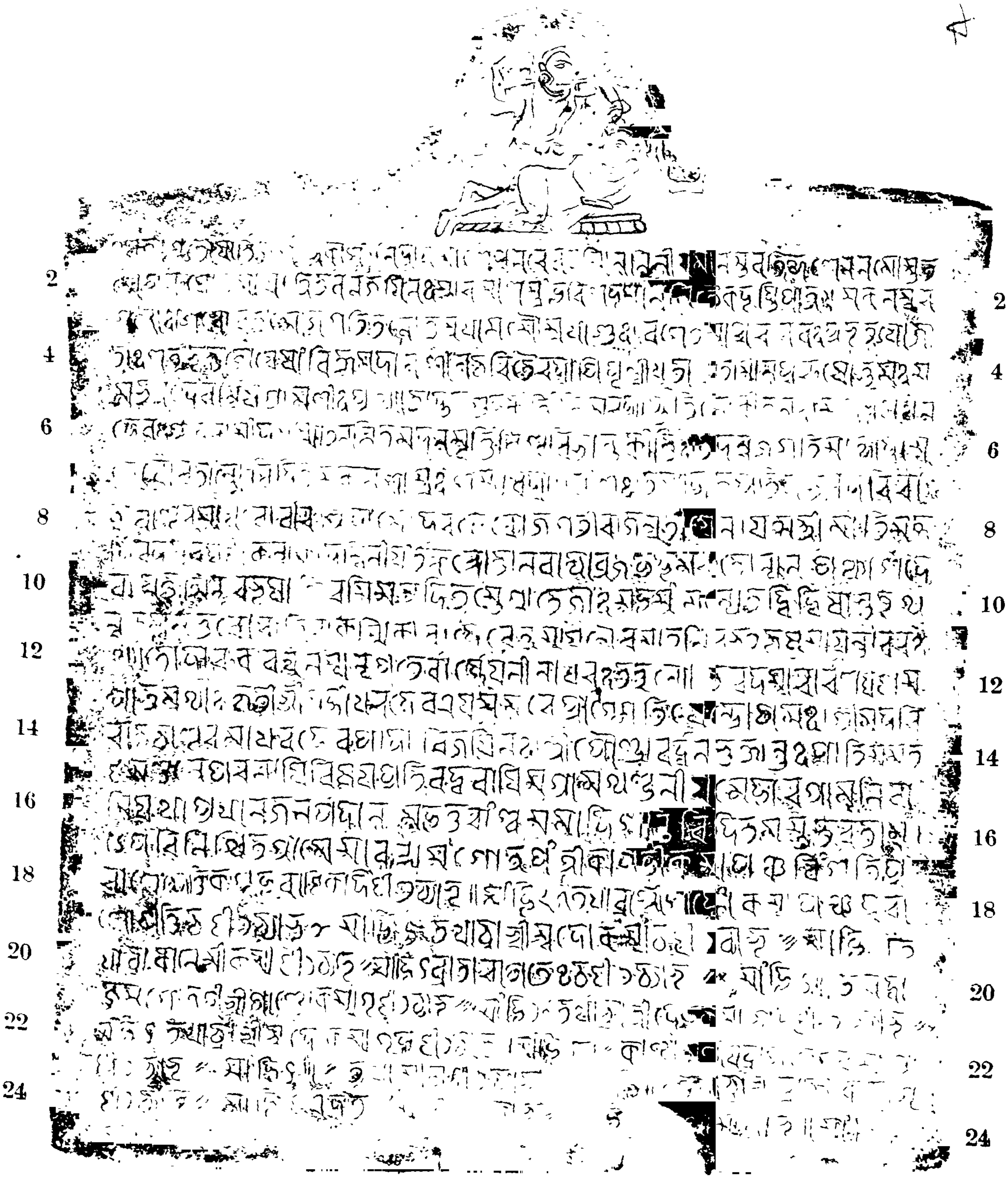
[17] *ē-da* seems to have been an abbreviation of *ētam dattam*.

[18] The letter denoting the amount is missing.

[19] It stands for *nāla-bhūmi*, colloquial *nāl-jami*. The word is discussed on p. 320 of *J.A.S.B.*, XLIII, pt. I; cf. *chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinna-vāstu-nālabhūmi*.

MEHAR PLATE OF DAMODARADEVA

Obverse

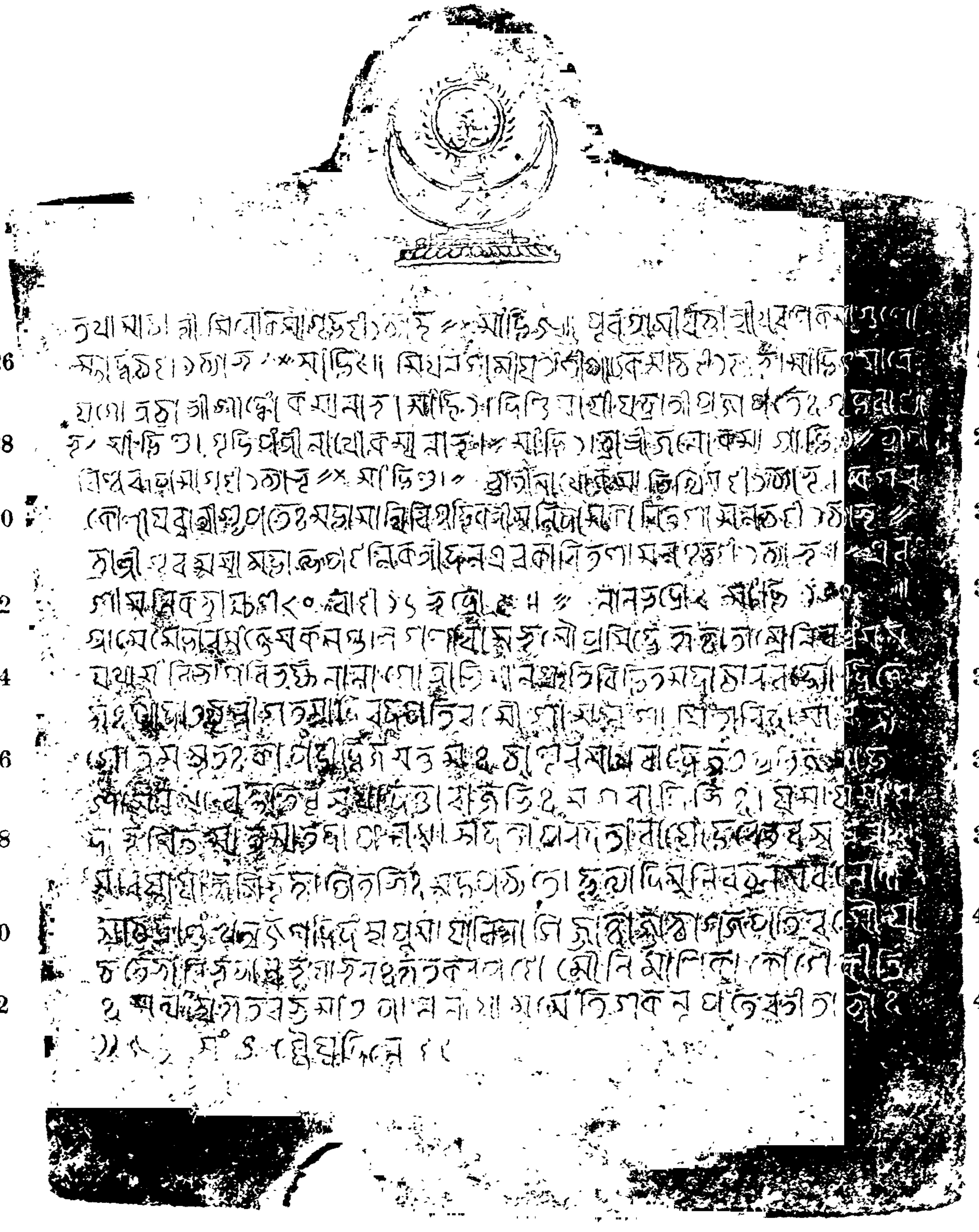


SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS

B. CH. CHHABRA.
Reg. No. 3977 E 36—47549.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reverse



Reverse

25 tath=âsya brā-śrī-**Sirōkasya** griha-ṭī १ byā-bhū //× sāṁ-hi ४ ||| **Pūrvagrāmīya**-brā-śrī **Dharaṇikasya** Guṇō-

26 mbh-ârddha[1]-chaṭī १ byā-bhū /× sāṁ-hi २||* **Si(d)dhalagrāmīya**-paṁ-śrī-**Pā(ṁ)ḍukasya** (?)[2] chaṭī १ byā-bhū |* sāṁ-hi ४ **Ātrē-**

27 **ya**-gōtra-brā-śrī-**Śāṅkōkasya**-nā-bhū |* sāṁ-hi १|* **Diṇḍisāyīya**-brā-śrī-**Prajāpatēḥ** griha-vāṭyāṁ

28 bhū /* sāṁ-hi ३ |* grihi-paṁ-śrī-**Nāthōkasya** nā-bhū |/ sāṁ-hi १|* brā-śrī-**Janō(lō)kasya** grā-hi[3] १// brā-śrī-

29 **Viśvarūpasya** gri-ṭī २ byā-bhū //× sāṁ-hi ३ |// brā-śrī-**Mādhōkasya** bi-khi-mu-ṭī[4] ३ byā-bhū |* **Kēśara-**

30 **kōṇīya**=v(b)rā-śrī-**Śṛi(Śrī)patēḥ** mahāsāndhivigrahika-śrī-**Munidāsa**-kārita-śāsana-chaṭī १ byā-bhū ///

31 brā-śrī-**Śṛi(Śrī)vatsasya** mahâkshapaṭalika-śrī-**Dalaēva**[5] kārita-śāsana-gri-chaṭī १ byā-bhū |/ ēvaṁ

32 śāsanika-brāhmaṇa २० vāṭī १६ bhū-drō २ // nāla-bhū-drō[6] २ sāṁ-hi १०० |[7]

33 Grāmē **Mēhāra**-saṁjñe sakala-guṇi-gaṇāvāsa-bhūmau prasiddhē kritvā tāmrē niv(b)addhaṁ mama [⌣ ⌣ ⌣*][8]

34 yathā-saṁvibhāgaṁ vibhaktaṁ [|*] nānā gōtr-ābhidhāna-pratividhita-sadāchāravadbhyō dvijē-

35 bhyaḥ prādāt chūrṇṇī-śatasya d[v]irada-patir=asau śāsanāṁ śāsit-āriḥ |[|] [8*] **Sāvarṇṇya-**

36 gōtra-sambhūtaḥ **Kāpaḍī** dvija-sattamaḥ [|] **Chāṇūra-Mādhavād**=ētat pratijagrāha

37 śāsanam [|] [19*] Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ **Sagar**=ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya ya-

38 dā bhūmi[9] tasya tasya tadā phalam |[|] [10*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasun-dharām [|*]

39 sa vishṭhāyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyatē |[|] [11*] ity-ādi muni-vachanam=avalōka(kya)

40 Ābrahmāṇḍaṁ khalu jagad=idaṁ svapna-māyā-vināśi jñātvā jñatvā **Gajapatir**=asau yā

41 chatē bhāvi-bhūpān [| *] bhūyō bhūyaḥ krita-kara-puṭō mauli-māṇikya-kōṭau kīrtti-

42 h satyaṁ sva-krita-rabhasāt pālanīyā mam=ēti |[|] [12*] **Śaka**-nripatēr=atīt-āv(b)dāḥ

43 1156 saṁ 4 Jyaishtha-dinē 22

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-2. **Ōm** ! On whose awakening the world comes to manifestation, in whom, while reposing, (it) becomes merged again instantaneously,—obeisance be to that **Purushōttama** (*i.e.*, Vishṇu). (v. 1.)

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[1] Cf. Barrackpore copper-plate of Vijayasēna, line 32 : *Tīkshnadanda-jal-ārddha-sīmā.*

[2] The name does not seem to be *Pāṇka.*

[3] This probably stands for *grāhya-samasta-rājabhōgya-kara-hiraṇya-pratyāya-sahita.*

[4] It stands obviously for *bila-khila-mukhya-vāṭī.*

[5] For *ēva* used as a sort of surname, cf. Maināmati copper-plate of Raṇavankamalla Harikāladēva, *I H.Q.* Vol. IX. May be *ēva* = *dēva.*

[6] *bhū-drō* = *bhūmi-drōṇa* ; *nāla-bhū-drō* = *nāla-bhūmi-drōṇa.*

[7] This is evidently a sign to indicate the end of the prose statement.

[8] The 2nd *pāda* is wanting in three syllables after *mama.*

[9] Read *bhūmis*=.

Lines 2-3. The weapon of Cupid (who is) the conqueror of the three worlds, the only target of sight to the deer-eyed (women), the adorner of the head of him who is the foremost of all the gods (Śiva),—let that Moon shed nectar into the world. (v. 2.)

Lines 3-5. In his line were born hundreds of rulers of the earth, **Purūravas** and the like, by whose acts of valour, charity and virtue the earth is sustained even to this day. In his (line) **Purushōttama** appeared as the leader of the Dēva family (whose) far-reaching, marvellous (and) pure fame radiating, pervaded the three worlds. (v. 3.)

Lines 5-7. From him emerged the illustrious **Madhumathanadēva** with the lovely appearance of Cupid, (whose) fame bewildered the universe. After him, appeared **Vāsudēva** in the world (as if Vāsudēva) incarnate, versed in all the *Śāstras* (and) foremost in military skill. (v. 4.)

Lines 7-8. From him arose the hero **Dāmōdaradēva** (adorned with the epithet of) **Gajapati** and **Arirāja-Chāṇūra-Mādhava** in whom the world found its own king. (v. 5.)

Lines 8-11. Whose column of the best elephants, well-equipped in battle-array, (stood as it were) the evening cloud : the high winds fanned by their ears were as it were the forty-nine *maruts* themselves. The vermilion decoration on various parts of their forehead were as if a thousand rising suns : that appeared indeed, methinks, to his enemies like the sudden appearance of the night of the Lotus-born (Brahmā's night, *i.e., pralaya-kāla*). (v. 6.)

Lines 11-13. Just as Mātali was to Indra (just as) Dāruka was the well-known charioteer and friend of Kṛishṇa, so to this king was the illustrious **Gaṅgādharadēva,** the foremost among the honest courtiers, resourceful like the scion of the Vṛishṇi family (*i.e.,* Kṛishṇa). His elephant column was like his (*i.e.,* of the king). He equalled in battle (even) the lord of **Prāgjyōtisha** (*i.e.,* Bhagadatta). (v. 7.)

Lines 13-16. His Majesty the victorious **Arirāja-Chāṇūra-Mādhava** orders the chief citizens and the officers (*mahattaras*)[1] inhabiting the village of **Mēhāra** belonging to the *khaṇḍala* (subdivision) (called) **Vāyisagrāma** included in the *vishaya* (district) of Paralāyi in the *maṇḍala* (division) of **Samataṭa** lying within the *bhukti* (province) of **Pauṇḍravarddhana**:-"be it known to you:

Lines 17-32. in the above-mentioned village are thus given away to *Paṇḍita* Śrī **Kāpaḍika** of the Sāvarṇṇya *gōtra* one *chaṭī* (*together with*) the household garden and the like, demarcated homestead land $\frac{2}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), yielding an (*annual*) income of 25 *purāṇas* ; likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Śāṅkōka** one *chaṭī*, demarcated homestead land 7 (*drōṇas*), yielding an (*annual*) income of 5 (*purāṇas*) : likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Sudōka** one *chaṭī*, demarcated homestead land $\frac{3}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), income 8 (*purāṇas*) ; to Brāhmaṇa **Kālēmika** one *chaṭī*, demarcated homestead land $\frac{2}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) 4 (*purāṇas*) : to Brāhmaṇa **Tārāpati** one *chaṭī*, demarcated homestead land $\frac{3}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $\frac{3}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) : to *Paṇḍita* Śrī **Pāṇḍōka** belonging to the Bharadvāja *gōtra* one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land $\frac{3}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $10\frac{2}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) ; likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Dēḍaka** one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land $\frac{2}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) 4 (*purāṇas*) ; likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Sudōka** one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land $\frac{1}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $8\frac{7}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Kēśava** of **Kāṇyamala**[2] one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land $\frac{2}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $1\frac{1}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) ; likewise to him one main house, demarcated homestead land $\frac{1}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $\frac{9}{16}$ (*purāṇa*) : likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Brahmōka** one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land $\frac{3}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) 2 (*purāṇas*) : likewise to him one main house, demarcated homestead land $\frac{2}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) (?)[3] (*purāṇas*) : likewise to him arable land $\frac{8}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) 2

[1] The word *mahattara* here has the meaning of an official.

[2] The location of the place is unknown.

[3] As the total of the yearly income from different lands as given here falls short by 1 *purāṇa* from the total given in line 32, we may take the income of Brahmōka's land as 1 (*purāṇa*) yearly.

(*purāṇas*) : likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Śiröka** one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land $\frac{2}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $5\frac{12}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) : to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Dharaṇika** of Pūrvagrāma[1] one *chaṭī*: with a half of the tank Guṇōmbha (?), demarcated homestead land $\frac{1}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) ; $2\frac{8}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) to Paṇḍita Śrī **Pāṇḍuka** of **Sid(d*)halagrāma**[2] one *chaṭī*, demarcated homestead land $\frac{4}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) 1 (*purāṇas*) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Śaṅkōka** of the Ātrēya *gōtra* arable land $\frac{4}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $1\frac{1}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) : to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Prajāpati** of **Diṇḍisā**[3] homestead land $\frac{1}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $3\frac{4}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) : to the householder Paṇḍita Śrī **Nāthōka** arable land $\frac{5}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $1\frac{4}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Janōka** the receivable income of $1\frac{2}{16}$ (*purāṇas*) : to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Viśvarūpa** one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land $\frac{2}{16}$ (*drōṇa*), (income) $3\frac{6}{16}$ (*purāṇas*), to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Mādhōka** one main house with low and fallow lands demarcated homestead land $\frac{4}{16}$ (*drōṇa*) ; to Brāmaṇa Śrī **Śrīpati** of **Kēśarakōnā**[4] one *chaṭī* included in the charter, which was caused to be made by **Munidāsa,** the chief minister of peace and war, demarcated homestead land $\frac{3}{16}$ (*drōṇa*) : to Brāhmaṇa Śrī **Śrīvatsa** one complete homestead included in the charter (which was) caused to be made by the chief accountant **Dalaēva** demarcated homestead land $\frac{5}{16}$ (*drōṇa*).

Thus (altogether) 20 Brahmins mentioned in the charter, homesteads (numbering) 16. (plots of) land (measuring) $2\frac{11}{16}$ (*drōṇas*), arable land (measuring) 2 *drōṇas*, the income (amounting to) 100 (*purāṇas*)."

Lines 33-35. In the well-known village of **Mēhāra,** the abode of all talented persons, that famous **Gajapati,** the subduer of enemies, having it recorded in a copper-plate in a well-divided form, granted the charter (yielding an annual income) of one hundred *chūrṇīs*[5] to the Brahmins of different *gōtras* who were accustomed to observe the rule of good conduct. (v. 8.)

Lines 35-37. The best Brahmin Kāpaḍī of the Sāvarṇya *gōtra* received the charter (on behalf of all) from **Chāṇūra Mādhava**[6] (*i.e.*, **Dāmōdara**) (v. 9.)

Lines 37-38. The land has been given away by many kings, Sagara and others : whosoever at any time owns the land, to him belongs the fruit thereof. (v. 10.)

Lines 38-39. He who takes away the land given away either by himself or by another person rots, being a worm, in ordure (dirty hell) together with his (deceased) forefathers. (v. 11.)

Lines 39-42. *Taking note of such sayings of the wise.*[7] This world, nay the whole universe, is indeed perishable like dream and illusion. Knowing (this) for certain, that famous **Gajapati** entreats the future kings again and again with joined hands touching the edge of the gem adorning his head, " surely you should maintain the noble deed of mine thinking it to be your own." (v. 12.)

Lines 42-13. (*Recorded in*) the expired year 1156 of the **Śaka** era, the regnal year 4, on the 22nd day of *Jyaishṭha*.

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[1] In the *Kulapañjikās* of Bengal, Pūrvagrāma, Siddhala, Diṇḍisā and Kēśarakōṇā are counted among the 56 original villages of the Rāḍhīya Brahmins. See *Gauḍī Brāhmana*, page 164. In the *Malakāpuram stone-pillar inscription* (1262 A.D.) of the time of the Kākatīya queen, Rudradēvī, Pūrvagrāma is located definitely in the 'Rāḍha division of Gauḍa', and also in " Dakshiṇa-Rāḍha in Gauḍa." See *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1917, page 122 ; N. N. Das Gupta in *Indian Culture*, April, 1939, page 358.

N. N. Basu, Prāchyavidyāmahārṇava, identifies it with the present village of Pūrvagrāma, 7 miles to the west of the town of Murshidabad. See *Bangēra jātīya itihāsa, Rāḍhīya Brāhmana vivaraṇa*, pp. 119-25.

[2] The so-called *Bhuvanēśvara inscription of Bhatta-Bhavadēva* locates the village of Siddhala in Rāḍha, and the *Bēlāva copper-plate of Bhōjavarman*, in Uttara-Rāḍha, and both mention it as a locality, in which the Brahmins of the Sāvarṇya *gōtra* settled down. Harekrishna Mukherjee in his *Bīrbhūma vivaraṇa*, Pt. II, page 234, identifies Siddhala with the present village of Sidhala near Ahmadpur in the District of Birbhum.

[3] Diṇḍisā is identified with the present village of Dimsā or Disā in the District of Burdwan. See *Baṅgēra jātīya-itihāsa*, pp. 119-25.

[4] The same as Kēśarakōṇā, a village in the District of Bankura.

[5] The *chūrṇis*, as mentioned in the present grant, are the same as *Purāṇas*.

[6] The *biruda* really means *Mādhava*, the subduer of his rival *Chāṇūra*, i.e., *Chāṇūra-marddana-Mādhava*.

[7] The italicised portion is the rendering of the prose statement.

No. 34—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE EPOCH OF THE GANGA ERA

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

Since my article on the **Epoch of the Gāṅga era** was sent for publication more than six years ago, one new record of that era has been published in this Journal, *viz.*, the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff. These plates record the grant of a village by the Gāṅga king Anantavarman on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The plates are dated in the year 358 (expressed in words) of the increasingly victorious reign of the Gāṅgēya family. It would be interesting to see how far this date agrees with the conclusion in my previous article that the Gāṅga era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1 in Śaka 420(=A.D. 498).

According to the aforementioned epoch, the Gāṅga year 358 should be equivalent to the *Chaitrādi* Śaka year 777 (A.D. 855-56) if it was current, and to the Śaka year 778 (A.D. 856-57) if it was expired. There was, however, no solar eclipse in Śaka 777, while there were two such eclipses in Śaka 778, *viz.*, on the *amāvāsyā* of the *amānta* months Āshāḍha and Pausha (5th July and 31st December respectively in A.D. 856).[1] The Tekkali plates do not specifically mention in which particular month the solar eclipse occurred, but their evidence, such as it is, is in agreement with the epoch fixed by me. The date of the plates is thus in an expired year. This is as it should be : for, as shown above, the usual practice in ancient times was to date records in an expired year. This new date may, therefore, be said to confirm the epoch fixed in my previous article.

On the other hand, the evidence of this date is definitely opposed to some of the epochs proposed by other scholars. Leaving aside such impossible epochs as A.D. 349-50, A.D. 741, A.D. 772 and A.D. 877-78, I shall examine only those that approximate to the one fixed by me, *viz.*, A.D. 494 proposed by Mr. Subba Rao, A.D. 496 by Mr. J. C. Ghosh and A.D. 497-98 by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao.

According to the epoch of A.D. 494, the Gāṅga year 358 would correspond to A.D. 852, but there was no solar eclipse in the latter year. The epoch of A.D. 496 would make the Gāṅga year equivalent to A.D. 854, in which case there was a solar eclipse (on the 1st February), but this epoch would not suit some other dates such as that of the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman II.[2] According to the third view, the Gāṅga year commenced on *amānta* Bhādrapada va. di. 13 in Śaka 419 (A.D. 497). The first Gāṅga year, according to this view, extended from Bhādrapada va. di. 13 in Śaka 419 to Bhādrapada va. di. 12 in Śaka 420. It will thus be seen that this year partly coincided with the first Gāṅga year which, according to my view, commenced on Chaitra śu. di 1 in Śaka 420. It is, therefore, not surprising that there was a solar eclipse in the expired Gāṅga year 358 according to this epoch, *viz.* that which occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of *amānta* Āshāḍha (5th July A.D. 856). I have, however, shown that this epoch also does not suit the date of the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman II.

The only epoch of the Gāṅga era which suits all the verifiable dates discovered so far is thus the one fixed in my previous article. According to it, **the Gāṅga era commenced on the amānta Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the Śaka year 420** (the 14th March A.D. 498).

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[1] See *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. II, pp. 114-15.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

MGIPC—S1—XVI-1-20 (DGA)—9-9-49—450.

No. 35—NAYANAPALLE INSCRIPTION OF GANAPATIDEVA

V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription[1] is found on a stone built into the back wall of the Chennakēśvara temple at **Nāyanapalle**, a village about 3 miles from Mōṭupalle in the Bapatla *taluk* of the Guntur District. The stone is fixed into the wall horizontally while the lines of writing are vertical, thus indicating that it must have been introduced in its present position sometime later when the temple was renovated ; but in the attempt to fix the slab into the wall, its top and bottom portions have been chiselled away causing damage to a few lines at the beginning and end of the inscription. A big portion in the middle of the inscribed surface is also very much worn out. As it is, the record is incomplete ; a few lines forming the concluding portion of the inscription are probably to be found on the other face of the stone not open to view now.[2] Since even in the present state, the inscription is of great value, I edit it with the permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy.

Owing to the damaged condition of the record, its importance has not so far been properly assessed ; but an attempt is now made to read the inscription in its proper perspective and interpret its historical significance.

The epigraph is in **Telugu** prose and is engraved in characters of the 13th century A.D. Its orthography does not call for any special notice. The word *sēyumu* used in l.21 offers some difficulty, especially as the inscription is fragmentary. Whether it is used as an order of Gaṇapati to a subordinate official, or, whether the word has to be corrected into *sēyiṁchi* so as to accord with the sense conveyed by *gānki-goni vachchi* (ll.15-16) and *maṭhamu kaṭṭiṁchchi* (ll.18-19) is not evident. The interpretation of this word does not, however, alter the main historical bearing of the record.

The epigraph is not dated, but it states that the **Kākati** king **Gaṇapatidēva-Mahārāju,** in the course of his victorious *digvijaya* campaign, (*proceeded to*) the southern direction, killed **Bayyana** and **Tikkana** who had burnt **Nellūru,** and proceeding to **Draviḍamaṇḍala,** won over[3] **Kulōttuṁga-Rājēṁdrachōḍa,** received presents of elephants from the ruler of Nellūru, constructed a *maṭha* at Śrīparvata, called Bhṛiṅgi-maṭha, described as belonging to the lineage (*santānamu*) of Mallināthadēva and that he consecrated at Chaitrapura *alias* Mōṭṭupalli an image called Kumāra-Gaṇapēśvara, after his name.

It is to be regretted that the concluding portion is lost, but its purport can be easily guessed. It must have contained particulars of some grant of land at Nāyanapalle, made to god Kumāra-Gaṇapēśvara set up by Gaṇapati at Mōṭupalle, a village close to Nāyanapalle. Since the introductory passage has not suffered any damage, the historical portion of the record may be said to be complete.

The present inscription[4] confirms and supplements the literary evidence available regarding

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[1] This is registered as No. 769 of 1922-23 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] Mr. H. K. Narasimhaswami who went to the village at my request to examine the other face could not dislodge the stone from its present position in the wall.

[3] [See below p. 197, n. 2—Ed.]

[4] Since sending this article for publication, my friend Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of the Madras University has published his study of this inscription in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati* (February, June and July parts 1945) wherein he seeks to identify Kulōttuṅga Rājēndrachōḍa with a Velanāṇḍu chief of that name. I have, however, to differ from the identification proposed by him. It may be pointed out in this connection that in an inscription from Śrīraṅgam (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 500) dated in the 9th year of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (accession A.D. 1216) the temple managers are said to have colluded with the Oṭṭar to the detriment of the income of the temple. Dr. Venkataramanayya takes the word ' Oṭṭar ' as Oḍḍiyar, *i.e.*, people of Orissa, and postulates a Kaliṅga invasion of the south as far as Śrīraṅgam about A.D. 1224. The inscription does not refer to any invasion or confusion consequent on the inroad. The word ' Oṭṭar ' must be taken to mean ' those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement ' (to the temple) and not as referring to the people of Orissa, for the latter are referred to in Tamil inscriptions as ' Oḍḍiyar.' The theory of Kaliṅga invasion as far as Śrīraṅgam based on the interpretation of this word by Dr. Venkataramanayya is therefore not acceptable.

the assistance given by Gaṇapati to the ruler of Nellūru. This evidence is found in the *Sōmadēvarājīyamu*[1] and also in the *Siddhēśvaracharitramu*. The former gives the motive for the destruction of Nellūru mentioned in our inscription. The relevant passage in this connection may be freely rendered thus :—

(*Poet Tikkana to Gaṇapati*) ' Hear me ! O King ! It is only an act of Dharma that I request of thee. King Manmasiddhi of the Solar race, ruling in splendour at Nellūru has, alas ! been driven into exile by Akkana and Bayyana and his kingdom usurped.[2] I pray you that you may be pleased to chastise them and restore Nellūru back to my sovereign.'

' Gaṇapati, assenting, started on a campaign and, having on the way destroyed and burnt Velanāḍu defeating the Velanāḍu King and subjecting him to tribute, attacked Nellūru and conquered Akkana and Bayyana. He restored the city to Manmasiddhi and crowned him there. Proceeding further, he captured sixty-eight towns and made them over to king Manmasiddhi. Thereafter, he caused a big tank to be constructed at Nellūru which spread his fame to the ends of the directions. Then, staying at Nellūru for some months, he instructed Manmasiddhi in kingship and statecraft.'

From this reference it is clear that the ruler of Nellūru at the time was Manmasiddhi, that his rivals were Bayyana and Akkana (Tikkana), that Gaṇapati personally came to Nellūru to restore to Manmasiddhi his territory and that he halted at this place for some time, evidently to settle his protégé in the region. The name of the associate of Bayyana is given as Akkana in the *Siddhēśvaracharitramu*, but he is definitely called **Tikkana** in our inscription.[3] The defeat of the Velanāḍu king mentioned above seems to refer to some local rising, especially as the Velanāḍu territory had passed under the suzerainty of Gaṇapati by about Śaka 1123.[4] Further, our record gives the information that, in this connection, Gaṇapati won over Kulōttuṅga-Rājēndrachōḍa in Draviḷa-maṇḍala. The association of Draviḷa-maṇḍala with the Chōḷa sovereign Rājēndra-Chōḷa (III) in the record is helpful in identifying the king. If so, his full name, *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga-Rājēndrachōḍa, establishes that he was the son of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, which relationship is a new piece of information supplied by the present inscription.[5]

The ruler of Nellūru whom Gaṇapati restored is not mentioned by name in our record, but as stated in the previous paragraph, he may be identified with Manmasiddhi (II), the patron of the Telugu poet Tikkana-Sōmayājin, the translator of a portion of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* into Telugu and the author of *Nirvachanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu*.[6] How long he continued in power after his restoration is not definitely known, but according to the Nandalūr record mentioned below he was in power in A.D. 1257-58. The Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I claims to have killed a Gaṇḍagōpāla by A.D. 1258[7] and entrusted the kingdom to another Gaṇḍagōpāla. The Telugu-Chōḍas seem to have ruled the region comprising both Conjeeveram and Nellore. If the order of events mentioned in the *praśasti* of Sundara-Pāṇḍya is to be relied on, the latter claims to have killed Gaṇḍagōpāla and occupied Conjeeveram and thereafter to have proceeded to Nellūru, where he performed the anointment of heroes.

[1] Quoted in ' Lives of the Telugu Poets ' by K. Viresalingam Pantulu, Vol. 1 pp. 92-93 ; See also Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao, *Āndhrulacharitramu*, pt. II, pp. 75-79. I am indebted to Mr. M. Venkataramayya for the reference.

[2] Akkana and Bayyana were the *dāyādas* of Manmasiddhi, according to the *Siddhēśvaracharitramu* : see note above.

[3] The confusion probably arose by reading *a* for *ti* in the word ' Tikkana '.

[4] *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1909, p. 121, and for 1936-37, p. 65

[5] The relationship between Rājarāja III and Rājēndra-Chōḷa III is not definitely known, though tentatively it has been suggested that they were brothers, from a reference in their records to Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III as *Periyadēvar* (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1909, part ii, para. 52).

[6] *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1900. para. 48.

[7] The earliest record where this incident is referred to is dated in the 7th year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya.

It is necessary to settle the date of the present inscription. Since in this record Gaṇapati is stated to have come in contact with Rājēndra-Chōḍa in Draviḷa-maṇḍala and as records mentioning Gaṇapati and his general Sāmanta-Bhōja are actually found at Conjeeveram[1] and Kāḷahasti[2] situated in this *maṇḍala,* the former of which is dated in Śaka 1172, corresponding to A.D. 1249, we may assume that Conjeeveram was also taken in the course of the campaign of the Kākatīya king against the enemies of the ruler of Nellūru. About this time Allun-Tikka Gaṇḍagōpāla was ruling at Kāñchī, as a record of his, dated in Śaka 1168 (=A.D. 1246-47), definitely mentions him as ruling at the place.[3] In the fifth year of this chief Kōṉ Kāṭṭaiyaṉ described as the minister of Gaṇapati figures as a donor to the Aruḷāla-Perumāḷ temple at Little Conjeeveram.[4] In the next year of the same chief, the misdeeds of the adherents of Gaṇapati with regard to temple property are noticed in an inscription at Vēppaṅguḷam,[5] near Conjeeveram. This would probably indicate that Gaṇapati withdrew from Kāñchī by the sixth year of the chief, who now seems to restore order in the country after the foreign occupation.

In the above context, the position of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra-Chōḷa III needs elucidation. In A. D. 1249, the date fixed for our record, both Rājarāja III and Rājēndra-Chōḷa III are mentioned in their records as rulers of the Chōḷa empire. Rājēndra-Chōḷa counted his regnal years from A.D. 1246,[6] but his predecessor Rājarāja III lived on till A.D. 1260, corresponding to his 44th year.[7] Rājēndra-Chōḷa III is stated in a record of the 3rd year of his reign, corresponding to A.D. 1249-50,[8] 'to have been seated along with his queen on the throne of heroes.' He could not have occupied the throne when the previous sovereign was also ruling. We cannot, therefore, have records of Rājarāja III beyond A.D. 1249-50 which would correspond to his 33rd year, but we actually find his records[9] dated in the 36th, 38th, 39th, 41st and 44th regnal years—all coming from and round the present Gudiyattam *taluk* of the North Arcot District, with two more stray inscriptions, dated one in the 36th and the other in the 37th year, from the Nellore District.[10] These records indicate that subsequent to A.D. 1246, Rājarāja III's influence was mostly confined to the present North Arcot District, while the rest of the Chōḷa empire with the exception of the Kāñchī region passed under the suzerainty of Rājēndra-Chōḷa III. Our record states that Gaṇapati won over Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra-Chōḷa (*i.e.,* Rājēndra-Chōḷa III) in Draviḷa-maṇḍala, presumably without any conflict, and established friendly relations. This will be evident from the fact that Manmasiddhi, not long after, figures as a subordinate of the Chōḷa king and evidently in that capacity proceeds to the aid of Gaṇapati against Kaliṅga to the banks of the Gōdāvarī.[11] This expedition was probably undertaken by Manmasiddhi to show his gratitude to Gaṇapati, his erstwhile benefactor, and to forge further the friendly relations between the Kākatīya monarch and his overlord, the Chōḷa.

After reinstating Manmasiddhi, our inscription states, Gaṇapati constructed at Śrīśailam a *maṭha* called Bhṛiṅgi-maṭha ; then Chaitrapura[12] *alias* Mōṭupalle is mentioned where a new

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 197 ff. ; No. 2 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical collection ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 814.

[2] No. 201 of 1892 of the Madras Epigraphical collection ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 649.

[3] *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 206.

[4] No. 608 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 2.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 7. A few inscriptions from the Nellore District indicate A.D. 1243-44 as his initial year (*Nel. Dist. Ins.*, pp. 410, 439 and 445).

[7] An unpublished inscription from Viriñchīpuram in the N. Arcot Dist.

[8] *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII ,No. 541.

[9] Nos. 162, 188, 199 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection ; and *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 106.

[10] *Nel. Dist. Ins.*, p. 789; *Gudur*, p. 405.

[11] No. 580 of 1917 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[12] Whether this Chaitrapura is connected with Charitrapura mentioned by Hiuen Tsang (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 39) is more than what can be said at present.

image was consecrated after his name Kumāra-Gaṇapēśvara, for the worship of which an endowment was probably made. The grant portion, as indicated above, is lost, but it may be pointed out here that the endowment is made over to a Śiva shrine, although at present the inscribed stone is found in a Vishṇu temple. At present there is only one temple dedicated to Śiva at Mōṭupalle, called Vīrabhadrēśvara temple,[1] in which the image of Gaṇapēśvaradēva set up by Gaṇapati must have been consecrated. But the god in this village is variously styled in inscriptions as Mūlasthāna-Rāmīśvaradēva,[2] Amarēśvaradēva[3] and Pātēśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyanār. At Śrīśailam there appears to have been an order of Śaiva monks named after Mallinātha. Apart from the Bhṛiṅgi-maṭha[4] constructed by Gaṇapati, there were also, on the hill at Śrīśailam, Gaṇa-maṭha,[5] Arusa-maṭha,[6] Kalu-maṭha[7] and the Sāraṅga-maṭha.[8] The existence of five *maṭhas* on the hill is explicitly referred to in an inscription at Śrīśailam.

In the manuscripts collected by the late Mr. Mackenzie there is an account pertaining to Nāyanapalle which is therein styled Mōṭupalle-Nāyuḍupalle. It starts with a legendary history of the village which is traced from Udayana-Chakravartti, through Prōla, Gaṇapati, Gōparāju Rāmanna, Siddhayadēva-Mahārāja, Bayyachōḍa-Mahārāja, Rudradēva, etc. It makes mention of some of the inscriptions found in the place of which, however, the present inscription is not one.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription, Nellūru identical with the district headquarters of the same name and Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District are too well known. Mōṭupalle, also known as Dēsyuyyakoṇḍa-paṭṭaṇa[9] and Vēlānagara,[10] was an important seaport in the time of Gaṇapati. This king issued an *abhaya-śāsana*[11] in Śaka 1166, corresponding to A.D. 1244, offering protection to foreigners at this port. Since in cases of shipwreck, Gaṇapati promised to take the usual customs duties only, this edict should have been particularly welcome to the merchants. A similar concession was extended to foreign merchants by the Reḍḍi chief Anna-Vōta in Śaka 1280 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1358) at this port.[12] The Venetian traveller Marco Polo calls the Kākatīya kingdom, Mutfile, *i.e.*, Mōṭupalle, which according to him was reputed for its large-size diamonds and muslins 'as fine as the tissue of spider's web.'

TEXT

1 . . . .[13]
2 śa[sti]sa[hita]. . . .[14]
3 hāmaṇḍalēśvara **Kākati** [15]

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[1] No. 600 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[2] No. 774 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[3] No. 775 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[4] The image of Bhṛiṅgi set up at Śrīśailam by a merchant of Rājamahēndravaram is one of the subsidiary deities worshipped in the place (*A.R.* No. 29 of 1915). A golden replica of this image was presented to the temple by Chandraśēkharayya, an officer of Krishṇadēvarāya-Mahārāya (No. 14 of 1915). Reference to the cult of Bhṛiṅgi in South India may be traced from the time of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, during whose reign an image of this deity was set up in the big temple at Tanjore (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 190 ff).
[5] No. 41 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[6] No. 309 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[7] No 41 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[8] No. 44 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[9] Non. 600 an 605 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[10] No. 606 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[11] No. 600 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. Above, Vol. XII, pp. 188ff.
[12] Nos. 01 and 602 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[13] This line may be filled up as '*Svasti Śrī Samasta-pra*'. Some more lines at the beginning are lost.
[14] The mis ing letters in the gap may be read as *Śrīman-ma*.
[15] The letters *Gaṇa* may be intro luced here.

4 patiḍēva-Mahārāju[lu]...[1]
5 gvijayamu sēsi para-
6 maṁ[ḍa]lamulu sādhi-
7 ṁchchi dakshiṇa-digu-bhāgamu-
8 na **Nellūru** gālchi[na] ta[d-vi]rōdhu-
9 laina patihāri **Bayyana Tikka-**
10 **nala** verasina śātrava-śiraṁ-
11 bulaṁ-gaṁ[duka]-krīḍā-vinō-
12 damu salipi **[Dra]viḷa-maṁ-**
13 **ḍalamuna Gulō[ttu]ṁga-Rājē-**
14 **ṁdra-Chōḍani** [vahiṁ]chchi[2] koni **Nellū-**
15 **rirāju** chēta [yēnu]ṁgulaṁ gānki-
16 goni vachchi gu[ṁ]ḍi..[ti]si Śrīpa-
17 rvvatamuna[3] [prasidhulagu Malli]-
18 nāthadēvara saṁtānamu Bhṛiṁgi-maṭhamu ka-
19 ṭṭiṁchchi **Chaitra[vu[4]]ramaina Mōṭṭupalliṁ**-da-
20 na-pēraṁ-**Gumāra-Gaṇapēśvara-śrī-Mahā** [**dē**[5]] **vara**
21 pratishṭa sēyumu dānki mukhya . . .
22 da[yani] . . . .[6]

TRANSLATION

....[Ma]hāmaṇḍalēśvara **Kākati** [Gaṇa]patidēva-Mahārāja [who had all titles], having completed (*his*) *digvijaya* (*and*) conquered other countries and having in the southern region played (*like*) balls with the heads of his opponents *patihāri*[7] **Bayyana** and **Tikkana** who burnt **Nellūru** together with those of their allies, having won over **Kulōttuṁga Rājēṁdrachōḍa** in **Draviḷa-maṁḍala,** (*and*) having received presents (*in*) elephants[8] from the king of Nellūru, ... and built at Śrīparvata a *maṭha* called the Bhṛiṅgi-maṭha belonging to the lineage of the famous Mallināthadēva and consecrated at **Mōṭṭupalle** *alias* **Chaitravura** an image (*of god called*) **Kumāra-Gaṇapēśvara-śrī-Mahādēva,** after his name . . . .

No. 36—PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF DADDA III; YEAR 427

(*2 Plates*)

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, BOMBAY

The grant edited below for the first time is engraved on **two copper plates,** each about 11" in length by 7" in breadth. It is the only inscription of the Gurjara chief Dadda III so far discovered. The plates were recently purchased by the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. The owner was unable to give any information as to where, how and when they were

[1] This gap may be filled up with the letter *di*.

[2] [I would read [*rakshiṁ*]*chchi*.—N. L. R.]

[3] The letter *mu* in *muna* looks like *mri* in the record.

[4] The letter *vu* is engraved like *ma*.

[5] The letter *dē* is engraved below the line.

[6] The continuation of the inscription is lost.

[7] Vayirappa-Nāyaka, a minister of Errasiddha, was called Paḍiyāri (*A. R.* Nos. 378 and 364 of 1919).

[8] Receiving tributes in elephants was common in South India. Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I is stated to have received tributes in elephants from the kings of remote islands (*S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 144, l. 9). Muppiḍi-Nāyaka also claims to have received such a tribute from the Pāṇḍya king (*A.R.* No. 524 of 1908).

first found. The plates are inscribed on one side only, and have raised rims. The inscription runs across the length of the plates and is well preserved. There are altogether thirty lines of writing, each plate containing fifteen. There are holes for two rings ; but the rings, and the **seal** that must have been on one of them, have been lost. The two plates weigh 178 *tolas*.

The **characters** are of the western variety of the Southern alphabet and resemble those found on the inscriptions of the kings of Valabhī, both in the prevalence of round strokes instead of angular ones and in the size of the letters. The royal signature is written in perfectly formed Dēvanāgarī letters. With regard to the formation of individual letters we may note the immoderate length of the superscribed *ā* (*lōkapāla*, l.4. and *=ōchitayā*, l.20) and *ō* (*-prabhāvō*, l.11) and of the subscribed *r* (*-praṇīta*, l.8, and *prāchya-*, l.12). Attention may be drawn also to the form of the final *t* (*vasēt*, l.25, *dadyāt*, l.27 and *saṁvat*, l.29). In the last example the right hand stroke of the letter is unusually long. The letter *l* has two forms, (*kamal=*, l.3, and *likhita*, l.29). The first is by far the more frequent.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end, the whole composition is in prose. In respect of **orthography** the following points are noticed : (1) *anusvāra* has taken the place of *n* (*Viṁdhy=*, l.25), *m* (*gaṁbhīr-*, l.3), *ṅ* (*Gaṁgāditya-*, l. 19), and *ñ* (*-chaṁchala-*, l.22) ; (2) the vowel *ṛi* is replaced by *ri* (*krishataḥ*, l.20) ; (3) a consonant after *r* is in most cases doubled (*-Karṇṇ=*, l.2, the form of the subscript *ṇ* resembling that of *n*) ; (4) occasionally a consonant preceding *r* is also reduplicated (*gōttra* and *puttra*, l.19). The reduplication of *sh* in *Harshsha* (l. 4) and *varshsha* (l. 24) is, however, ungrammatical. The text of the grant agrees closely with that of the Nausari plates[1] of Jayabhaṭa III and of the Prince of Wales Museum plates[2] of Jayabhaṭa IV.

The document is issued from **Bharukachchha,** which is modern Broach. Its **object** is to record the grant of the village of **Uvarivadra** in Kōrilla *chaturaśīti* (*i.e.*, a district or subdivision named Kōrilla, which comprised eighty-four villages) by the Gurjara king Dadda III. The donee's name has been omitted, perhaps inadvertently, but he is described to be son of Gaṅgāditya, grandson of Dundubhibhaṭṭa, a resident of Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī ?), a member of the Chāturvaidya community (of that place), and a religious student of the Bahvṛicha *śākhā* (of the Ṛigvēda), who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The **date** is given at the end in figures as *Rathasaptamī* of the bright half of Māgha in the year 427 (of the Chēdi era[3]), corresponding to A. D. 675. The grant was written by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahādhipati* Saṅgulla, son of Durgabhaṭa. The record ends with the sign manual of *śrī*-Dadda.

The present inscription gives the following partial genealogy :—

Dadda
|
Jayabhaṭa
|
Dadda, or Bāhusahāya

The dynasty is referred to here as *Karṇ-ānvaya*, ' lineage of Karṇa '. It thus traces its origin to the *Mahābhārata* hero Karṇa, the half-brother of the Pāṇḍavas. There is, however, no doubt that the chiefs mentioned in the present inscription belonged to the Gurjara dynasty. The names Dadda and Jayabhaṭa occur in the two Kaira grants[4] of Dadda II, who is distinguished by his second name Praśāntarāga. The dynasty in these two records is specifically mentioned as Gurjara (*Gurjjara-nṛipati-vaṁśa*).

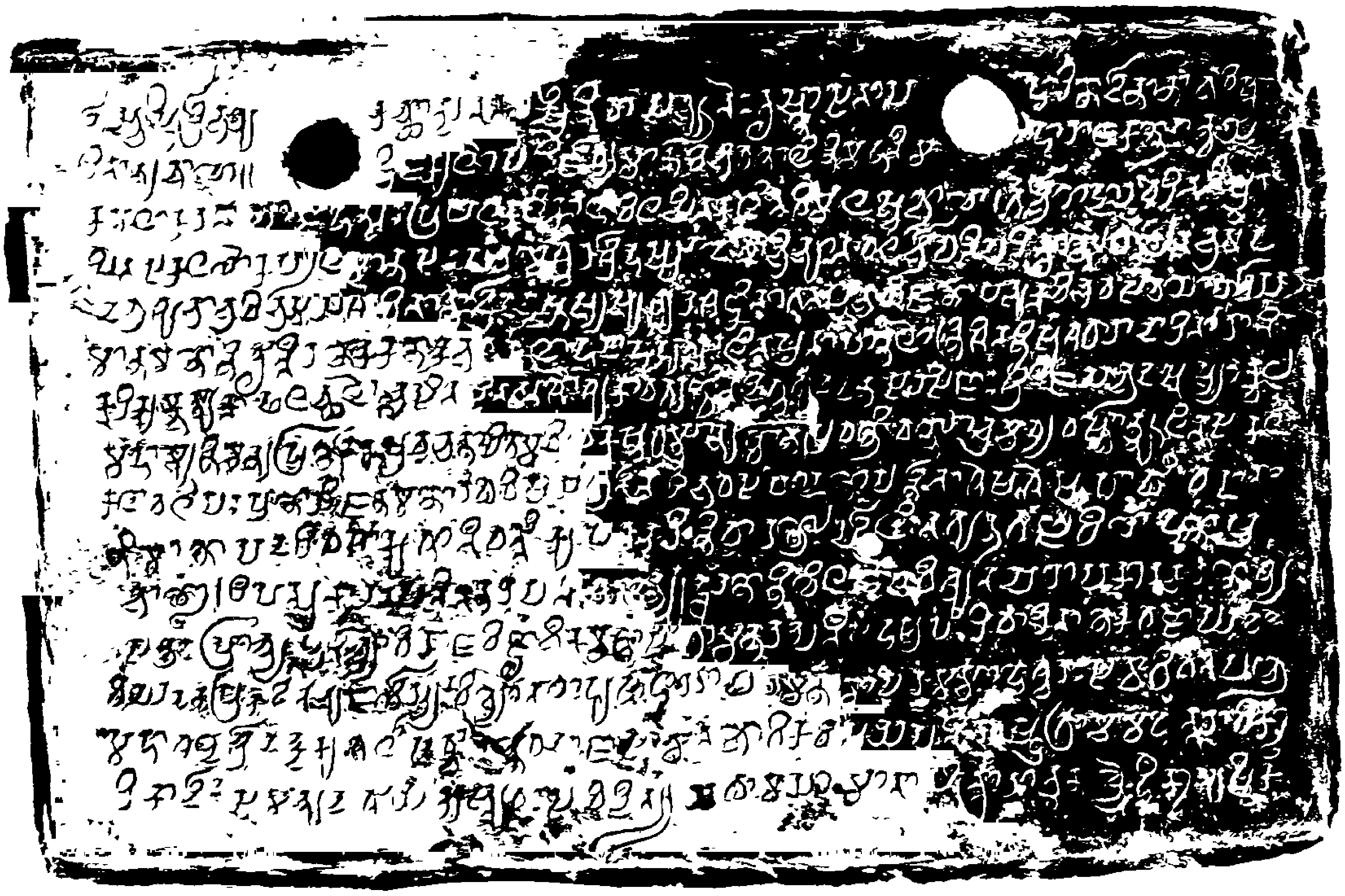
[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70-81, with a facsimile plate.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147-53, with a facsimile plate. This record is said to be that of Jayabhaṭa III, but is, in reality, of Jayabhaṭa IV.

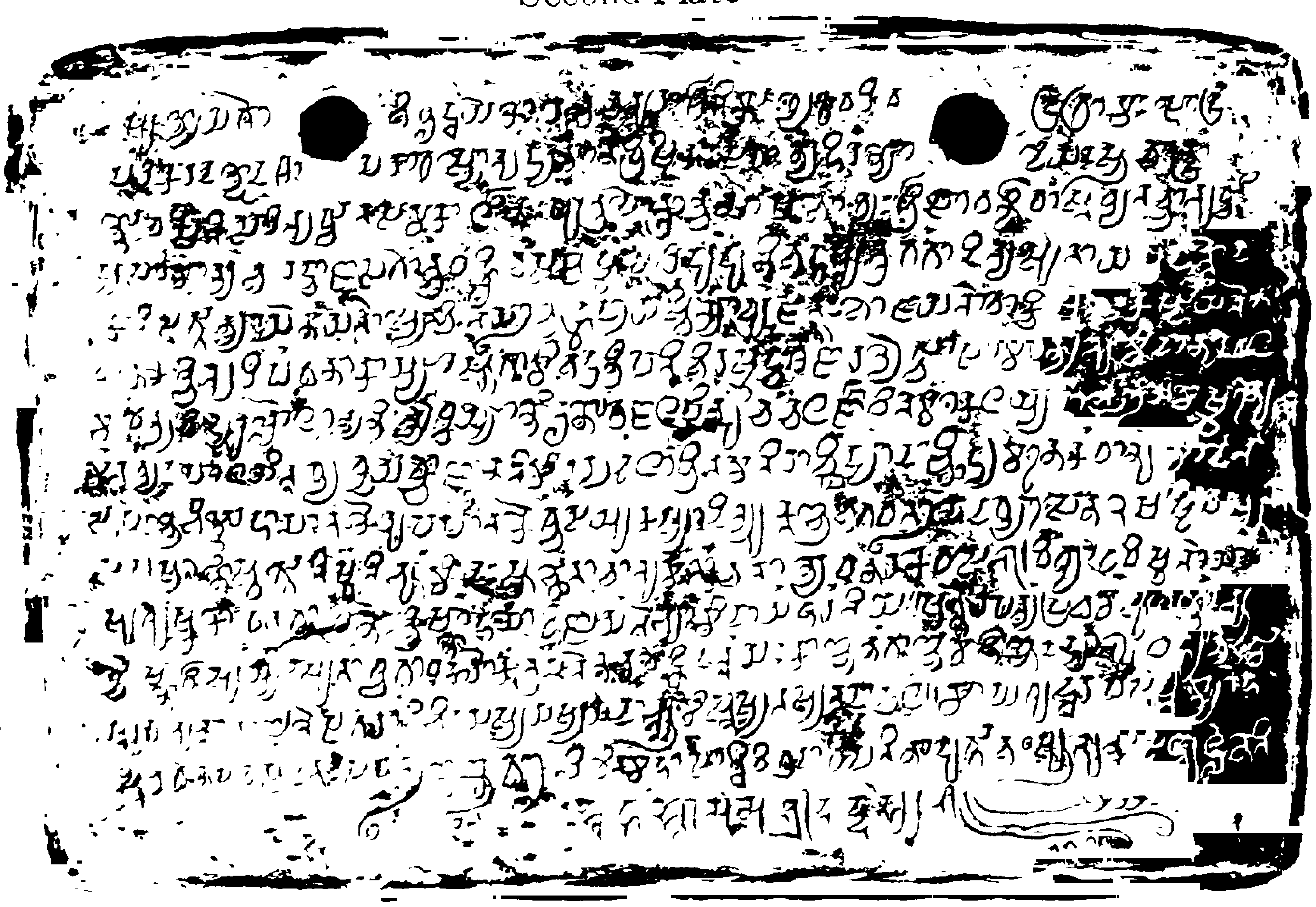
[3] The Chēdi Era commenced on *Kārttika śu. di.* 1 (the 6th October) in A. D. 248. See Prof. V. V. Mirashi, ' The Epoch of the Kalachuri Era ' ; above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 82 ff. and 88 ff.

First Plate



Second Plate



Further, Dadda II, in the records of some of his successors, is credited with affording protection to the lord of Valabhī against the emperor Harsha. Now this description applies, in the present inscription, to Dadda who heads the genealogical list given here. He may thus confidently be identified with Dadda II. His grandson, Dadda III, is styled Bāhusahāya here as elsewhere.

Till now nine records of the Early Gurjaras, including the present one, are known to us; and Prof. V. V. Mirashi gives the following genealogy, as revised by him[1]:—

Dadda I
|
Jayabhaṭa I—Vītarāga
|
Dadda II—Praśāntarāga
K. 380, 385, 391, 392
|
Jayabhaṭa II
|
Dadda III—Bāhusahāya
K. 427 (the present grant)
|
Jayabhaṭa III
K. 456, 461
|
Ahirōla
|
Jayabhaṭa IV
K. 486 (two grants)

The dates given above are from the records so far discovered. The present grant is dated (K.) 427, and thus is to be assigned to Dadda III.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Ōm[3] Svasti śrī-Bharukachchhāt=satata-Lakshmī-nivāsa-bhūtēḥ[4] tṛishṇā-saṁtāpa-hāriṇa(ṇi) dīn-ānātha-vistā-

2 rit-ānubhāvō(vē) ||[5] dvija-kul-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhava-śālini mahati mahārāja-Karṇṇ-ānvayē

3 kamal-ākara iva rājahansa(haṁsa)ḥ prabala-[Kali]kāla-vilasita(t-ā)kalita-vimala-svabhāvō gaṁbhīr-ōddā(dā)ra-charita-vismā-

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

[2] From the original plates and photographs.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read-*bhūtē*.

[5] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, as also those that follow, down to line 15.

4 pita-sakala-lōkapāla-mānasaḥ paramēśvara-śrī-Harshshadēv-ābhibhūta-Valabhīpati-parittrāṇ-ōpajāta-bhramad-a-

5 dabhra-śubhr-ābhra-vibhrama-yaśō-vitānaḥ śrī-Daddas=tasya sūnur=aśaṅkit-āgata-praṇayi-jan-ōpabhukta-vibhava-saṁchay-ōpachīya-

6 māna-manō-nirvṛittir=anēka-kaṇṭaka-bhaṭa[1]-saṁdōha-dāha-durllalita-pratāp-ānalō | niśita-nistṛi(stri)ṁśa-dhārā-dārit-ārāti-

7 kari-kumbha-muktāphala-chchhal-ōllasita-sita-yaśō-ṁśuk-āvaguṇṭhita-digvadh[ū]-vadana-sarasijaḥ śrī-Jayabhaṭas=tasy=ātmajā(jō)

8 mahāmuni-Manu-pra[ṇīta]-pravachan-ādhigama-vivēka-svadharmmānushṭhāna-pravaṇi(ṇō) varṇṇ-āśrama-vyavasth-ōnmūlita-sakala-[2]

9 ka(kā)l-āvalēpaḥ praṇayi-jana-manōratha-vishaya-vyatīta-vibhava-saṁpādan-āpanīt-āśēsha-śēsha-pārthiva-dān-ā-

10 nimānō[3] pada[4]-vivaś-āṁkuś-ātivartti-kupita-kari-nivāraṇā-pīlita[5]-guru-gaj-ādhirōhaṇa-pra-

11 bhāvō | vipat-pratāpa[6]-patita-narapati-śat-ānyuddharaṇa[7]-nikhila-lōka-viśruta-par-ōpakāra-karaṇa-vya-

sanaḥ prāchya-pratīchy-ādhirāja-vijṛiṁbhita-mahāsaṁgrāma-narapati-sahasra-parivārit-ānēka-gaja-ghaṭā-

13 vighaṭana-prakaṭita-[bhu]ja-vīryya-vikhyāta-Bāhusahāy-āparama[8]-nāmā parama māhēśvaraḥ samadhigata-pañcha-

14 mahāśabda[ḥ*] śrī-Dadda[ḥ*] kuśalī sarvvān=ēva rāja-sāmaṁta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshṭra-grāma-mahattar-ādhikā-

15 rik-ādīṁ(dīn) samanudarśayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ || [ya]thā mayā mātāpittrōr=ātmanaś=ch=aihik-āmushmika-

Second Plate

16 puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē Kō[rē]lla-[cha]turāśītirmadhyē[9] Uvarivadra-grāmaḥ sōdraṁ[10]

17 [11]parikara-daṇḍa-daś-āparādhas=s-ōtpadyamāna-vri(vi)shṭi[kaḥ] sa-dhānya-hiraṁny-[12] ādēyaḥ ā-chā(cha)ndr-ā[rkk-ā*]-

18 rṇṇava-[kshi]ti-sarit-parvvata-samakālīnaḥ puttra-pauttr-ānvay-ōpabhōgyaḥ śrī-Sāvatthī-vāstavya-tach-chāturvvi-

---

[1] Read *-vaṁśa-*.

[2] After *sakala* read *Kali-*

[3] Read *-dān-ābhimānō.*

[4] Read *-mada-*

[5] Read *-prathita-*

[6] Read *-prapāta-*

[7] Read *-ābhyuddharaṇa-*

[8] Read *-apara-*

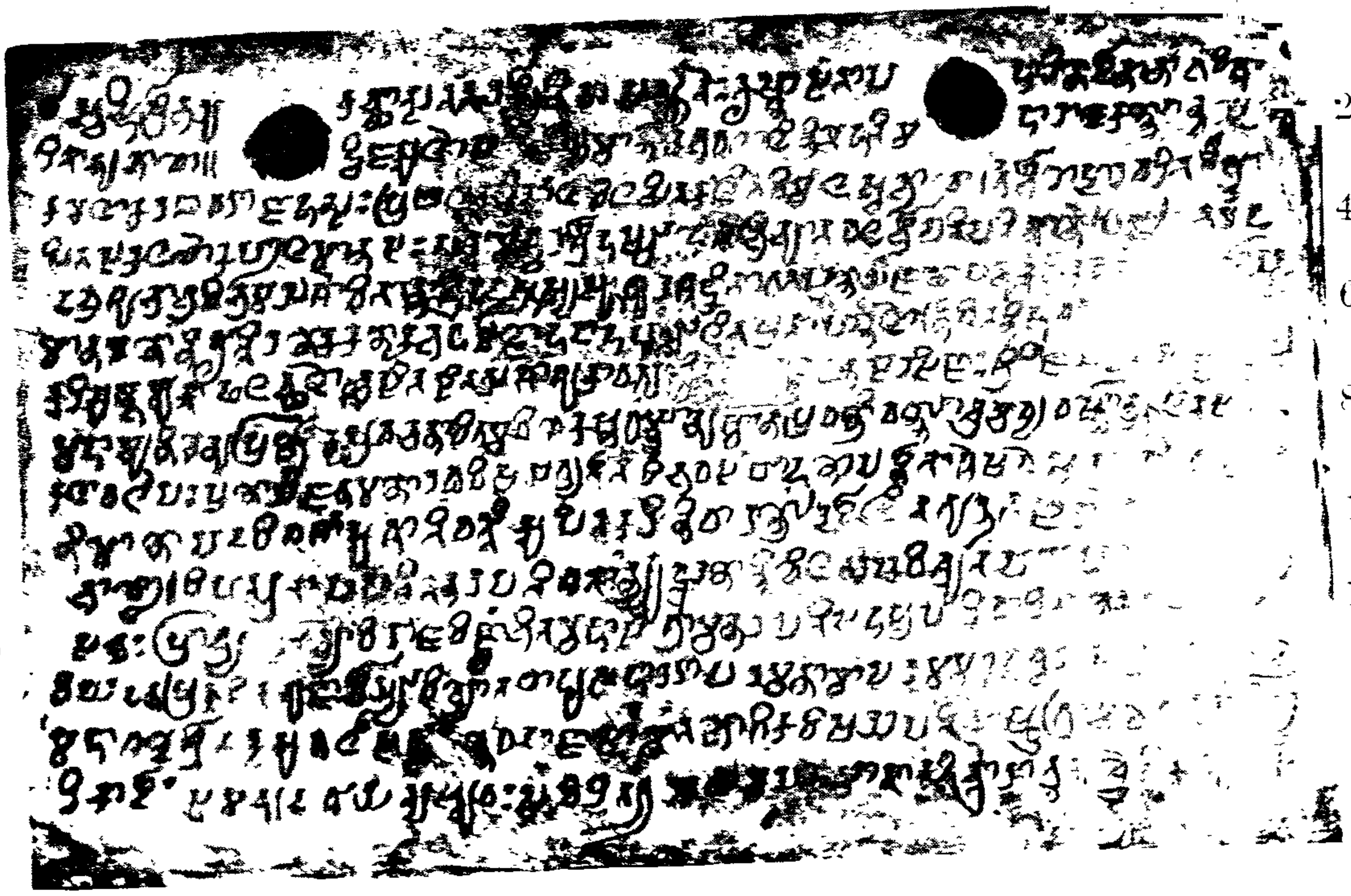
[9] Read *Kōrilla-chaturaśīti-madhyē.* The Nausari copper-plate grant of Jayabhaṭa III (*I. A.* Vol. XIII, pp. 77 ff.) mentions Kōrillā *pathaka* or 'subdivision', and also the village of Śamīpadraka which was included in it. From the present grant we know that Kōrilla included eighty-four villages, one of which was Uvarivadra of our grant. Thus two out of the eighty-four villages included in the Kōrilla subdivision are so far known.

[10] Read *s-ōdraṅgaḥ.*

[11] Read *s-ōparikara-daṇḍaḥ sa-daś-*

[12] Read *-hiraṇy-*

First plate



Second plate



SCALE: ONE-HALF

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B. CH. CHHABRA.

REG. No. 3977 E'36 - 475'48.

19 dya-sāmānya-Bharadvāja-sagōttra-Bahvri(vṛi)cha-sabrahmachāri-Duṁdubhibhaṭṭa-puttra-Gaṁgāditya-sutāya pradattōda[1]-

20 k-ātisargga-nyāyēna [|*] yatō=sy=ōchitayā brahmadāya-sthityā bhuṁjataḥ(tō) bhōjayatō vā kri(kṛi)shataḥ karshayatō

21 vā na kaiśchit=paripaṁthanā kāryyā [| *]āgāmi-bhadra-nri(nṛi)patibhir=asmad-vaṁśajair=anyair=vvā sāmānyaṁ bhūmi-dāna-phala-

22 m=avētya vidyul-lōlāny=anity=aiśvaryyāṇi tṛiṇ-āgra-jala-bindu chaṁchala[ñ=cha] jīvitam=ākalayya dāyō=yam=asm-ānu[2]-

23 maṁtavyaḥ pālayitavyaś=cha [| *] yaś=ch=ājñāna-timira-paṭal-āvri(vṛi)ta-matir=āchchhidyād=āchchhidyamānakaṁ v=ānumōdēta

24 sa pañchabhir=mmahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha saṁyukta[ḥ*] syād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna | Shashṭiṁ varshsha-

25 sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmi-daḥ [| *] āchchhētā(ttā) ch=ānuma[ṁ]tā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || Viṁdhy-āṭavīshv=atōyā-

26 su śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [| *] kri(kṛi)shṇ-āhayō hi jāyaṁtē bhūmi-dāyaṁ haraṁti yē || Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhū-

27 r=vvaishṇavī sūryya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ [| *] lōkattrayaṁ tēna bhavēd=dhi dattaṁ yaḥ kāñchanaṁ gāñ=cha mahīñ=cha dadyāt || Bahubhir=vva-

28 sudhā bhuktā rā[jānē][3] Sagar-ādibhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ || Māgha-śuddha-Ratha-saptamyāṁ ha-

29 stirathēna saha pradatta[ḥ] [|| *] Sa[ṁ*]vat[4] 400 20 7 likhita[ṁ] mahāsāndhivigrahādhipatinā Durggabhaṭa-sūnunā Saṅgullēn=ēti [|| *]

30 Sva-hastō mama śrī-Daddasya ||

No. 37—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

THE LATE RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, MADRAS

KOROSHANDA PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMAN

Mr. G. Ramdas has published an article on the above plates.[5] He does not notice the name of the executor of the grant in his introductory remarks. The published text (l.8) gives the name as follows: *Ājñābhōgikabōdudēvaḥ*. The index to the volume in question gives the article *ājñābhōgika* in the sense of an official and his name as Bōdudēva. There are one or two serious objections to this rendering of the original. If *ājñābhōgika* is presumed to be an official, the expression as read in the text would carry no sense. It does not either form a sentence or signify a statement by itself. Moreover the official *ājñābhōgika* is not known from any other record. But the official *Bhōgika* figures in several documents like *Amātya*.[6] It would, therefore, be more correct

[1] Read *pradatta uda-*

[2] Read *asmad-dāyō=yam=anu-*

[3] Read *rājabhiḥ*.

[4] [The ornamental treatment of the stroke indicating the vowellessness of the letter *t* is worthy of note. In *vasēt*, l. 25, and in *dadyāt*, l. 27, it seems to be mixed up with the mark of punctuation.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 23.

[6] D. R. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 1194, 1195, 1196, 1205, etc.

to amend the text as *ājñā Bhōgika-Bōdudēvaḥ* and render it as 'the *ājñā* (executor) (is) *Bhōgika* Bōdudēva.' The term *ājñā* is employed here in the sense of the official *ājñapti* or *ājñāpti* of other known records.[1]

Mr. Ramdas has pleaded inability to identify the gift village Tampōyaka. There is hardly any doubt that this is the same as the modern village Tampa which, like Kōrōshaṇḍā (the Kōrāsōḍaka of the grant), lies in the Parlakimedi *tāluk*. It is noteworthy that this village is even now a *zamīndārī* (gift) village.

RITHAPUR PLATES OF BHAVATTAVARMAN

Mr. Y. R. Gupte, who has published this record,[2] reads the text in line 6 as **मम चाचपी(पि) भट्टारिकायाश्च** and adds a foot-note that the expression **चाचपि** is superfluous. The Editor follows this up with a note that 'perhaps **अपिच** is meant'.

By this mis-reading and these notes thereon an interesting and vital point of the document is missed. A careful examination of the original would reveal the fact that a very important proper name is indicated here. The document actually reads **मम चाचलीभट्टारिकायाश्च.**

It is important in this connection to compare the forms of the letters *pi* and *li* as engraved in this record. In the former the medial *i*-sign is attached to the top of the left arm of *pa* (*cf. pi* in *piṇḍiraka* in line 19 and *pitrōḥ* in line 22). On the other hand, in the letters *li* and *lī* the medials are attached at the top of the right arm of the letter *l* (*cf. likhita* in line 21 and *kālika* in line 23). It will thus be seen that the actual text must be rendered as **मम च+अचलीभट्टारिकायाश्च** and herein we get the name of the queen, *viz.*, Achalī-Bhaṭṭārikā. This is an important item of information for the history of the Nala dynasty.

Incidentally we may refer to another mis-reading of the text given by Mr. Gupte. In l. 13 he reads **ल्कैः** and corrects it into **ल्कः.** A close examination of the original would show that it actually reads **ल्कः** correctly. What Mr. Gupte takes for the *ai*-sign of *lkaiḥ* is only the *l* of *lkaḥ*. The superscript *l* is engraved on a miniature scale above the letter *k* which occupies the main portion of this composite letter. An analogous instance may be observed in the formation of the letter *ddhyā* in *upāddhyāya* in l.26. That the letter intended here is *l* will be borne out by a close comparison of it with the form for the *ai*-sign in *kaiḥ* in *pātakaiḥ* (l. 15). The two prongs of the *ai*- sign converge to a point while the two arms of the superscript *l* touch the base of the letter independently.

The name of the engraver of the record is indicated thus: **पद्दोपाद्धयायपुत्रस्य पुत्रेण बोप्पदेवेन.** This passage has been rendered by Mr. Gupte as 'engraved by Boppadēva, the son's son of Paddōpādhyāya' (*loc. cit.* p. 103 f.) This interpretation raises the question, rather the puzzle, as to why the name of the father of the engraver Boppadēva is not given. It is a well-known practice of lithic documents to give, wherever they do, the name of the father and not of the grandfather, of the engraver. And why a departure here? In fact, the case seems to be that here is given not the name of the grandfather but of the father of the engraver. If the author had intended to indicate the grandson he could and would have straightaway employed the term '*pautrēṇa*' with reference to Boppadēva instead of the round-about expression *putrasya putrēṇa*. I think that the father's name in this case is Paddōpadhyāyaputra, wherein the suffix *upādhyāyaputra* must be understood to be the title of the father. It may, however, be argued that this title is not met with elsewhere in epigraphy: but this argument does not militate against the interpretation offered by me here. I am almost certain that the title was in vogue at that time on the analogy of epithets like *ārya*-

[1] Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, text l. 15; p. 135, text l. 10; Vol. XVII, pp. 337 and 339; Vol. XXIV, pp. 145, 303n.

[2] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

NALAJANAMPADU OLD-TELUGU INSCRIPTION.

Front



Back



B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36—475 49

SCALE: ONE-QUARTER

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putra, Dēvaputra[1] (title of the Kushāṇa kings), *bhaṭṭaputra*[2] (found in names of donees and engravers in epigraphs) and *Rājaputra*[3] (official).

In the light of the foregoing remarks we have to conclude that the engraver of the record was Boppadēva, son of Paddōpādhyāyaputra and not grandson of Paddōpādhyāya.

No. 38—NALAJANAMPADU OLD-TELUGU INSCRIPTION

(*1 Plate*)

ALFRED MASTER, LONDON

I am indebted to the courtesy of the Director General of Archæology, Rao Bahadur K. N Dikshit, for excellent squeezes of this inscription which is transcribed in modern Telugu characters in *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 676. A plate is given therein, but contains several obscurities The inscription is generally considered to be later than the Addanki Inscription of 844-5 A. C.[4] but I had reason to suspect that it was, on the contrary, much older.

The inscription is engraved on the two sides of a stone. The village in a field of which the stone lies is situated about lat. 15° 05′ long. 79° 30′ in the heart of the Telugu-speaking area as shown in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. IV, Map of Dravidian Languages. The stone has a bull at the head. Above it is a *liṅga* on a pedestal, on the left of which is a water-pot and crescent moon and on the right a partly defaced mark, which may represent the *triśūla*. The **characters** are of the Western Chalukya type and resemble those of the Bādāmi Inscription[5] of Vijayāditya (696-733 A. C.). As regards **orthography** the following may be noted : *a* is occasionally written for *ā* ; it is often impossible to distinguish *d* and *ḍ*.

TEXT

Front

1 Svasti [||*] Bha-
2 gavad-Arhata-[pa]-
3 rama-bhaṭṭārakasya pā-
4 dānudhyāta parama-mā-
5 hēśvara Para[mē]śvara Pa-
6 llavāditya śrī-B[ā]di-
7 rājula andu paḻḻe-
8 yari koḍuku Bādi[rā]-
9 j=envānṟu rājam[ānaṁ]-
10 bu mūnṟu vuṭṭu āṟla-
11 paṭṭu kshētra[ṁ]bu pa[ṟi]-
12 si paḻḻeyāri-[dā]-
13 yana[ṁ]bunāku ichche
14 dini rakshiñchinavāni[ki]

Back

15 aḍug-aḍug=
16 aśvamēdha[ṁ]bunā
17 palaṁb=agu
18 dīni ḻachchina-
19 vāniki ekaḻu
20 Śrīparvvataṁbu
21 ḻachchina pāpaṁ-
22 b=agu Vā[chcho]..
23 ḻāḻa koḍuku
24 Pallavāchā-
25 rjyasya liki-
26 tam [||*]

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[1] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 5, 6, 66, 96, 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, App. No. 249; Vol. XXII, p. 158.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 44, 135, 269.
[4] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 274.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 103.

TRANSLATION

Hail! Paramēśvara-Pallavāditya, a devoted worshipper of Mahēśvara, meditating on the feet of the Supreme Master, the Lord Arhat. He who is named Bādirāju, son of the village chief in the family of the Bādirājulu, divided off a field of three *puṭṭis* of millet by the royal measure and gave it as the village-chief's hereditary land. He who preserves this (*assignment*) will have the reward of performing the horse sacrifice often. He who destroys it will ever have the sin of destroying the Śrīparvvata. Written by Pallavāchārya, son of Vāchcho. .ḻāḷa.

The inscription is ordinarily supposed to have been engraved in the name of a small Pallava chief Bādirāju and the expression *Paramēśvara* is held to be an epithet. Paramēśvara was a title assumed by Pulakēśin II after his repulse of Harsha and was used by the Western and Eastern Chalukyas after him. The Rāshṭrakūṭas used it, but not regularly. The Bāṇas claim descent from the door-keeper of Paramēśvara and do not use the title for themselves. The Gaṅgas do not use the title. And the Chōḷas at a later period avoid it. It is therefore unlikely that a small chief of Pallava descent would use it, particularly as the earlier Pallavas used the word only as a personal name and the later Pallava kings were recognised as paramount long enough to make it unlikely that any members of the clan would assume it as a title. Nandivarman Pallavamalla in the Kāśākuḍi plates[1] (c. 730 A. C.) calls himself *paramēśvara* and in line 136 the word is used in *paramēśvara-mahākōshṭakāriṇā* by the king's high-treasurer. If *paramēśvara* is not a *biruda*, it must be a name. There is only one name that deserves consideration —that of the Pallava king Paramēśvara I (660 to 680 A. C.). There are the following definite reasons for making this attribution.

(1) The characters belong to the seventh and eighth centuries. They are later than the sixth century as *k* and *r* are no longer open. They are not later than the ninth century as they possess an earlier form of *l*.

(2) The inflection -*ṇḍu* (modern Telugu -*ḍu* and -*ṇḍu*) in the Addanki inscription is represented here as -*nṟu*. The modern Telugu *āllu* 'a millet' is represented, not as *āḍlu* as in the Addanki record, but as *āṟlu*. These forms are closer to the Tamil type, but are not Tamil. The freer use of *ṟ* is a sign of age.

(3) Paramēśvara I frequently calls himself in Tamil inscriptions Ichchuvaraparuma and Paramēchchu[va]ra[2] and in Sanskrit Paramēśvaravarmā[3] with only a simple biruda, if any. *Pallavāditya* is one of the *birudas* of Narasiṁha II, Paramēśvara's son[4] and Mahēśvara is a contemporary name of Śiva, although I cannot find the term *paramamāhēśvara* until the ninth century in an Eastern Chalukyan grant.[5] Paramēśvara, unlike many other kings, often does not use *śrī* before his name.[6]

(4) The vocabulary and structure of sentences are not less archaic than those of the Addanki inscription.

The language of the inscription is of special interest. It has been previously noticed,[7] that there are several unusual words and forms. *Mūnṟu* (l. 10) 'three' may be compared with Tamil *mūnṟu* and is certainly the oldest form known of the numeral substantive three. *Paḷḷeyāri*

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 350, l. 71.

[2] Above, Vol. VII, p. 24 ; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 211 ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 331.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I. p. 148.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 22. [The following rulers of South India who flourished between 4th and 7th centuries A. D. had the *biruda* of *paramamāhēśvara* : (1) the Sālaṅkāyana king Vijaya-Dēvavarman (above, Vol. IX, p. 58). (2) the Kēkaya chief Sivanandavarman (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 142) and (3) the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Vikramēndravarman (above, Vol. IV, p. 196).—N. L. R.]

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 31.

[7] See for example, K. Ramakrishnayya : *Studies in Dravidian Philology*.

(ll. 8 and 12) which seems to be the form intended, can be compared as regards the formation with *pālēru* 'tenant'. It seems to have been formed from *palle* 'village' and the plural suffix *-ār*. *Envānṛu* (l. 9) may be compared with *envōr* (*enva ōr+*, another form of *-ār*) found in a Kannaḍa inscription[1] of c. 700 A. C. but singular instead of plural. *Pa[ṛi]si* (ll. 11 and 12) is uncertain and might be *paḷisi* or *palisi* or *pā* for *pa*, without altering the meaning, as Telugu *pariya* means fragment, *pālu*, share and Kannaḍa has *paṛi* meaning 'divide', *palisu*, *pālisu* meaning 'distribute'.

Reward is *pala* (l. 17) (not *phala*) as in the earliest Telugu and Kannaḍa-Sanskrit inscriptions.[2] *Ekaḷu* (l. 19) may be for *ēkāḷu* cf. *ēkālamu* meaning 'when'.[3] The final *u* is for the emphatic suffix and might be for *ū* or *uṁ*. The form of *ḷa* (ll. 18 and 21) is found in later inscriptions and also in early Kannaḍa.[4]

What Caldwell terms euphonic permutation is rare, the only clear example being *vuṭṭu* (l. 10) for *puṭṭu* in *mūnṛu vuṭṭu*. In the other inscriptions it is more frequent. So *pandumbu*, meaning 'ten *tūmus*', *sēnu* for *chēnu*, meaning 'field', *sēsiri* for *chēsiri*[5]; again *gānu* for *kānu* meaning 'see,' *vē-guḷḷuvu*, meaning '1000 families' (*vē+kuḷḷuvu*), *vē-seruvuḷu* meaning '1000 tanks' (*vē+cheṛuvuḷu*) in the Mālēpāḍu inscription.[6] In the Addaṅki verse inscription the change is common but in the short prose portion rare, only *enubadi vuḍlu*, meaning '80 *puṭṭas*' being found (*puṭṭalu* replaced by *vuḍlu*).

The grammar of the present inscription is closer to Tamil and Kannaḍa than is modern Telugu. The plural termination *kaḷ* or *gaḷ* is already worn down to *la* via *gala* which actually occurs in the Bezwada inscription of Yuddhamalla (c. 880 to 926), in *brōlagala* meaning 'cities'[7] (*b* is the form assumed by *p* after *ṁ*).[8] The ending *nṛu* for nominative masculine singular has been mentioned above. The neuter form *mbu* later *mu* already appears but seems to be confined to words considered to be of Sanskrit origin. *Ichche* (l. 13) meaning 'he gave' corresponds to *ichchenu* in modern Telugu and *ichchen* in literary Telugu for M. F. N. sing. and N. pl. Possibly the twin consonant is a sign of the past tense. The suffix *āku* (l. 13) corresponds with modern Telugu *gā*; Tamil *āka*, *āki*, Kannaḍa *āga* are similar in origin. *Agu* (ll. 17 and 22)) is a future or optative, cf. Kannaḍa *akum*[9] and perhaps Tamil *āka* in the Daḷavānūr inscription.[10] The uninflected form of the nominative used as a genitive (*paḷḷeyari*, l. 8) is found in certain nouns in modern Telugu, but the genitive termination *na* (*aśvamēdhaṁbuna*, l. 16) is, in modern Telugu, only found in words such as *āyana* meaning 'his' and in relative participles. The former survives in modern Tamil and Kannaḍa, and the latter only in Tamil.

From the linguistic point of view an early attribution is therefore perfectly feasible. From the epigraphic point of view it has been stated above that the characters are those of the seventh and eighth centuries. They may be somewhat later, for the style of the Telugu alphabet was changed in the course of the reign of the Eastern Chalukya Vijayāditya III (circa 844 to 888 A. C.); his later inscriptions were engraved in a new more regular style, which is found later in the Bezwada inscription. The latest date of this inscription is, therefore, c. 850.

Historically, the date can be pushed back still further. It has been argued above that Paramēśvara must be a proper name, but there still exists the bare possibility that during a pro-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 103.

[2] Te. Addaṅki and Bezwada inscriptions; Ka. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1936, p. 126; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II. No. 35 (Sanskrit portion).

[3] Brown, *Telugu English Dictionary*, under *eppuḍu*.

[4] See, for example, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

[5] *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 607, Peṭlūru.

[6] Above, Vol. XI, p. 346. [The expression *vē-guḷḷuvu* has been taken to mean 'a thousand temples'.—N. L. R.]

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 150 [*gala* or *kala* here means only 'living' or 'existing'.—N. L. R.]

[8] See Campbell, *Teloogoo Grammar*, 33.

[9] Bādāmi Inscription, c 590, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 60.

[10] Above, Vol. XII, p. 225.

longed period of disorder a local chief assumed the title of Paramēśvara. There is, however, no sign of such a prolonged period of disorder. To the north of Addaṅki which is only about 30 miles from Nalajanampāḍu, the Eastern Chalukya kings reigned with unbroken power since *c.* 615. To the south the Pallavas still maintained their power. So late as 862 Aparājita won a victory over the Pāṇḍya king and was not defeated by the Chōḷa Āditya till the end of the 9th century. His predecessors Nandivarman Pallavamalla *c.* 740 and Dantivarman *c.* 824 were still recognised as suzerains by the Bāṇa kings[1] and although the Eastern Chalukya advance in 844 was probably due to the weakness of Dantivarman's successors, 20 years is too short a period in which to produce a Pallava chief claiming sovereign powers in a mixed Chalukya-Pallava style and calling his minister Pallavāchāryya. The further we recede the less opportunity there is of finding any gap. The fierce Pallava-Western Chalukya conflicts resulted only in weakening both the sides so much so that they could be conquered by the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Chōḷas, but their kingdoms were not disrupted and there are no signs of administrative decay as in the last days of the Moghul Empire or the break-up of the power of the Delhi Sultans.

The inscription itself although simple in its preface in conformity with Paramēśvara I's practice, is a formal document in the king's name. It invokes the support of his successors with the blessing of the horse-sacrifice and the sanction of a searing curse. If it had been written in the name of a petty chief, the blessing of the *aśvamēdha* would have been ridiculous. The mention of the *rājamāna* or royal measure implies a strong central administration. A petty chief does not concern himself with prescribing standard measures. There need, therefore, be no hesitation in making the ascription to Paramēśvara I.[2]

No. 39—A NOTE ON THE NALAJANAMPADU INSCRIPTION

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, OOTACAMUND

In his article on this inscription Mr. Alfred Master attributes the record, which he places in the 7th-8th century of the Christian era on grounds of palæography and language, to the Pallava king Paramēśvara I. His main argument for doing so is that the expression Paramēśvara occurring in line 5 of the record is a personal name and not a *biruda* of Bādirāja (l.7) as has been hitherto supposed ; for, according to him, it is not likely that a subordinate chief of Pallava descent could have used the *biruda* as the earlier Pallavas used the word only as a personal name and the later members of the family had no need to assume it. Moreover this title which was adopted by the Chālukyas and occasionally used by the Rāhstrakūṭas was not used by the Bāṇas, the Gaṅgas or the Chōḷas. But I may point out that there is at least one inscription at Kāñchīpuram which indicates that the early Pallava king Narasiṁhavishṇu had the title of *Paramēśvara.*[3] In the context it is not possible to take the word used in *double entendre* as the proper name of the

[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 224 and 225.

[2] In the preparation of this paper, I have profited by some useful suggestions kindly put forward by Dr. L. D. Barnett. I also owe thanks to Mr. C. S. K. Pathy, D-ēs-L for his perusal of the rough draft.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 29.

Bharttuḥ Pur-ōnmathana-dṛishṭa-dhanur-bbalasya
Śailādhirājatanay=ēva Vṛishadhvajasya [।*]
yā Kālakāla iti viśruta-puṇya-kīrttēḥ
kāntā nitānta-dayitā Paramēśvarasyaḥ(sya) [1*]
Dēvē jagad-valaya-rakshaṇa-baddha-dīkshē
nirbhinna-śatru-hṛidayē Narasiṁhavishṇau [।*]
vāllabhyam=ūrjjitam=avāpya virājatē yā
nirjjitya garvvam=iva Pushkaradēvatāyāḥ । [2*]

As Narasiṁhavishṇu was the name of the king, the expressions Kālakāla and Paramēśvara are to be taken as his *birudas*.

king which is given in the second verse of the record as Narasiṁhavishṇu. Among the rulers who claim Pallava descent, Chāru-Ponnēra, who was also known as Pallavādhirāja, bore the title of *Paramēśvara*.[1] Vīra-Nombādhirāja (apparently Poḷalchōṛa, son of Chāru-Ponnēra) had assumed the title *Rājaparamēśvara*.[2] Several inscriptions of the later Pallava chiefs of the Telugu country apply this title to their ancestor Kāḍuveṭṭi or Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi.[3] Of the other dynasties mentioned by Mr. Master, epigraphical evidence shows that the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha (A.D. 725 to 788) used *Paramēśvara* as a *biruda* ;[4] his son Śivamāra also bore it ;[5] and a record of Nanniya-Gaṅga, a later scion of the same family, seems to give him the title.[6] That the Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndra who ruled from A.D. 1063 to 1070 was given the title *Paramēśvara* can be seen from his Chārāla plates[7] of Śaka 991 and from the stone inscription of the 6th year of his reign at Poṭṭapalli.[8] The *biruda* of *Rājaparamēśvara* is known to have been borne by Kulōttuṅga I.[9] It is thus difficult to maintain that the word *Paramēśvara* used in the inscription is not a *biruda* of a Pallava chief.

Another reason adduced in support of the contention that the title could not be that of Bādirāja, who was a small Pallava chief, is the blessing of the *aśvamēdha* which would be ridiculous in a record of a petty chief and the mention of the *rājamāna* which implies a strong central administration. I shall give here a few instances from inscriptions which, though they do not refer themselves to the reigns of sovereign rulers, invoke the blessing of *aśvamēdha* and mention *rājamāna*. One of them is the inscription of Pṛithivīpati found in the Cuddapah District of the Madras Presidency.[10] It is also written in the Telugu language and may be assigned on grounds of palæography to the 8th or 9th century A.D. During this period there was no independent ruler of the name of Pṛithvīpati in this part of the country. He could be only a minor chieftain. But his epigraph contains a reference to the *rachchamāna* (*rājamāna*) as well as to *asvamēda* (*aśvamēdha*). Another inscription[11] of Śaka 894 which was issued during the administration of Śāntivarmmarasa, who was not a paramount king, invokes the fruit of eighteen *aśvamēdhas* on the person who protected the gift recorded in it. An early Telugu inscription of about the 7th century A.D. at Bōdanampāḍu in the Nellore District records a gift of land according to the *rājamāna*. It may be noted that this epigraph was not issued by a reigning king.[12] Similarly an inscription at Kōḷālu in the Chitaldrug District of the Mysore State dated Śaka 953 which does not mention any ruling king registers an endowment of land measuring twelve *mattar* by *rājamāna*.[13]

Let me now proceed to the interpretation of the text of the record. After *svasti*, which can be regarded as a sentence in itself, the next sentence ends with *ichche* in line 13. If it is considered that there is another sentence ending with *Pallavāditya* of line 6, it would have no predicate. It would not, therefore, be natural to take the passage beginning with *Bhagavad* and concluding with *Pallavāditya* as a complete sentence, nor is there any justification for doing so. The whole passage preceding *śrī-Bādirājula* would thus govern Bādirājula.

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Challakere 33 and 34.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 17.

[3] See *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1220 ; *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 362.

[4] *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1927, No. 4.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1924, Nos. 46 and 80 (l.65).

[6] *Ibid.*, 1923, No. 113 (l.38). Some later chiefs of this family had this title ; see *e.g. Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Shikarpur 109 and 130 and Shimoga 4 and 39.

[7] Above, Vol. XXV, page 262, text-line 156.

[8] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Chintamani 161.

[9] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 200.

[10] *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. 24, p. 160.

[11] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 44.

[12] *An. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1934, part II, para. 40.

[13] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Hiriyur 77.

In view of these considerations it would be highly problematical to ascribe this inscription to the Pallava king Paramēśvara I.

Incidentally I may notice here one or two points of the language of the record. The suffix *āku* (l. 13) is to be taken as a dative case-ending corresponding to the modern termination *aku* of the same case as in *grihamunaku*. The long *ā* in *āku* is found in many early Telugu inscriptions.[1]

In lines 11-12 I would read *pa[ḷa]si* in place of *pa[ri]si* ; *paḷasi* may be either a variant of or a mistake for *paḍasi* meaning ' having obtained '. This word may be construed along with *andu* in l. 7 which, though locative, seems to have the sense of ' from '. Thus the passage in lines 6-12 would mean ' he who was called Bādirāju, the son of Paḷḷeyāru,[2] having obtained 3 *vuṭṭu* of *āṟla-paṭṭu* land from Śrī-Bādirājulu '.

No. 40—TASGAON PLATES OF YADAVA KRISHNA ; SAKA 1172

(1 Plate)

G. H. KHARE, POONA

Sometime in 1934, my friend Mr. V. T. Apte, M.A., LL.B., of Jamkhandi (the capital of the state of the same name in Southern Maratha country, now merged into the Indian Union) sent to me four copper plates with a tentative reading of the record inscribed on them. He informed me that he got them from Mr. S. R. Apte, the then Public Prosecutor of Jamkhandi who had secured them from Mr. Jog, a pleader at **Tasgaon** (Satara). On examining the plates, I found that the grant originally consisted of five plates of which the first was missing. But having no hope of getting it in the near future, the incomplete record was edited jointly by myself and my friend Mr. V. T. Apte.[3] After a lapse of 4 years, however, through the goodness of Mr. Vinayaka Dinakara Limaye of Tasgaon, who was the original owner of the four plates, I was able to get the missing plate, which I edited separately.[4] I now re-edit the complete record in this journal for a wider circle of scholars.

The set consists of five plates, measuring 10½", 6" and less than 1/10" in length, breadth and thickness respectively. They were strung on a circular ring, 2½" in diameter, the two ends of which were soldered into a rectangular **seal**, bearing in relief, from left to right, the figures of a couchant bull and a flying **garuḍa** with folded hands. *Garuḍa* was the emblem of the Yādava dynasty and the bull probably that of the feudatory family brought to notice for the first time in these plates. The first and the fifth plates are inscribed on the inner sides only, while the remaining three plates are engraved on both the sides. The rims of the plates are turned either inwards or outwards, and the writing is well preserved on the whole. The set weighs 219 *tolas*.

The grant is written in **characters** of the southern Nāgarī type of the thirteenth century A.D. and calls for few remarks. The engraver being not sufficiently skilled in his craft has committed several mistakes. It is rather difficult to differentiate between *dva* and *ddha* ; *ra*, *ta* and *na* also cannot be easily distinguished from one another.

About **orthography**, some points deserve mention. *Jihvāmūlīya* has been used in 19 places (ll. 9, 12, 16, 19, 21, 24, 39, 42, 44, 51, 53, 62, 66, 68, 82, 91, 96) and *upadhmānīya* in 8 places (ll. 14, 15, 29, 30, 44, 19, 91, 96). *S* has been used for *ś* in some places ; *e.g.*, *Srīchandra* (l. 37), *satam*

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[1] Cf. *Vasantīśvarambunāk=ichchinadi* (i.e., given to the temple of Vasantīśvara) in No. 384 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection ; below, p. 236, text-lines 15-16.

[2] *Palleyāru* or *Paḷḷeyaru* may be a proper name or the designation of an official connected with a *paḷḷi*, i.e. Jaina temple or establishment to the god Arhat, of whom the chief Bādirājulu was a devotee.

[3] *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. III, p. 9.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

(l. 73), *vyādisyate* (l. 74), *prāmāṇyatas=che*° (l. 91). In a few cases *v* has been used for *b* as in °*tō=ṁvarē* (l. 78). There are instances where *ts* has been substituted by *tchh* as in *yat=chhaubhrātra*° (l. 53-4), *jyōtchhnā* (l. 58-9). *Schha* has been invariably used for *stha*.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, except in lines 100-115 which are written in Marāṭhī prose. This passage is valuable as it furnishes a specimen of the rare Marāṭhī of the pre-Jñānēśvara period. It contains one definitely Kannaḍa word *oḍēra*. The whole of the Sanskrit portion is in verse except the last line.

The record opens with the details of the date cited below and refers to the grant of the village Maṁjaravāṭaka. Then after invocations to Śiva and Vishṇu in his boar incarnation, the record describes the members of the Yādava family thus : Formerly in the Yādava family was born the victorious Bhillama who built his fort Suragiri, *i.e.*, Dēvagiri. From him was born Jaitra who subdued the angry Āndhra king. His son was Siṁha born by the grace of the family-goddess Nārasiṁhī. From him was born Jaitra who begot Kṛishṇa. Conventional praise is bestowed on these princes. While Kṛishṇa was ruling, there prospered the family of Chandra and Kēśava whose descent is described as follows :—In Northern India there was a Gūrjjara Brāhmaṇa named Śatānanda of the Kṛishṇātrēya *kula* (*gōtra*). He begot Śriyānanda. From him was born Jalhaṇa-Paṇḍita. His wife was Kumāradēvī, the daughter of Prabhāditya of the Viśvāvasu *gōtra*. Their son was Chaṁdradēva whose younger brother was Kēśava. Here follows a description of the fraternal love that existed between them. Chandradēva who was the *tilaka* of the Yādava feudatories was also known by the epithet *Kharahastamalla*. In vv. 18 and 19 there is a veiled allusion to some historical facts and as such I translate them here very closely. (V.18) " Oh ! be the king of Kōṅkaṇa and then I shall be Chandradēva for a moment." " If you are the protector of Gōpaka, then oh! I am born as Kēśava." " You protect your territory and then, oh ! I shall take it by assault in a moment." "Thus was the tumult raised by the boys while playing in the palace." (V. 19) " Oh ! Lord ! if you are Jayakēśin, the king of the sea, then drive the group of horses "; " Oh Chōla ! send speedily a hundred pearls with fresh water "; " Oh king of Nepal, make haste (and send) a clean and white *chāmara* and musk (to the brothers) ". Thus spoke always, the parrots and *sārikās* (of the palace) in the morning. Though nothing has been said in these verses about the relations of the princes mentioned therein to the two brothers, Jayakēśin may be the Kadamba chief Jayakēśin III of Goa, who is assigned to the period between 1187-88 and 1210-11 A.D. by the late Dr. Fleet.[1] MM. Prof. V. V. Mirashi has suggested with some diffidence that some Ābhīra king may have been referred to by the word Gōpakapālaka.[2] But is it not better to take Gōpaka to stand for Gōpakapaṭṭaṇa and the whole expression to mean the king of Goa ?

These two brothers, out of devotion, constructed a unique temple of Kalidēva. Here follow three verses describing the sky-scraping pinnacles of the temple. For this temple the two brothers made a grant of the village Maṁjaravāṭaka with the stipulation that half the income of the village was to be spent for the eight kinds of bodily enjoyment of the god (Kalidēva=Śiva) and the other half was to be utilised in feeding 25 Brāhmaṇas. Verse 24 is imprecatory and verse 25 informs us that one Mhāidēva who was well-versed in six languages and who was a favourite of both the brothers, Chandra and Kēśava, composed this inscription. Now comes the Marāthi portion which, besides referring to the village granted and the conditions of the grant, names the villages

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 571. Professor Moraes in his *Kadambakula*, however, has extended this period to 1216 A. D. in the genealogical tree given against p. 167 ; but on p. 204, he surmises that Jayakēśin might have reigned up to 1212-13 A. D. No evidence has been, unfortunately, put forward in either case. [Two records of this ruler which would take his reign up to A. D. 1215 or perhaps even up to 1217 have been noticed in the *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1925-26 (App. C, Nos. 437 and 439 and App. E, p. 83). —N. L. R.]

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 204 and note 4.

lying on the boundary of the village granted, and cites the names of nine (not eight as stated in the grant) out of the 14 donees who received shares in half the portion of the villages which was granted to Brāhmaṇas and who were to act as trustees for that portion. The temple was to be in charge of the Guravas who were to look after the bodily enjoyments of the god and the Brāhmaṇa grantees were to take care of the *satra*. In addition to these duties, the Brāhmaṇas were to perform daily *pañchāmṛita*, waving of lights etc. to the god. After the Marāṭhī portion the verse describing Mhāidēva, the composer, is repeated. The grant then ends with a benediction in verse and prose.

The details of the **date** are given thus in ll. 1-2 : the **Śaka year 1172** represented by the words *nētra* (2), *adri* (7) and *rudra* (11), the cyclic year **Sādhāraṇa**, the month **Māgha** and **the day of Purāri,** *i.e.*, the 14th of the dark fortnight. The 14th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha is the well-known Mahāśivarātri day ; but as no week day is given, it is not possible to verify the date. The day on which the 14th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of a month falls at midnight is reckoned as the Śivarātri day. In the present case the 14th *tithi* was current at midnight on Monday, the **20th February A.D. 1251** and ended on Tuesday the 21st of February 1251 A.D. at ·03 after mean sunrise. It follows, therefore, that the 20th was the date intended.

Of the **place names** occurring in this grant Maṁjaravāṭaka or Maṁjarabāḍe is the modern Maṁjarḍē, a village nine miles to the north-east of Tasgaon, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Satara District. Gōvaru, Vālagavāḍa, Hadhinaura and Pēḍha are the modern Gōvargaon, Balagavaḍe, Hātnūr and Peḍ at a distance of 2, 2, 3½, 3½ miles respectively from the village granted. Suragiri is evidently Dēvagiri or modern Daulatabad. About Parṇṇakhēṭa a few words are necessary. Hēmādri in his introduction to the *Vratakhaṇḍa*, a part of the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* informs us that Mallugi, a Yādava prince, captured the town Parṇakhēṭa from his enemies with a view to making it his residence.[1] Prof. V. V. Mirashi has opined that this town must be situated somewhere to the east of Khāndēsh, possibly in Berar, and has suggested that it should be identified with Pātkhēḍ, a village about 4 miles to the south-west of Bārśī-Ṭākaḷī in Berar.[2] Ordinarily the word Parṇakhēṭa would be transformed into Pāṇakhēḍa, Pālakhēḍa or Pānakhēḍa, but not to Pātkhēḍa ; for *Pāna, Pāla,* etc., are the derivatives of *Parṇa* and *Pāta, Paṭṭa,* etc., of *patra.* I, therefore, think that Prof. Mirashi's identification does not hold good as far as phonetics is concerned. I venture to suggest an identification of the place. In the south-west corner of the West Khandesh District is a comparatively big village named Pālkhēḍ or Pānkhēḍa which may with greater probability be identified with Parṇṇakhēṭa.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : vv. 1, 2, 5-9, 11, 12, 14-24 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 3, 25, 26 *Sragdharā* ; 4 *Pṛithvī* ; 10 *Gīti* ; 13 *Āryā* ; 27 *Śālinī.*]

First Plate

1 ओं[4] ।। स्वस्ति श्रीमति शाल(लि)वाहनशके नेत्राद्रिरुद्रोन्मि-

2 ते तच्छा(त्सा)धारणवच्छ(त्स)रे सुविदिते माघे [पु]रारेर्त्तिथि[5] । [सा]-

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 271, v. 34.

[2] Above, Vol, XXI, p. 131, f. n. 1.

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Shown by a symbol.

[5] Read. पुरारेस्तिथौ.

3 मग्यो (ग्र्यो) न्नतचंद्रकेशवकृतो (ते) च्छ (स्व) र्ग्गस्य भोगाप्तये नाम्ना

4 मंजरवाटकस्य विकटं तच्छासनं लिख्यते ॥१॥

5 ऐश्वर्यं स्छि (स्थि) रयत्सु (न्सु) खं विकसयन्श (ञ्छ) क्तित्रयं वर्द्धयं (य)-

6 न्विज्ञानं धनयन्विवेकपदवीमुत्तालमु[त्थं]भ (त्तम्भ) य-

7 न् ॥ कीर्त्ति (र्त्तिं) पल्लवयक्रु (न्कृ) पां विकचयन्भो (न्भौ) मांस्तु वि-

8 [स्ता]रयन्पायादन्धकभेदनस्त्रिजगती (तीं) श्रीचंद्रचूडाम-

9 णिः ॥२॥ श्रीभर्त्तु × कोलमूर्त्ते × कुलिशसमधिकोदग्र-

10 दंष्ट्राग्रजाग्रद्गर्व्वप्रध्वस्तदैत्यप्रकटितवसुधोद्धार-

11 वीर्योद्धुरस्य । पांतु त्रैलोक्यमुद्यद्विबुधजयज-

12 याध्वानपू (फू) त्कारितान्त × क्रोधाध्मातस्य गर्ज्जद्घु (द्घु) रघु-

13 रुडुघुरुल्कारवद्धूत्कृतानि ॥३॥ जयी समभव-

14 त्पुरा यदुकुले नृपो भिल्लस (म) ≍ प्रचंडभुजविक्र-

15 माक्क्रमितवैरिवर्ग्ग ≍ परं । विजित्य तुरगैर्ग्गजा-

16 नकृत यो निजे साधने धने कृतमति × क्षणात्छु (त्सु) र-

17 गिरिं स्वदुर्ग्गं व्यधात् ॥४॥ तस्माज्जैत्रपरंपरास-

18 मुदयी श्रीजैत्रपालाख्यया प्रख्यातो विजिता-

Second Plate; First Side

19 खिलप्रतिभटक्षोणीपतिर्जातवान् ॥ य × क्षु (क्षु) द्धांध्रनरेंद्र-

20 मग्रचुलुकीकृत्या[थ] यल्लीलया लक्ष्मीमुद्धतकुंभसंभव-

21 मुने × कुर्वन्नवीनामिव ॥५॥ तद्भक्त्या कुलदेवतेति मुदिता स्त्री (श्री-)

22 पर्ण्णखेटस्छि (स्थि) ता देवी दु[र्ध]र चंडमुंडमथनी श्रीनारसि (सिं) हीति

23 या ॥ आत्मीयासनसंस्छि (स्थि) तं निजकलाप्रौढप्रतापानलज्वाला-

24 भि × कवलीकृतप्रतिभटं सि (सिं) हं सुतं याकरोत् ॥६॥ एते धि-

25 क्कृतशक्रविक्रमकथा[:*] संक्षिप्तकालानलप्रौढाहंकृत-

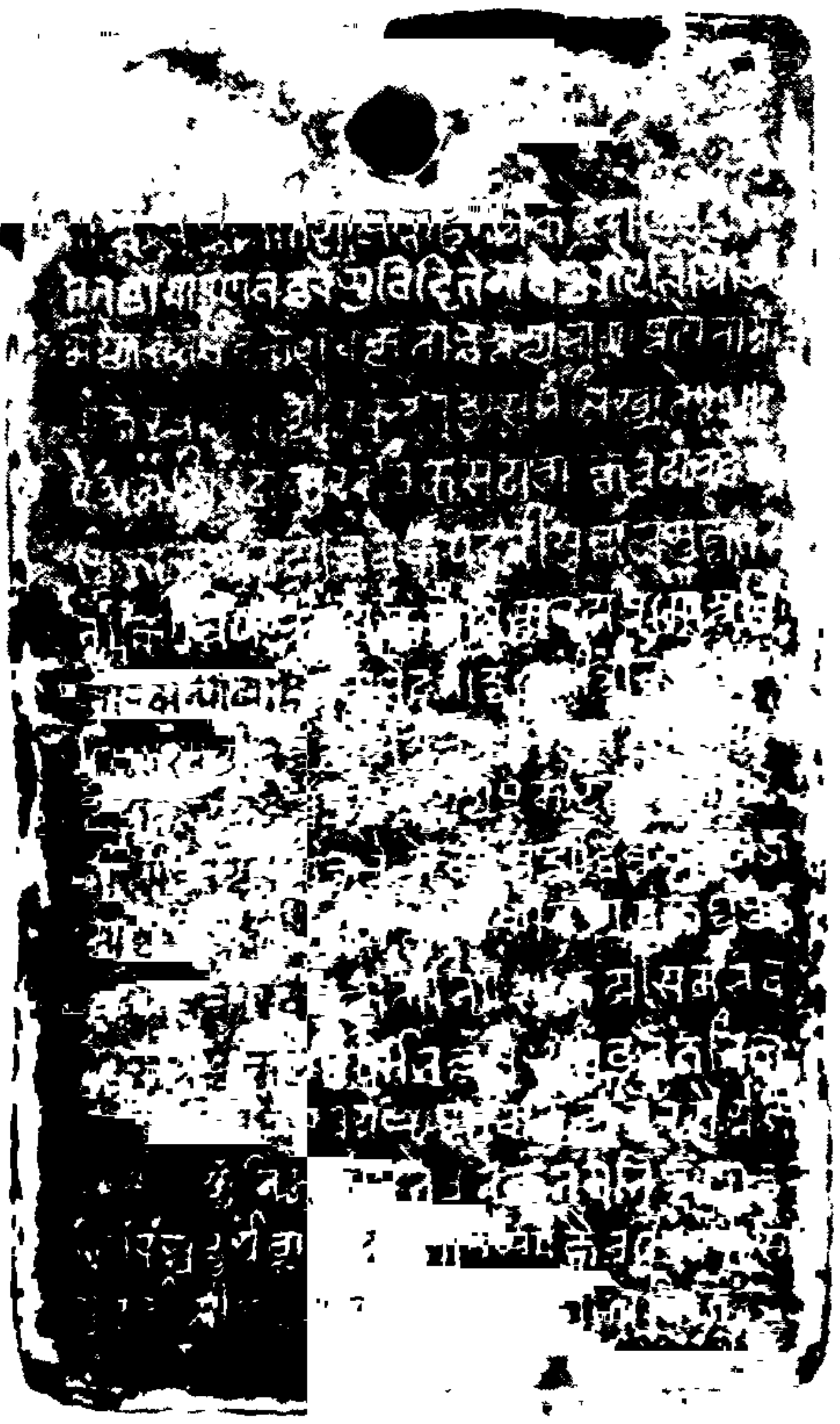
26 यस्तिरस्कृतकृताहंकारहालाहलाः । प्रध्वस्तप्रलयप्रचं-
27 डपवनक्षुब्धाब्धिगर्ज्जारवास्सिंहक्षोणिपतेर्ज्जयन्ति क्ष-
28 पितभ्रूभंगहेलोद्यमाः । [।*]७।। तस्माज्जैत्रनृप[स्त]तस्समजनि
29 श्रीकृष्णपृथ्वीपतिᳵप्रौढारातिविमर्द्दनस्त्रिजगतीसी-
30 मंतरत्नांकुरः । उद्यज्जाग्रदखर्वगर्व्वदलनᳵप्रत्यर्थि-
31 नामर्थिनां दैन्यं सैन्यमिवाजयज्जगति यो वीरस्सुव-
32 र्णासिना ।।८।। यध्या(द्वा)डी(टी) बलमाकलय्य विमतैर्भूपैर्ग्गजा-
33 श्वादिभिर्व्वाह्यालीश्रमकर्म शस्त्रविषयं स(सं)न्यस्यमेत-
34 द्व(द्दु)र्थ ।। युद्धे चेतसि कौतुकं यदि भवेद्वी(द्दी)क्षावरोधो ज-

Second Plate ; Second Side

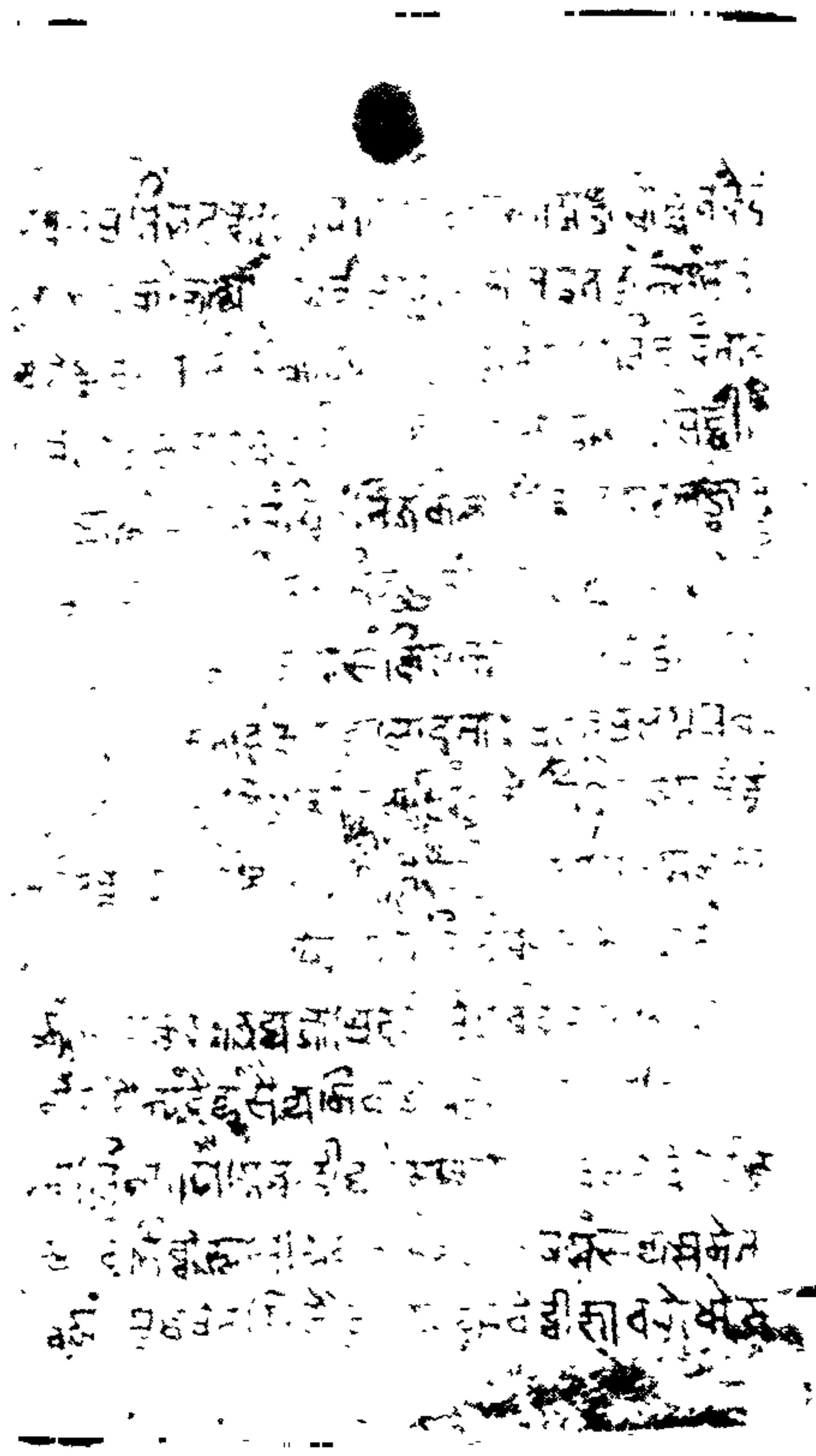
35 व[स्छा](स्था)ने तत्कलविं(धिं) कलापककृता चौर्यक्रमाद्यद्भुया-
36 त् ।।९।। तस्मित्कृ(न्कृ)ष्णनरेशे शासति रसया समं यशोवं-
37 शं ।। जयतीह तत्प्रसादाद्वंशश्री(श्री)चंद्रकेशवः प्राचं ।। [१०।।*]
38 जातः पूर्वमुदीच्यवर्त्मनि शतानंदो द्विजो गूर्ज्जर-
39 ×कृष्णात्रेयकुले श्रुतिस्मृतिसदाचारैकचा[तु]र्यभूः ।
40 विश्वस्मि[न्क]लिकालकल्मषमुषा तेनोदपा-
41 दि श्रियानंद(दः) श्रीपति[भ]क्तितᳵप्रविलसद्गांभी-
42 र्यधैर्याकरः ।[।*]११।। तस्माज्जल्हणपंडित × कुल-
43 मलंचक्रे तदेव श्रुतौ साहित्ये गणिते कला-
44 सु च कलौ स्मार्त्तेखिले कर्मणि । य × केनापि
45 न साम्यमाकलितवानाकल्पमुद्यद्य-
46 शोराशिव्याहृतविश्वसंमितगुणग्रामैक-
47 जन्मावनिः ।[।*]१२।। तस्याभवदनूपू(रू)पा कु-
48 मारदेवी सधर्मिणी दे(द)यिता । यां विश्वाव-
49 सुगोत्रᳵप्रथितामसवत्प्रभादित्य(त्यः) ।।१३[।।*]

TASGAON PLATES OF YADAVA KRISHNA; SAKA 1172

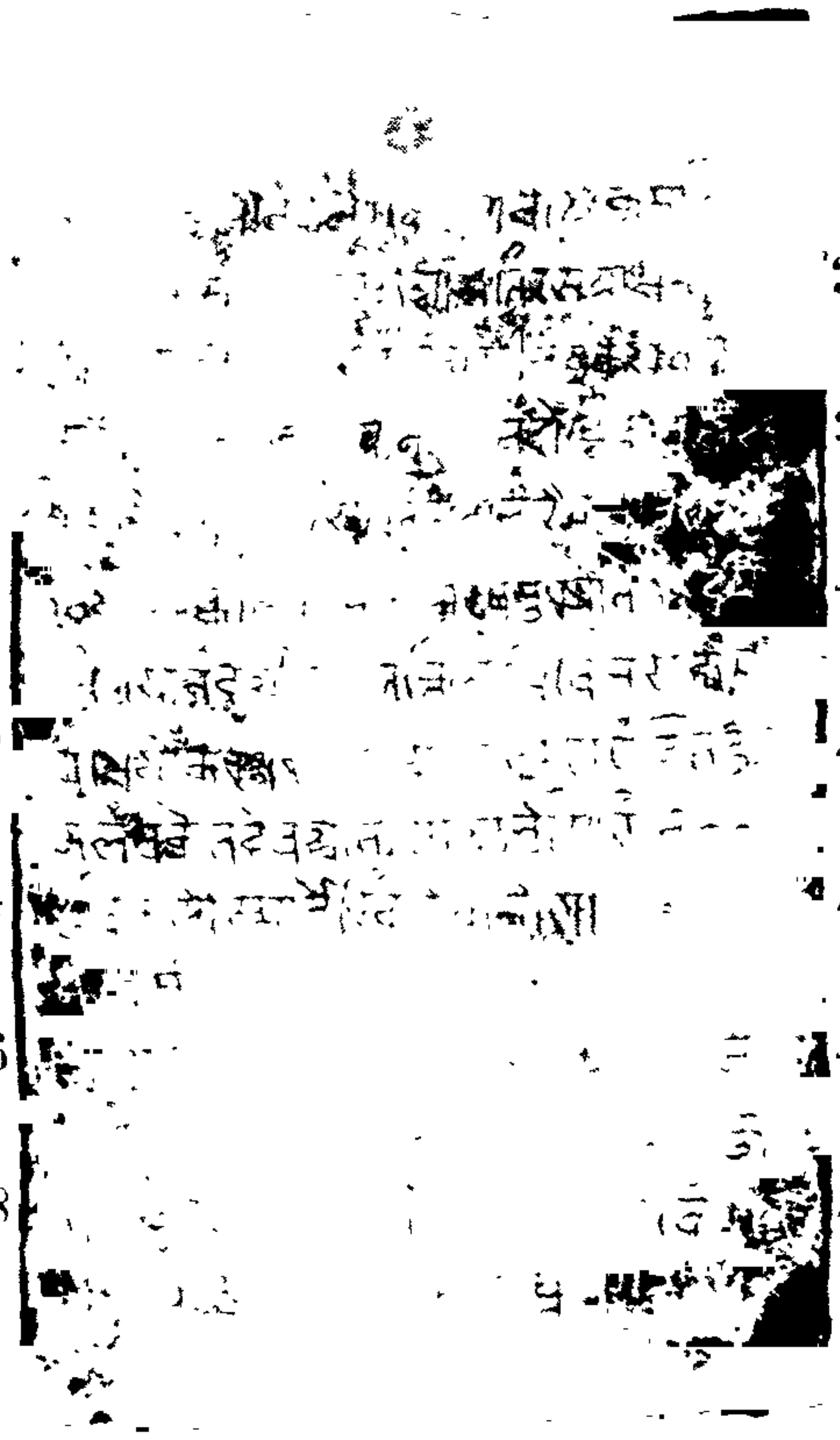
i.



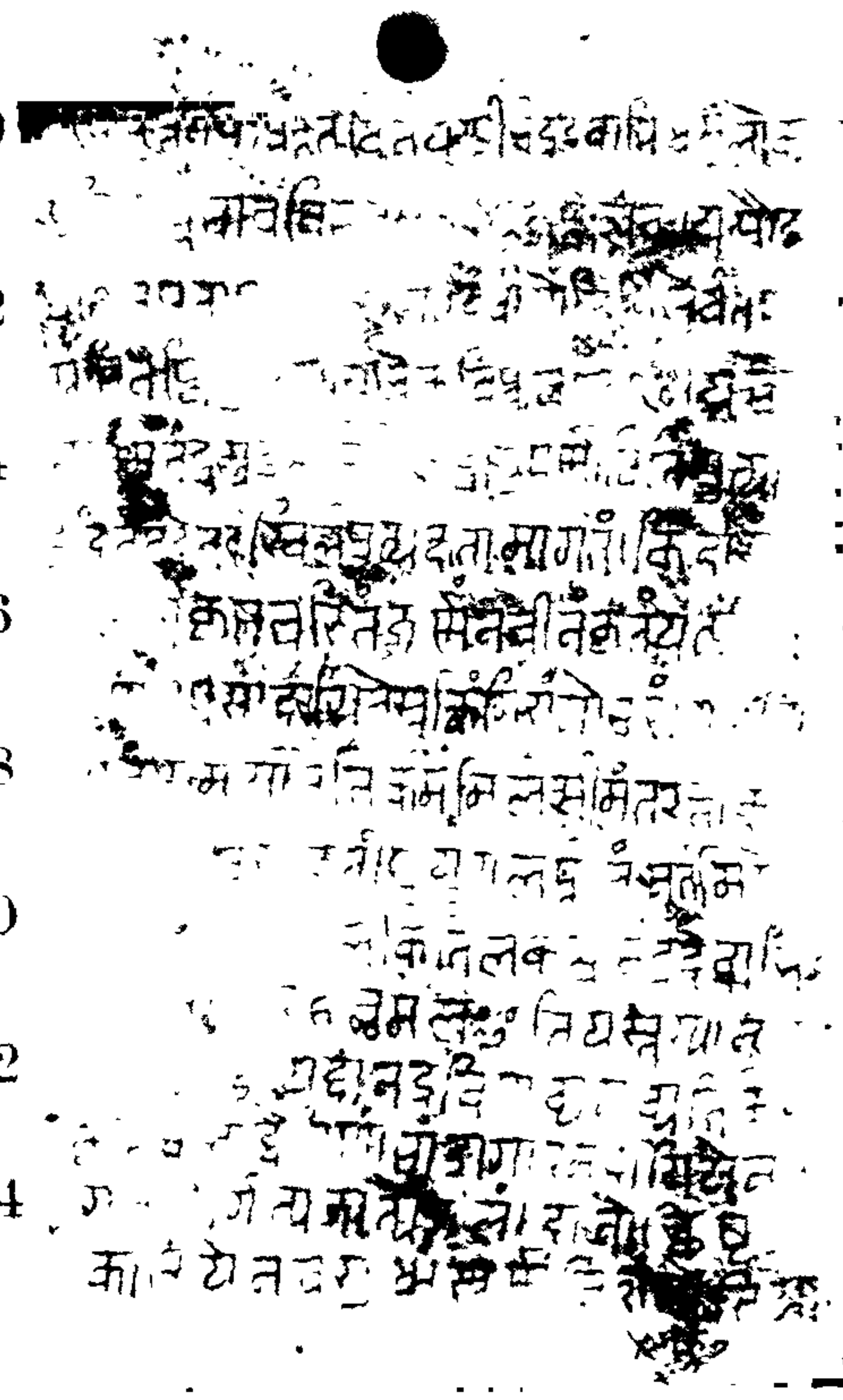
ii,a.



ii.b.



iii,a.

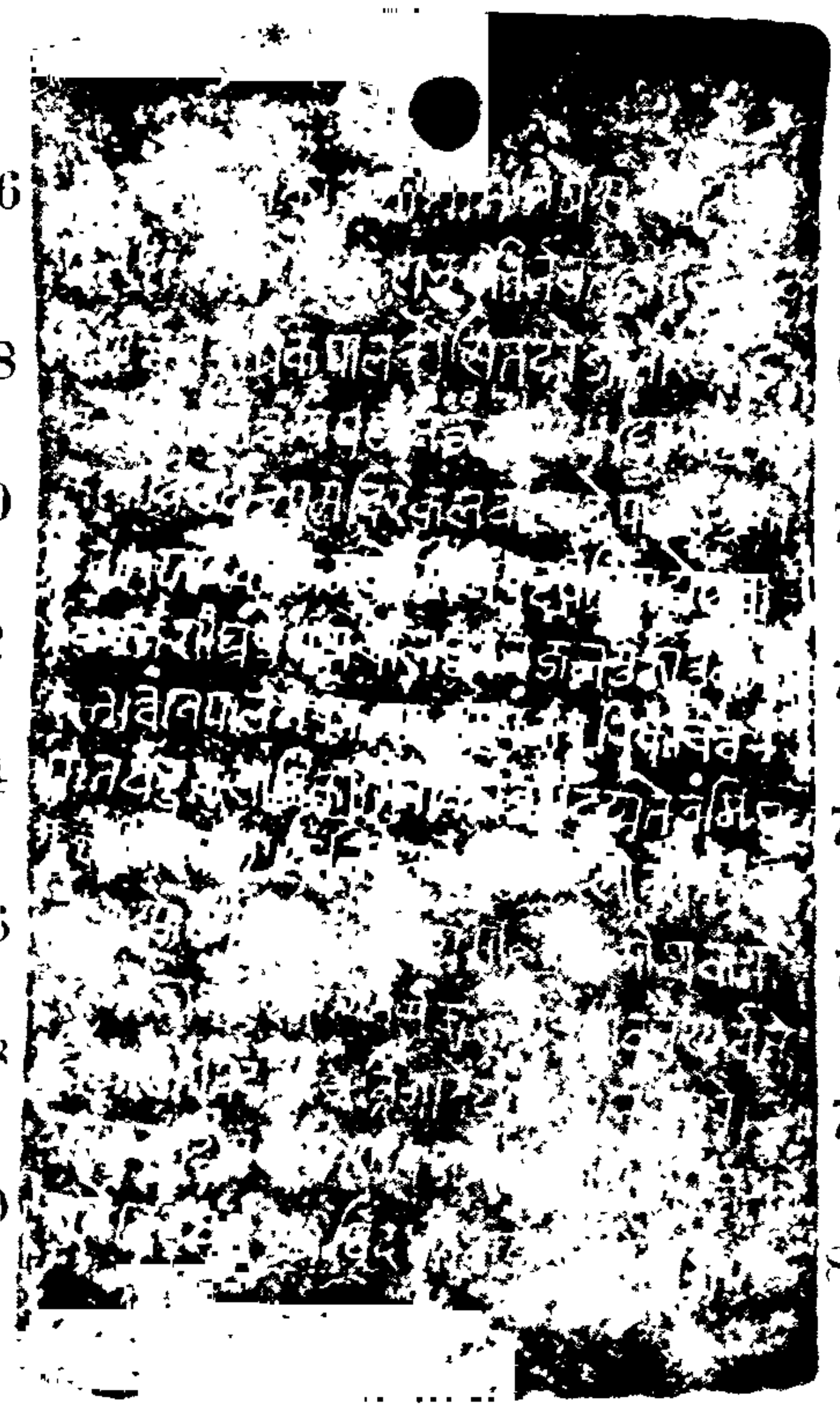


B. CH. CHHABRA
REG. No. 3977 E'36

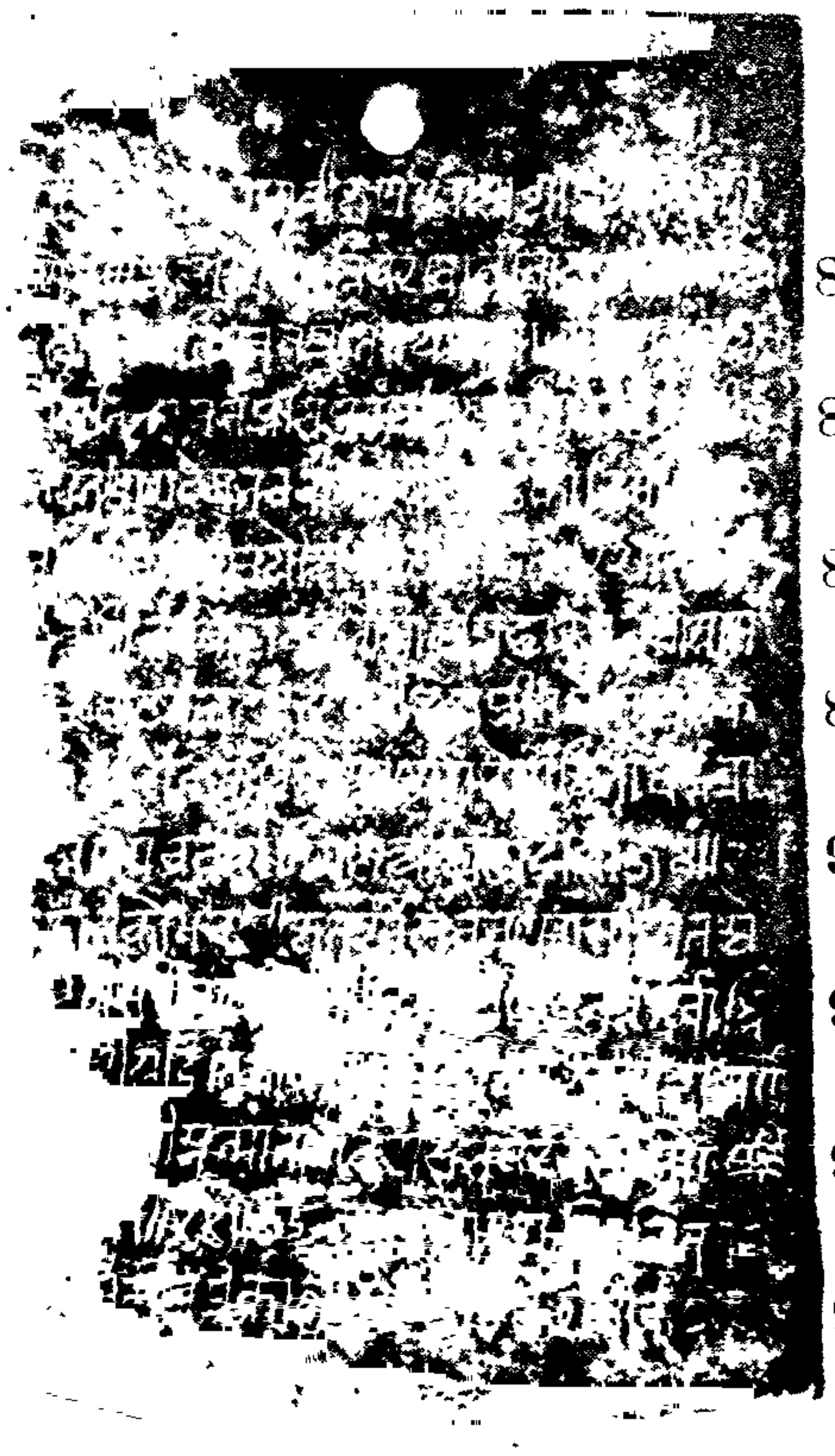
SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

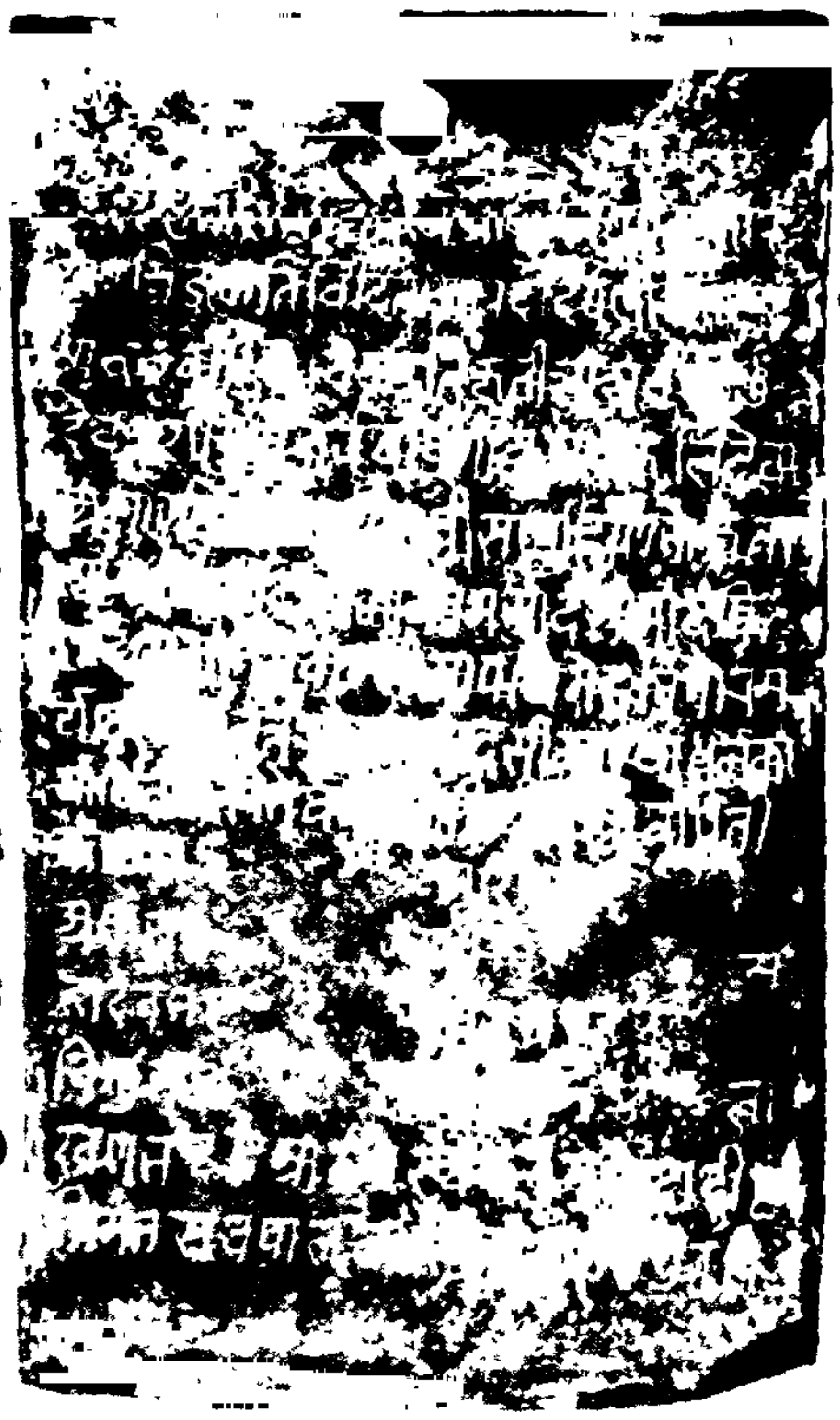
iii,b.



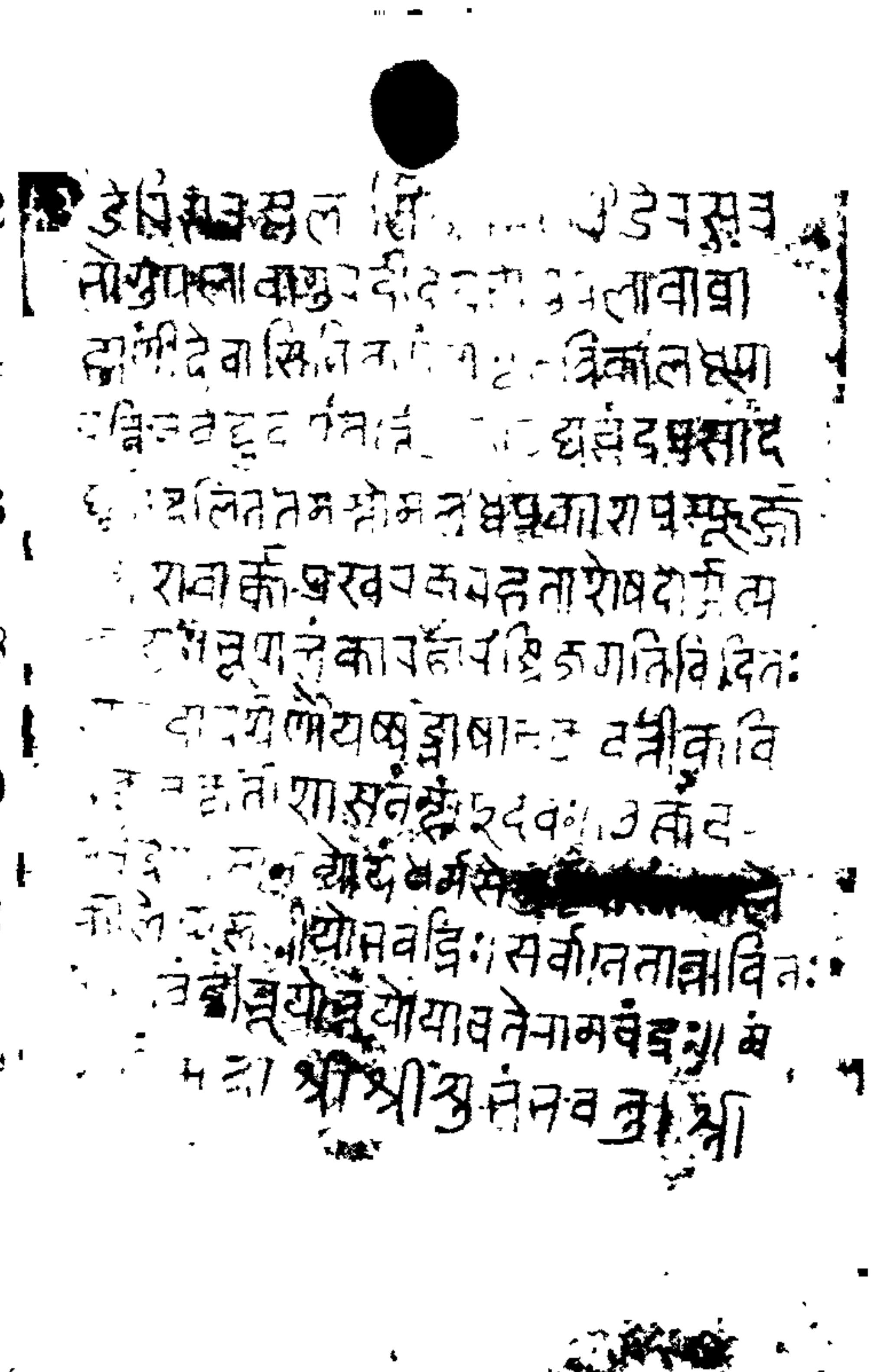
iv,a.



iv,b.



v.



Third Plate ; First Side

तस्याभूत्तनयः प्रभूतविनय(यः)श्रीचंद्रदेवाभिधस्त्रैलोक्य-
प्रथितप्रभावविभवस्तस्यानुज×केशवः । यत्प्रौढ-
प्रथितप्रतापतपः।(प)[न*]त्रासादिवांभोनिधिं सेवंते पार(परि)-
पंथिन×किंमुत यो(यः) स्तोत्रे कवि×कत्थ्य(थ्य)ते [॥*] १४ ।[।*] यत्छौ(त्सौ)-
भ्रात्रमतंद्रमुद्रमनिशं किं द्वासुपर्णाविति श्रुत्या[1] य-
दृगदितं [त]देतदखिलं प्रत्यक्षतामागतं । किं दा(वा) संप्र-
ति रामकृष्णचरितं[2] ज(जी)र्ण्णं नवीनं कृतं यत्प्रीति-
प्रणयप्रसादचरितैस्तत्किं गिरां गोचरं [।*] ।१५। [।*] य-
त्सेवासमयानतिक्रममिलत्सीमंतरत्नांकुरज्यो-
त्छ्ना(त्स्ना)जालविराजितांघ्र(घ्रि)युगलप्रांतं नुतं भु[3](भू)मिपैः ॥
सोयं यादवमंडलीकतिलकश्रीचंद्रदेवाभिधः ।
प्रख्यातः खरहत्छ(स्त)मल(ल्ल) इति यस्त[स्या]नुजः
×केशवः [।*] ।१६। [।*] यद्दानद्रविणव्ययव्यतिकरा-
कृ[ष्टं] बलाद्वैरिणां भांडागारमदायि येन ज-
गतं(तां) दौर्गत्यजात्यै जलं । दानोच्छिष्टम-
कारि येन व[सु]धा स्वर्ण्णं निशं(श)म्येति या-

Third Plate ; Second Side

तैर(तैः)स्वप्नै×कनकाचलोप्यनिमिषैस्संरक्ष्यते सां-
प्रतं ॥१७॥ त्वं रे कोंकणभूपतिर्भव तदाहं चंद्रदेव-
×क्षणं त्वं चेद्गोपकपालकोसि तदरे जातोस्म्यहं
केशवः । रक्ष त्वं विषयं निजं तदररे धाट्या ग्रहीष्ये

[1] This *śruti* is met with in the *Rik* and *Atharva Vēdas*, the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad* and the *Nirukta* (Bloomfield: *Vedic Concordance*, p. 514a).

[2] Balarāma is implied by Rāma.

[3] This letter is engraved at the bottom of the plate and the omission indicated by a *kākapada* below the letter *tam*. The numerical figure 7 by the side of *bhu* shows that it is to be inserted in the 7th line from the bottom.

70 क्षणादिथं(त्थं) यंनृ(यन्नृ)पमंदिरे कलकलाक्षेपाः शिशुक्री-

71 ड[ने] ॥१८॥ देव त्वं जयको(के)सि सिंधुनृपतिस्तद्रोह वा-

72 जिव्रजं शीघ्रं प्रेषय चोल [नू]तनजलं मुक्तातुलानां

73 स(श)तं । त्वं नेपालमरक्तमच्छचमरं कस्तूरिकां च त्वरं

74 प्रातर्यंछु(च्छु)कसारिकाभिरनिशं व्यादिस्य(श्य)तेत्छं(त्थं) मिथः ।

75 [।*] ॥१९॥ तौ भक्त्या कलिदेवमंदिरमिदं लोकोत्तरं च

76 क्रतुस्सौरं मार्ग्गमतीत्य यस्य महिमा कर्म्माप्यवाग्गो-

77 चरं । यद्भानोस्तुरगास्सुवर्ण्णकलशैरुच्चावचैस्सर्वतो

78 विन्य(न्या)[सैं]रतिदंतुरे ध्वनिशतैर्यांति स्खलंतोंव(ब)रे [।*] ॥२०॥

79 यत्प्राक्पश्चिमसंस्छि(स्थि)ता द्विजगणा जातोदयेस्तंगते

80 सूर्ये ये हवनं वु(बु)धा विदधते वह्नौ समं ते च ते ॥

Fourth Plate; First Side

81 सौरासौरविभागवीक्षणपरास्संध्याद्वये याजका-

82 स्सौवर्ण्णैः कलशैर्विदन्निव रवेर्बिंबोदयास्तक्रमं [।*] ॥२१॥ [।*]

83 प्रत्याशं प्रतिपत्तनं प्रतिपथं प्रत्यापणं प्रत्यगं प्रत्य-

84 च्चिं प्रतिकाननं प्रतिपुरं प्रत्यालयं प्रत्यहं । वापी-

85 कूपतडागदेवभवनारा[1]मप्रपाखंडिकानिर्म्माणैर्न

86 त[दस्ति] भू[मि]वलये क्षेत्रं न यन्मुद्रितं ॥२२॥ भक्त्या

87 पर्व्वणि चंद्रकेशवकृतो ग्रामोग्रहारं पुनर्नाम्ना मं-

88 जरवाटकं तदकरं देवद्विजप्रीतये । त[स्या[2]]द्धं(र्द्धं) क-

89 लिदेवसंज्ञकशिवस्याष्टांगभोगस्छि(स्थि)तावर्द्धं(र्धं) ब्रा-

90 ह्मण पंचवीं(विं)[श]तिगणत्याद्य(द्या)त्सदा भोजनं ॥२३॥

91 कास(म)क्रोधवशीकृतः खलवचः प्रासा(मा)ण्यतश्चे-

[1] This letter is engraved above the previous letter *nā*.

[2] The vertical stroke of *syā* denoting length is indicated by a sign overhead.

92 नृ(नृ)पो सं(मं)त्री वा यदि शौल्किको यदि पुनर्मूर्खोधि-

93 कारी यदि । तद्बाधां कुरुते दुरन्तनरकप्रस्छा(स्था)नपां-

94 थाग्रणीस्तन्माता नवरासभेन रभसा सोपस्करं

95 यभ्यते ॥२४॥ उद्द(द्य)च्चंद्रप्रसादद्युतिदलिततम-

96 स्तोमलब्धप्रकाश><प्रख्यात × केशवार्कप्रख-

Fourth Plate; Second Side

97 रकरहताशेषदौर्गत्यजाड्यः । भूपालंकार-

98 हारस्त्रिजगति विदित(तः) ।[1] शारदादर्पणो यष्षड्भा-

99 षा[2]चक्रवर्ती कवि[र]कृति(त) कृती शासनं म्हांई(इ)-

100 देवः [।*] ।२५॥ [3]भंजरबाडे गावु अर्धु कलिदेवा

101 अष्टांगभोगा अर्धु पंचवीसा ब्राह्मणभोजना

102 ग्रामासि पूर्व दीसे गोवरु म[र्या]दसीमा दक्षि-

103 ण दिसे वालगवाड सीमा पस्चि(श्चि)मे हृधिनौर म-

104 र्यादसीमा उत्तर पेढ मर्यादसीमा एयाधर्मका-

105 र्या चिंता करिते वेदांगराशि गुरोस्छा(स्था)नापती

106 कांतबाहू नर[सिं]घ[भ]ट्ट

107 अण्णंभट्ट गंगाधरभट्ट म-

108 हादेवभट्ट गोइंदभट्ट

109 विष्णुभट्ट चांचरसु ला-

110 खणभट्ट हे आठ मुख्य करुनु चौदाही वृ-

111 त्तिमंत सत्रपालक देवस्छ(स्थ)लासि गुरवि

Fifth Plate

112 ओडेरि सत्रस्छ(स्थ)लासि ब्राह्मण ओडेर सत्र

113 भोगु प(पा)लावा गुरवी देवभोगु प(पा)लावा ब्रा(ब्रा)-

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[1] This *danda* is superfluous.

[2] The six languages meant here are: Mahārāshṭrī or Prākṛita, Saurasēnī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī, Chūlikā Paiśāchī and Apabhraṁśa. (Vide *Shaḍbhāshāchandrikā*, p. 4; Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. 71).

[3] From here begins the Marāṭhī portion of the grant.

114 ह्मणीं देवासि नित्य पंचामृत त्रिकाल धूपा-

115 रत्नि(ति) नैवेद्यु दीपवर्त्ति पुष्पे ॥ उद्यच्चंद्रप्रसाद-

116 द्युतिदलिततमस्तोमलव्ध(ब्ध)प्रकाशप्रस्फूर्ज्ज-

117 त्केशवार्क्कप्रखरकरहताशेषदौर्ग्गत्य-

118 जाड्यः । भूपालंकारहारस्त्रिजगति विदितः

119 शारदादर्प्पणो यष्षड्भाषाचक्रवर्त्ती कवि-

120 रकृत कृती शासनं म्हांइदेवः ॥ [२६॥*] उत्कं(क्तं) च रा-

121 मचंद्रेणा[1](ण) सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले

122 काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः

123 पार्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ [२७॥*] मं-

124 गलं महा श्री श्री शुभं भवतु । श्री

No. 41—PONNUTURU PLATES OF GANGA SAMANTAVARMAN; YEAR 64

(*1 Plate*)

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA, GUNTUR

This set of plates was discovered, some time in 1941, by a peasant in a field named 'Liṅgālameraka', belonging to the village of **Ponnuṭūru** on the northern bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā, about a mile from Sōmarājapuram in the Parlākimeḍi Estate, in the Pātapaṭnam *tāluk* of the Vizagapatam District. The farmer gave the set to his landlord, Śrī Vanam Rāghavadāsanaiḍugāru, six months after its discovery. Subsequently, my friend, Śrī Bhyri Appalaswāminaiḍugāru, took these plates on loan for a short period from Rāghavadāsanaiḍugāru, and was kind enough to send them on to me for decipherment and publication.

This set consists of **three plates**, each measuring 1·6″ long and 2·1″ broad. They are strung on a copper ring 2·5″ in diameter, which is passed through a hole, ·35″ in diameter, near the left end of the writing. The ring was not cut when the plates were sent to me. The ends of the ring were connected at the bottom of a small rectangular **seal**, 1″ long and ·85″ broad. On the countersunk rectangular face, measuring ·65″ by ·45″, of this seal, there is a figure of a couchant bull, facing proper right. The weight of the plates with the ring and the seal is 41 *tolas*.

The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and on both sides of the other two, the second side of the third plate bearing only one line. The first and second plates appear to have received some mild crowbar blows probably at the time of discovery, but they did not damage the plates, as they are fairly thick. However, some of the letters on the first and second plates are slightly damaged. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims, yet the writing, on the whole, is in a good state of preservation.

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[1] The vertical stroke of *ṇā* might have been intended to serve as a *daṇḍa*.

The **characters** are of the early southern type and belong to the Kaliṅga variety of the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Urlām[1] and Narsiṅgapalli[2] plates of Hastivarman, and Achyutāpuram plates[3] of Indravarman. The difference between *cha* and *va* is very little. The letter *rgga* looks like *ggā*, the superscript *r* being indicated by a serif (ll. 3, 27). The medial *ī* is represented by an inner circle within the sign for medial *i* (ll. 7, 17). The signs for the medial vowels *ai* (ll. 11, 17) and *au* (in ll. 1, 4, and 13) are particularly noteworthy. Numerical symbols for *4, 8, 20*, and *60* are used in the date portion (l.29). Final *t* can be seen in l.24.

The **language** of the grant is Sanskrit. With the exception of five customary verses in the end, the inscription is in prose. As to **orthography**, there is little to note. A consonant before or after *r* is often doubled.

The inscription pertains to **Sāmantavarman** (l. 29), or Mahāsāmantavarman (l. 7), of the Gāṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga. It is issued from Saumyavana, the abode of the goddess of Victory (Jayaśrī).[4] Its **object** is to record the grant of the village of Pratishṭhāpura, situated in the district of Dāgha-pañchālī, on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa, to four Brāhmaṇas, Yajñaśarman, Gauriśarman, Agniśarman and Umaśarman by name, of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who were students of the Vājasanēyī *śākhā*, for the increase of the merit of the king and of his parents. It is stated that the king made this grant at the request of his (?) uncle, Ādityarāja (*mām=Ādityarāja-*).

The **date** of this grant is given both in words and in figures. In words, it is the sixty-fourth year of the victorious reign, the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Pushya. In figures, it is the year *64, Pushya-dina 28.*

The **writer** and **engraver** of the grant was Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra, the very person who wrote and engraved the grants of the Early Gāṅga kings of Kaliṅga till the 91st year of the Gāṅga era. One Ādityavarman acted as *dūtaka*, here called *rājājñāprada*.

After the Jirjiṅgi plates of Indravarman,[5] the present is the earliest of the Early Gāṅga grants that have so far come to light. Like the other grants, it also begins with the *praśasti* or eulogy of the Early Gāṅga kings of Kaliṅga. Its *praśasti*, however, differs from that given both in the Jirjiṅgi plates of Indravarman and in the grants of Hastivarman. This preamble attained a sort of standardisation only from the time of Hastivarman.[6] His successors took the eulogy given in his grants as model in drafting their records. Another fact worth mentioning in this record is the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. It is significant that, with the exception of Indravarman of the Jirjiṅgi plates and Sāmantavarman of the present record, no other Early Gāṅga king had that title. The years mentioned in this grant and in the Jirjiṅgi plates refer in all probability to the Gāṅga era. If this conjecture is correct, then, considering the nearness of time, it may be supposed that Indravarman and Sāmantavarman stand as father and son, or as brothers, in relation to each other.

This grant makes one point very clear, and that is about the system of reckoning of lunar months then in vogue in Kaliṅga. The 13th day of the bright half of Pushya in the given year was equal to the 28th day of Pushya. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the Pūrṇimānta system of reckoning was in vogue in Kaliṅga during the rule of the Early Gāṅgas. This is confirmed by some other early grants also. The Urlām plates of Hastivarman record a grant made on the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika, which is equated with the eighth

[1] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 330 ff. and plate.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff. and plate.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 127 ff. and plate.
[4] [It may also mean 'the abode of victory and fortune'.—Ed.]
[5] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281 ff. and plate.
[6] *Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XII, p. 95.

day of the month of Kārttika. The Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarman[1] register a grant made at the time of a lunar eclipse, but the month in which the eclipse occurred is stated only at the end where it is given as "the 30th day of the month of Māgha." This day according to the Pūrṇimānta system happens to be *paurṇamī* or the 15th day of the bright fortnight.

The **localities** mentioned in the grant are **Saumyavana**, **Pratishṭhāpura**, and **Dāgha-pañchālī**. It is of interest to note that this grant was issued from a forest-settlement,[2] similar to Madhuvana, Tumbavana, Pusakavana (Pushyakavana), the dwelling places of some Buddhist monks and house-holders which are referred to in certain Brāhmī inscriptions from Bhilsā and Amarāvatī.[3]

Saumya is the name of one of the forests wherein the Pāṇḍavas resided for some time during the period of their *vanavāsa*. It appears that this Saumyavana was either within Kaliṅga or on the borders thereof; yet it cannot be located with certainty. In this connection it may be interesting to note that there was a town called Saumyapura[4] from which the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant of Dharmarājadēva of the Śailōdbhava family was issued. This town has not been identified either. If it were the chief town of the forest colony of Saumyavana and named after it, then it may be concluded that this forest was in the direction of the ancient territory of the Śailōdbhava kings.

It may not be out of place here to point out that Raṇabhīta, the title assumed by Hastivarman, the successor of Sāmantavarman of the present grant, was actually the name of the earliest Śailōdbhava king, referred to both in the Buguḍa plates[5] of Mādhavavarman and in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant of Dharmarājadēva, and that Hastivarman made a grant of some land to god Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), known also as Raṇabhītōdaya,[6] who was probably consecrated by the king himself after his own name.

Pratishṭhāpura, the village granted, I am unable to identify. It is possible that it is the Sanskritised form of some *dēśī* name like Pērūru, the word *pēru* being equivalent to the Sanskrit word *pratishṭhā*. That there was a tendency to Sanskritise ordinary village names in early times in Kaliṅga is proved by the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of Umavarman.[7]

The village of Pratishṭhāpura is said to have been situated in the district of Dāgha-pañchālī. This territorial division is not mentioned in any of the Kaliṅga grants so far discovered, though the names of some *vishayas* or districts ending in *pañchālī* occur in some of them. I know four such, namely, Kōrāsōḍaka-pañchālī,[8] Dēvanna-pañchālī,[9] Pushyagiri-pañchālī,[10] and Chikhalī-pañchālī.[11] To this may now be added Dāgha-pañchālī.[12] Its exact location is not possible at present.

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[1] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XI, pp. 300 ff.

[2] [The word *vana* in the present instance need not denote 'a forest'. There are instances of place-names ending in *vana*, like Kāmyakavana; see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 332 and n. 7. Their counterparts in Tamil are place-names ending in *kāḍu*, like Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. The word *vana* often stands also for *upavana* which means 'garden'. In this connection the use of the word *ārāma* as the place of issue of a royal charter may be compared, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 250 and n. 3, p. 251 text l. 9.—Ed.]

[3] See Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 288, 291, 449, 450, and 1272.

[4] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 269, text l. 42.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 66, text l. 13.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate.

[8] *Ibid.* Vol. XXI, p. 24.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134.

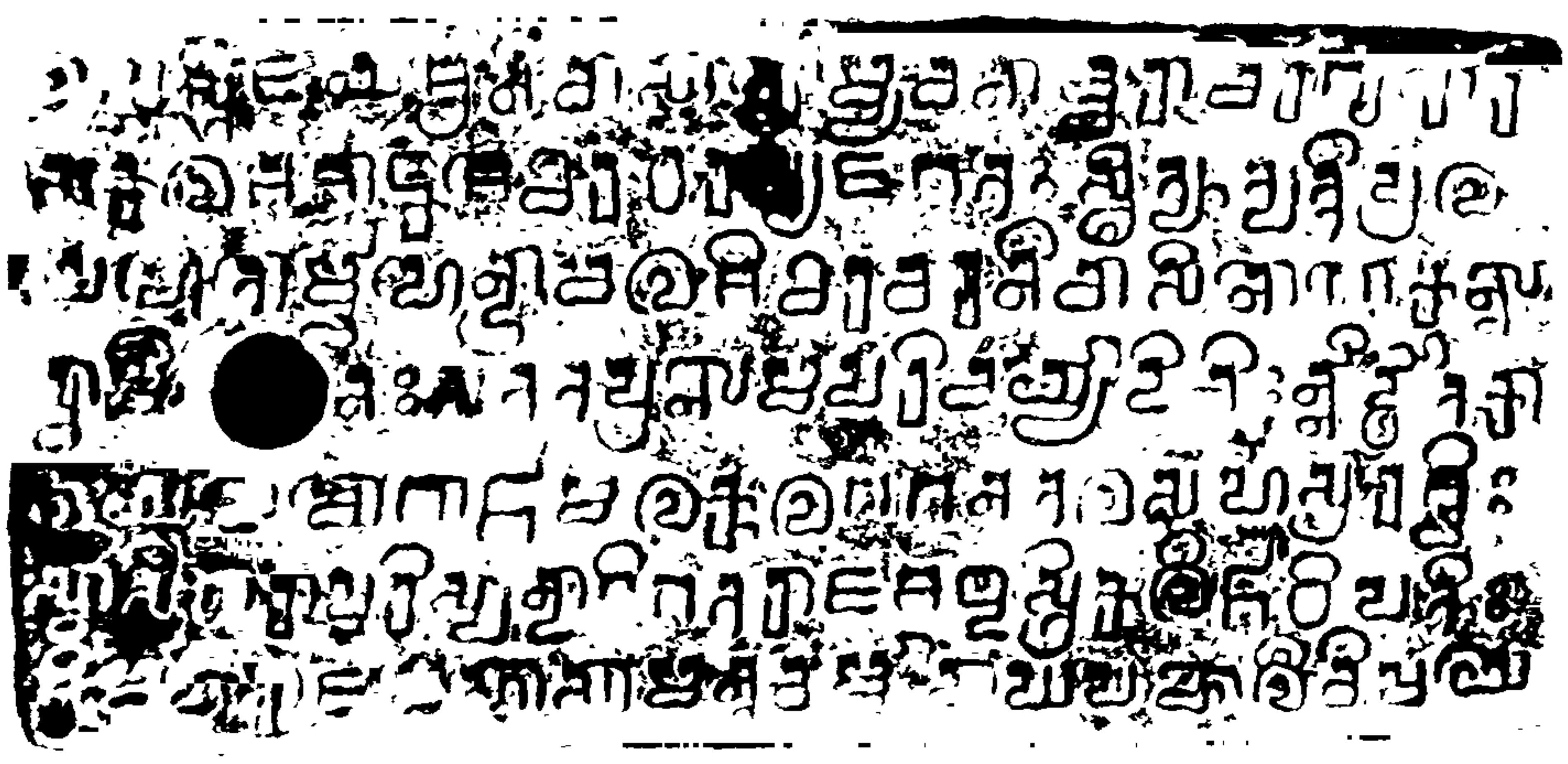
[10] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 63.

[11] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 165.

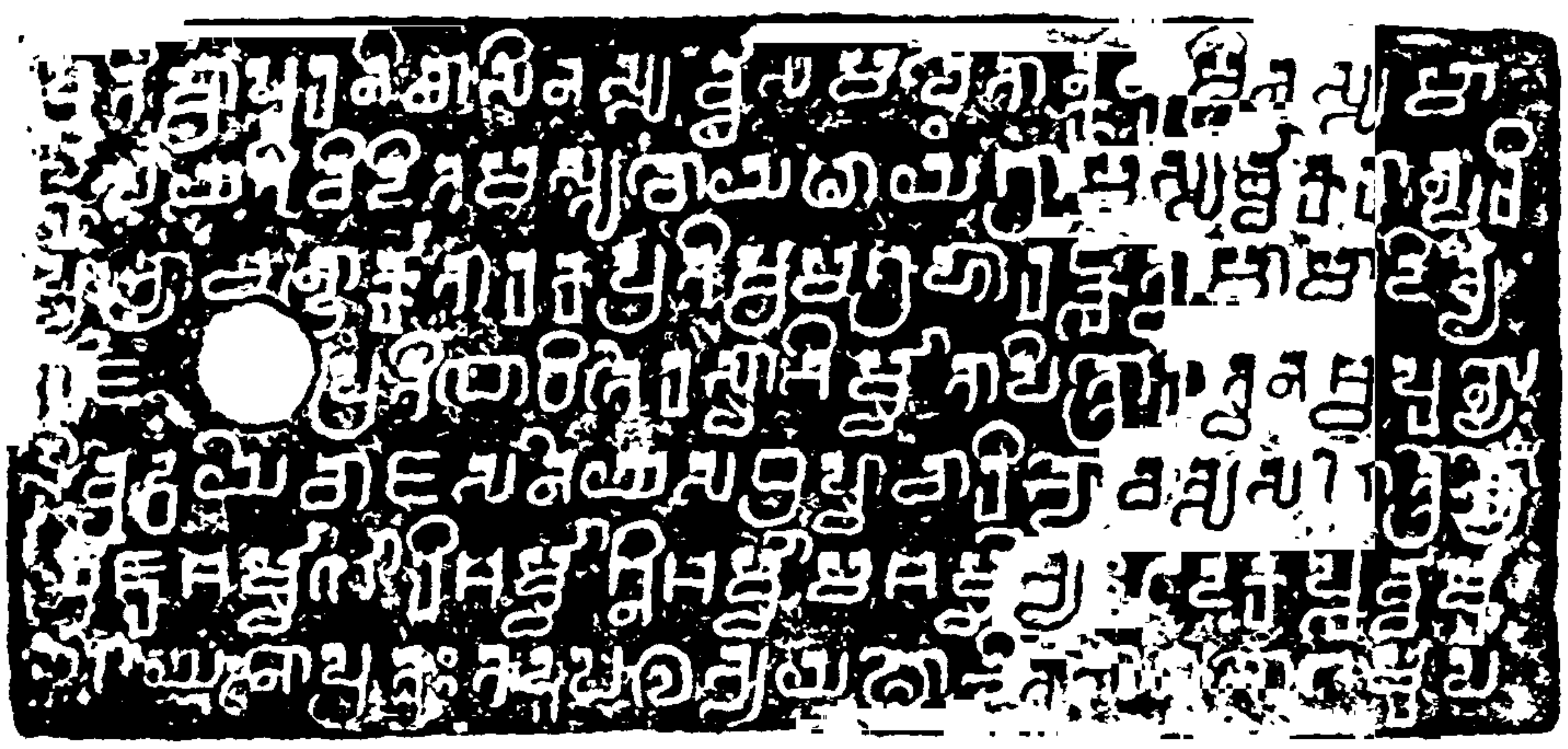
[12] Vide, my article on "*Pañchavishaya of the Early Gāṅga grants of Kaliṅga*", in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Madras, 1944, pp. 220-28.

PONNUTURU PLATES OF GANGA KING SAMANTAVARMAN, YEAR 64.

i.



ii,a.



ii,b.

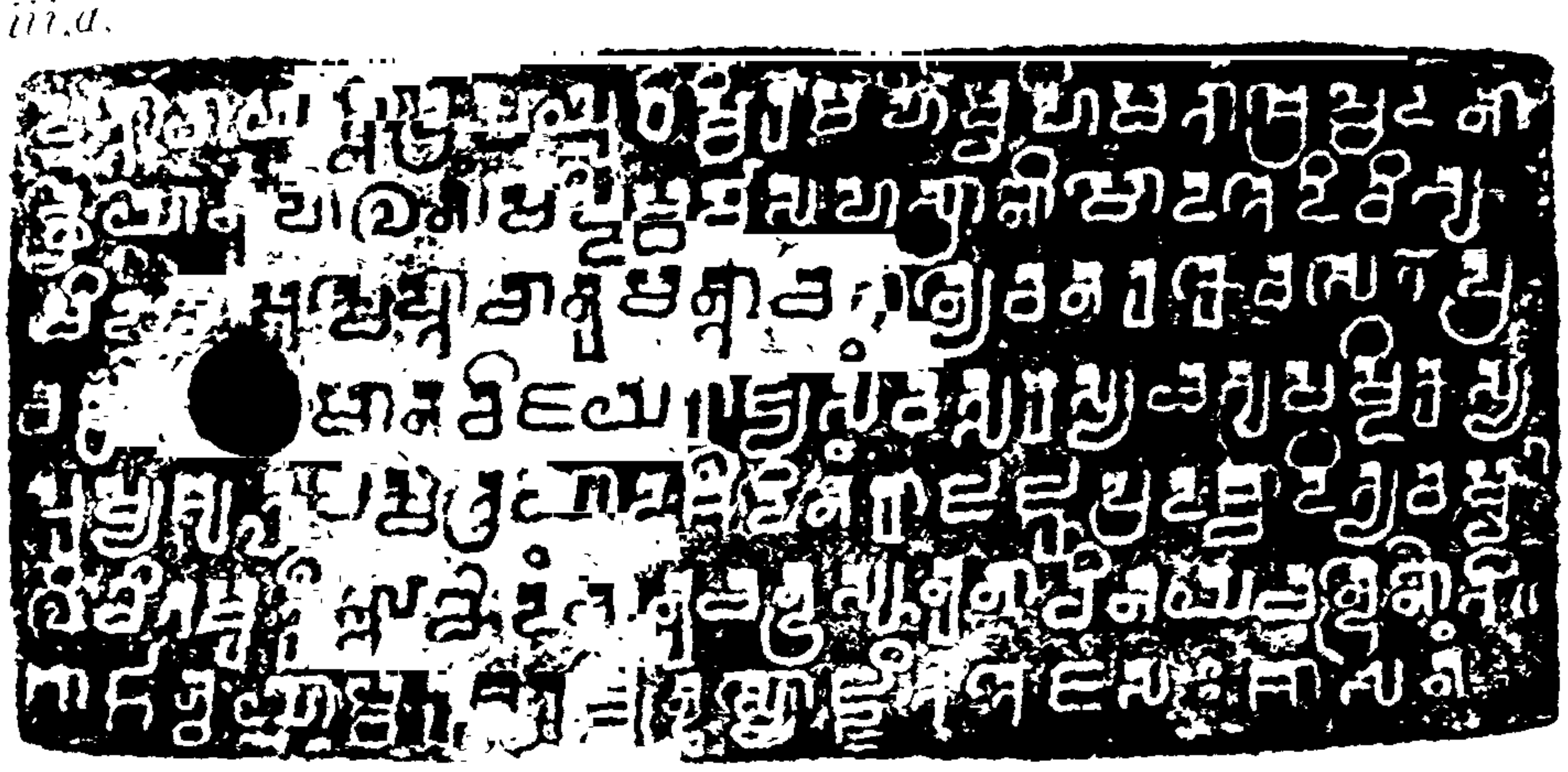


B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG No. 3977 E'36—475'48

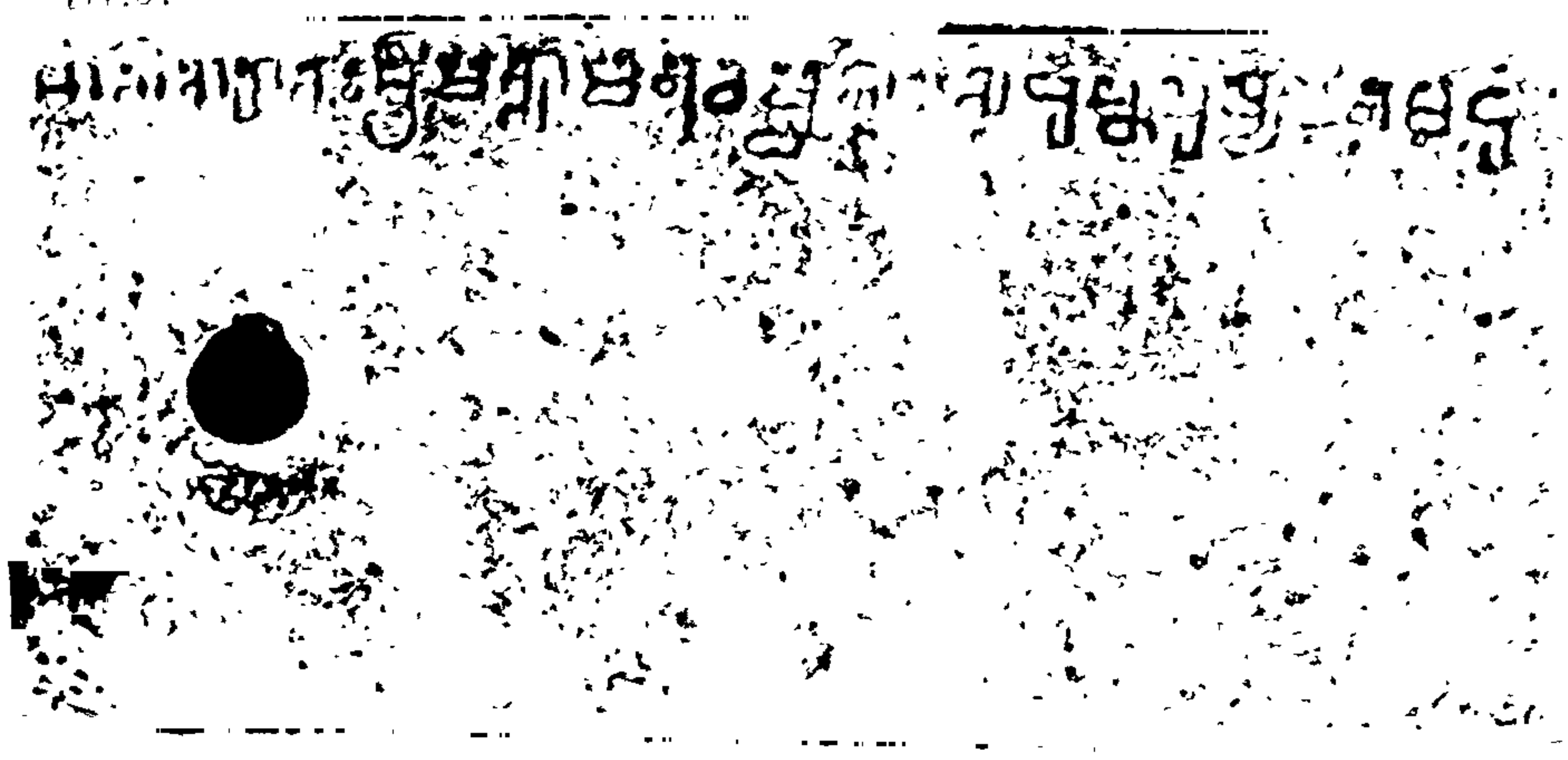
SCALE ACTUAL SIZE

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii.a.



iii.b.



TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 ओम्[2] स्वस्ति [।।*] जयश्रीनिवासात्सौम्यवनाच्चराचरगुरोर-

2 सकलशशाङ्कशेखरधरस्य जगतः स्थित्युत्पत्तिप्रल-

3 यहेतोर्म्महेन्द्राचलशिखरवरनिवासिनो गोकर्ण्ण-

4 स्वामिनः सततप्रणामपरिचर्य्यादिभिः[3] र्न्नि[र्द्धा]त[4] का-

5 लेयदोषो गाङ्गामलकुलगगनतलसहस्त्ररश्मिः

6 स्वासि[धा]रापरिस्पन्दाधिगतराजशब्दस्त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिः

7 श्रीमहाराजमहासामन्तवर्म्मा दाघपञ्चालीविषये

Second Plate; First Side

8 प्रतिष्ठापुरनिवासिनस्सर्व्वसमुपेतान्कुटुम्बिनस्समा-

9 ज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वो यथायं ग्रामस्सर्व्वकरान्परि-

10 हृत्याचन्द्रार्क्कतारकप्रतिष्ठमग्रहारङ्कृत्वा मामावित्य-

11 राजप्रतिबोधितैरस्माभिर्म्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्या-

12 भिवृद्धये वाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिभ्यो वत्ससगो[त्रे]भ्यो

13 यज्ञशर्म्मगौरिशर्म्माग्निशर्म्मोमशर्म्मे(र्म्म)भ्यः[5] उदकपूर्व्वमु-

14 त्तरायणे प्रत्तः [।।*] तदुपलभ्य यथोचितं भागभोगमुप-

Second Plate; Second Side

15 नेयं भवद्भिरिति [।।*] अस्य च दानधर्म्मस्यानुपालने भविष्या-

16 श्चाज्ञः स्ववङ्कश्या[6] [ना]ज्ञापयत्यन्यांश्च बोधयति धर्म्मंक्रमविक्र-

17 मैरुपलभ्य भूमिं भूमिपालैरयं दानधर्म्मोनुपालनीय[:।।*]

18 अपि च [।।*] [मा भू]द[फ]लशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पा[र्थि]वाः [।*] स्वदा-

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Indicated by a symbol.

[3] This *visarga* is superfluous.

[4] Read निर्द्धूत instead of निर्द्धात.

[5] *Sandhi* has not been observed here

[6] Read स्ववंश्या°.

19 नात्फलमानन्त्यं परदानानुपालने ॥ तथा च व्यासगीता[:*]

20 श्लोका भवन्ति ।[।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [।*]

21 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] स्वदत्ताम्पर-

Third Plate ; First Side

22 [द]त्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-

23 च्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ।[।*] षष्टिम्वर्ष[1]सहस्राणि मोदते दिवि भू-

24 मिदः [।*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*] प्र-

25 वर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरस्य चतु[:*]षष्टिकस्य

26 पुष्यशुक्लपक्षत्रयोदशीदिनं [॥*] राजाज्ञाप्रदश्चादित्यवर्म्मा [॥*]

27 लिखितमुत्कीर्ण्णञ्चैवं भानुचन्द्रसूनुना विनयचन्द्रेणेति ॥

28 गाङ्गान्वयाम्बरशरच्चन्द्रस्योर्ज्जिततेजसः [।*] शासनं

Third Plate ; Second Side

29 [शासिता]रा[तेः] श्रीमत्सामन्तवर्म्म[णः] । सं ६० ४ पुष्यदिन २० (८)

No. 42—TELUGU CHOLA RECORDS FROM ANANTAPUR AND CUDDAPAH

(2 plates)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS ; AND M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

Seven of the subjoined records, which come from the Cuddapah District, were first noticed in the early years of the last century by the Assistants of Col. Colin Mackenzie and described by them in their reports which are well-known as the Mackenzie Manuscripts Collection.[2] The description of the contents of the inscriptions and their eye-copies found in these manuscripts revealed their importance for the history of the early Chōḷa rulers of the Telugu country. Estampages of the inscriptions were secured by Mr. M. Venkataramayya in May 1937 when he was studying Telugu Chōḷa history as a Research Scholar in the University of Madras, and they are now edited from those estampages. The rest, A, G, H, I and L, are edited from the estampages kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, late Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. We are greatly obliged to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, for his many useful suggestions and criticisms during the preparation of the article.

All the twelve records are in the early Telugu **language** and are engraved in the early Telugu-Kannada **script** of the variety employed in the records of the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi. They are assignable on palaeographical and historical grounds, which we shall discuss presently, to different dates from the **second half of the 6th century to the end of the 8th century A. D.** and belong to different members of the dynasty of the **Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu**.

[1] Read षष्टिं व°.

[2] This collection which contains over five hundred manuscript books and palm leaf records is now being studied and calendered by the Department of Indian History in the University of Madras.

A. The Kalamalla Inscription of Erikal-Muturaju Dhananjaya

This inscription[1] is engraved on two faces of a broken pillar in the courtyard of the Chenna-kēśava temple at Kalamaḷḷa, Kamalapuram taluk.

It is damaged and several lines of the inscription are completely effaced and lost.

It is engraved in bold characters, and, in its palaeography resembles the Siraguṇḍa stone inscription of the Western Gaṅga king Nirvinīta (*i.e.* Avinīta)[2] of **the last quarter of the 6th century A. D. The present record may also be assigned to that period.** Apart from considerations of palaeography, we have to assign to king Dhanañjaya some date about *c.* 575 A.D. on other grounds as will be explained in the sequel. King Dhanañjaya is, without doubt, the same as Dhanañjaya, the father of Chōla-Mahārāja Mahēndravikrama, mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra.[3]

The resemblance noted above between the present inscription and the Siraguṇḍa record is noticeable in almost all test letters like *r, n, k, ṇ, y* and *l* both in their style and stage of development. Attention may be drawn to the medial long *ā* sign in *bā* of l.6 and *nā* of l.8. The medial *ē* sign in *rē* of l.7 resembles the same sign in the Tamil-Grantha script.[4] Final *n* in l.5 is distinguishable from *n* by the absence of the serif, the presence of which signifies the voiced consonant.

The inscription is one of the **earliest completely Telugu records** so far discovered; and consequently of great value for the history of Telugu language and orthography. It may be noted that at this early date Telugu had already begun to develop as a language distinct from Kannaḍa although the script continued to be common. Although several Pallava records earlier in date than the present inscription contain Telugu words[5] this is the first complete inscription in Telugu so far known.

The inscription has unfortunately suffered damage at many points resulting in the loss of several archaic Telugu words. It seems to record a gift to (or by) a certain Rēvaṇakālu of Chirumbūru when [Eri]kal-Muturāju Dhanañjaya was ruling Rēnāṇḍu.

The king Dhanañjaya (Dhanaṁjayuṛu as in the inscription) bears the epithet Erikal-Muturāju, which is also borne by several of his successors, *e.g.*, Puṇyakumāra (Puṇyakumāruṇṛu as in the inscriptions E and F below). A prince bearing a similar epithet, Erigal-Dugarāju, figures in the inscriptions of Chōḷa-Mahārāja edited below (ins. C and D). The word Erikal or Erigal which occurs as a prefix in these descriptive compounds seems to be the name of a place, while the suffixes Muturāju and Dugarāju seem to signify some official dignity, especially as Dugarāju may be taken to be a form of Yuvarāja or heir-apparent (*vide* B below, Erragaḍipāḍu inscription of Erikal-Mutturāju). This place, Erigal, finds mention in a more complete form as the name of a territorial division, *viz.*, **Erigalvāḍi**-six hundred in the Maddagiri inscriptions of Dhanañjaya II[6] and in the Chikka-Madhura inscription of Pallavādhirāja Noḷamba who[7] is stated to have

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[1] No. 380 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 50, plate opp. p. 105.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, p. 341.

[4] Cf. *S.I.I.*, II, pl. X, Vallam cave ins. l.4, *Kandaśēṇan*.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 138.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Mi. 92-3, 97, 100: 94 and 101 are also his records. There is some difficulty in determining the exact form of the name of this territorial division. Rice read the portion relating to the country as either Ālvāḍi 600 or Erigālvāḍi 600, while H. K. Sastri (above, Vol. XI, p. 341) preferred the reading Ālvāḍi 600 treating the term 'Eriga' as part of the personal name of Dhanañjaya. But an examination of the record shows that 'Erigal' should be taken as part of the name of the region—witness the nominative singular form Dhanañjayan (Mi. 92-3). Further the same territorial division is called Irigalvāḍi (with short *a* in 'Iriga!' which may well be a corruption of 'Erigal') in the Chikka Madhure inscription of Pallavādhirāja Nolamba (*Ep. Carn.*, XI, Cl. 34). According to the inscriptions edited here, the term has to be read either as Erigal or Ērigal, the initial vowel being read as long *ē* or short *e* for the form in which the initial vowel is written in both the cases is alike. But in view of the existence of the term Irigalvāḍi with short *i*, the form Erigal has to be preferred. The long *ā* in Erigāl as read by Rice need not be considered a difficulty. The existence of the form Iṛigal with rough *ṛ* and short *a*, the suffix *-kal* meaning rock, and the probability of the name of a place being Eṛigal or Erigal like Kunigal, Dōrigal (Chittoor Dt.) and Kaṇeyakal (Anantapur Dt.), all render it very probable that the name of the territorial division is Eṛigalvāḍi or Erigalvāḍi 600; the distinction between ordinary *r* and rough *ṛ* being not strictly observed, *e.g.*, in Rēnāḍu and Ṛēnāḍu.

[7] *Ep. Carn.* XI. Cl. 34.

been ruling Iṛigalvāḍi as a subordinate of Prabhūtavarsha Śrīvallabha, *i.e.*, Gōvinda II (c. 775 A.D.). The territorial division takes its name after **Erigal** which has to be looked for somewhere in this region. It may be suggested that **Niḍugal** of the modern maps in the Pavugaḍa taluk of the Tumkur District is the ancient Erigal. The provenance of the Maddagiri inscription close by renders the identification very likely. It may be added that the antiquity of Niḍugal is carried back to about 8-9th century A.D. by an inscription of Nolamba Pallava Bidichōrarasa of the time of king Mahēndra at the place.[1]

Moreover, except for a few brief periods in the 8th, 9th and part of the 10th century A.D. when it was wrested from the Telugu Chōḷas by the Nolambas in the reign of Pallavādhirāja Noḷamba[2], the region was long associated with a line of Telugu Chōla rulers, known as the Niḍugal Chōḷas. Considering the early date to which the present inscription may be ascribed, the mention of the region Erigal in it leads to the conclusion that the region round about Niḍugal on the borders of the Pallava and Kadamba dominions must have formed one of the **earliest settlements of the Chōḷas** in the Telugu country. It would appear that it was from this region that the eastward expansion of the Telugu Chōḷas into the neighbouring tracts of Rāmaḍi-nāḍu[3], Rēnāḍu 7000, Siddhi 1000[4] and Hiraṇyarāshṭra[5] seems to have taken place : and this appears to be conveyed by the epithets Erigal-Mutturāju and Erigal-Dugarāja by which some of the Chōḷas of Rēnāḍu describe themselves in their inscriptions found in the Rēnāḍu country (inss. A to F). Thus Dhanañjaya, in describing himself as Erikal-Muturāja ruling Rēnāṇḍu in the present inscription, signifies that he held the official position of a Mutturāju,[6] being attached to Erigal, which was probably the ancestral seat. Similarly, Puṇyakumāra (inss. E and F below) holds the same official position ; and in one inscription (F) he describes himself as the ruler of Rēnāṇḍu with Chirpali as capital. Again in two subjoined inscriptions of Chōḷa-Mahārāja (C and D) an Erigal-Dugarāju figures as the donor, and he was probably a prince of the family holding the official position of Dugarāju or Yuvarāju at Erigal.

It may be objected that in the compounds 'Erigal-Dugarāju' and 'Erigal-Mutturāju', the prefix 'Erigal' may not signify a place but stand for the name of a dynasty or clan of chiefs in the same manner as the compounds such as Vallava-Dukarāju (ins. B below), Vaidumba Mutrāju,[7] Chōḷika Mutturāju (or Muttarasa), Kāḍuveṭṭi Muttarasa,[8] Pṛithvī-koṅgaṇi Muttarasa[9] and Perbbāṇa Muttarasar,[10] the prefixes in all of which refer to a dynasty and not to a place. It is however quite possible that the prefix sometimes refers to a place name[11] and the more so as a tract known as Erigalvāḍi is found. Further the forms Erigallu and Eya[ra]kallu (ins. I below, text ll. 6-7 and J, text, ll. 14-15) point to the same conclusion.

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[1] *Ep. Carn.* XII, Pg. 45.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Cl. 34.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gd. 76.

[4] Above, Vol. XI, p. 345, Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya.

[5] Above, Vol. XI, p. 341, Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra.

[6] *Vide* page 224 below.

[7] No. 347 of 1922 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[8] No. 542 of 1906 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[9] This occurs as the surname of Śrīpurusha in many records : *Ep. Carn.* IV, Ch. 63 ; III, Tn. 53, etc.

[10] *M. A. R.*, 1941, pp. 132-133.

[11] This practice seems to have been widely prevalent in the Kerala country where the king was usually designated by the name of his kingdom (see Padmanabha Menon : *History of Kērala*, Vol. V, p. 4) in records issued by him and was referred to, for example, as Jayatuṅganāttu-Mūttatambirān without mention of his proper name (*T.A.S.* Vol. VII, p. 95) or Śiraivāy-Mūtta-Tambirānāi (*T.A.S.* Vol. VI, pp. 178, 181). Further, inscriptions issued barely in the designatory name of an official both in the North and South are not uncommon and are explainable by the importance of the office. See, for example (1) above, XXIV, p. 206 where an inscription recording a gift by 'Māthuraka Kālavāḷa', *i.e.*, 'the Kāḷavāḷa (*off.*) of Mathurā', is noticed ; (2) ins. issued in the name of Koṅkaṇi Muttarasa (*Ep. Carn.*, III, Tn. 53 ; IX, Ht. 21).

Of the two terms indicating official dignity, Yuvarāju is the well understood term signifying the dignity of heir-apparent while it is not quite clear what official position is exactly indicated by the title Mutturāju. In the present context, the term is a title or dignity and not a personal or dynastic name like Chōḷa or Pāṇḍya as we see from an examination of its derivation and the combinations in which it occurs. The term seems to be derived from *Mudu*[1] or *Mutu* in Telugu meaning elder or advanced in age corresponding to *Mūtta* in Tamil conveying the same meaning. The Tamil and Kannada renderings of the title Mutturāja appear to be Muttaraiyar and Muttarasa respectively. In this connection we may cite some of the titles of the Kēraḷa kings occurring in their inscriptions, such as Tiruppāpūr-Mūtta Tiruvaḍi (or. Mūttavar)[2] Jayatuṅganāṭṭu-Mūtta-tambirān (or -Mūtta-Tiruvaḍi),[3] and Śiraivāy Mūttatambirān[4] meaning "the First or the Senior prince or ruling chief (*Tambirān*) of (the royal family of) Tiruppāpūr, Jayatuṅganāḍu and Śiraivāy (Āttiṅgāl) respectively. Judging from the instances of its occurrence in the inscriptions of the Kēraḷa kings, it would appear that the prince who held the title issued records, making gifts, like a ruling prince in the same manner as the inscriptions of Erikal-Mutturāja, edited here, have been issued. Several Gaṅga inscriptions[5] issued in the name of Koṅkaṇi Muttarasa without any personal name or titles attached thereto. may be cited also as instances indicating that the person who held the title of Muttarasa enjoyed an official position comparable in dignity and status to, but not identical with, the Yuvarāja or the Adhirāja (Mahārāja, Mahārājādhirāja), who generally issued grants in an independent capacity. A Vaidumba inscription[6] records the crowning or the binding of the fillet (*paṭṭamgaṭṭi* .....) of a certain Gaṇḍara Mutrāju (i.e., '*Mutrāju among the heroes*') by the Vaidumbas presumably prior to his entry as general in the war in which he is stated to have been killed. It is not clear whether the dignity of Mutrāju was conferred on him during his anointment. That Mutturāju cannot be identical with Yuvarāju is clear enough if we compare the import of 'Yuva' meaning young and of 'Mūtta' meaning elder or advanced in age. But it is doubtful whether a prince referred to merely as Mutturāju (without supreme titles like *Mahārāja*), *e.g.*. Erigal Mutturāju. Koṅkaṇi Muttarasa, Kāḍuveṭṭi-Muttarasa. Ilaṅgō Muttaraiyar, etc.. enjoyed the position of an Adhirāja. It is significant that the personal names of the princes thus referred to are devoid of the honorific plural endings which characterise those of the supreme rulers. Thus Erigal Mutturāju Dhanañjaya and Erigal Muturāju Puṇyakumāra are called simply Dhanañjayuṛu (ins. A) and Puṇyakumārunru (inss. E and F below) respectively with the nominative singular ending *ṛu* or *nru* attached to their names Further in a few inscriptions they also figure in a subordinate capacity, as for instance, Erigallu-Mutturāju in the Nallacheruvupalle inscription (I) edited below. Kāḍuveṭṭi Muttaraiyan figures as the donor in an inscription of Pallava Dantivarman.[7]

Considering the occurrence of the term Mutturāju (Muttarasa, Muttaraiyar) in the inscriptions of all the dynasties, it would appear that the title, when not accompanied by any supreme title, Adhirāja or Mahārājādhirāja, was applicable to the seniormost among the princes of the family other than the ruling king and the Yuvarāja The dignity or status of first prince.

[1] *Mutuḍa* or *Muduḍa* in the Kanteru Śālaṅkāyana plates occurring in the passage '*Mutuḍa-sahita-grāmēyakān*' (above, XXIV, p. 281). The term obviously stands for an office or dignity corresponding to *Kiḻavars* of Tamil inss. meaning elders of the village.

[2] *T. A. S.* IV, pt. 1, p. 93 ; Vol. V, pt. 1, p. 27.

[3] *T. A. S.* Vol. I, p. 299.

[4] *T. A. S.* Vol. VI, pp. 48-49 ; 164, 178, 181.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Tn. 53 ; IX, Ht. 21 ; X. Kl. 78 *M.A.R.* 1917, pp. 31, 38 ; *M.A.R.* 1925. Ins. 73 ; It is difficult to assign all these records to Śrīpurusha as has been done by some scholars. They may belong to different kings of the Gaṅga dynasty, who held the dignity of Muttarasa.

[6] No. 309 of 1922 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[7] No. 89 of 1921 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

the eldest (Mūtta) among the princes (other than the king and the Yuvarāja) of the royal family, seems to be what is indicated by the title.[1] In the compound titles like Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, Videlvidugu Muttaraiyan, Vijayālaya Mūttaraiyan, Anapāya Mūttaraiyan and Parāntaka Mūttaraiyan, the person referred to probably bore the title on the principle stated just now and exercised the authority of Mūttaraiyar (third dignity of senior or first prince) in the time of that king whose surname he bore.[2] In other combinations like Erikal-Mutturāju, Jayatuṅga-nāṭṭu-Mūttatambirān or Śiraivāy Mūttatambirān (Tambirān=Rāja), the prefix to the title stands for the seat or area of his authority.

Among the Telugu Chōḷas, Dhanañjaya, the third of the brothers, according to the genealogy found in the Mālēpāḍu plates is called Muturāju in the present inscription : his position in relation to the throne was thereby recognised although he was the third brother and his two elder brothers Sundarananda and Siṁhavishṇu had sons of their own (*tē putrānuputry=ānubhūta-rājyaśriyaḥ*). Similarly we find Puṇyakumāra, the second son of Chōḷa-Mahārāja as stated in the Mālēpāḍu plates, holding the title Erikal-Muturāju according to inss. E. and F below as he had an elder brother Guṇamudita who probably held the position of Yuvarāja and who was perhaps the Erigal-Dugarāju of the two subjoined inscriptions of Chōḷa-Mahārāja (C and D). An important fact emerges when we understand the political significance of these three terms occurring in early Telugu Chōḷa inscriptions, Mahārājādhirāja, Dugarāja or Yuvarāja and Mutturāja, *viz.*, that the kingdom established by these Chōḷas was divided into three well-defined charges each held by a prince of the royal family including the king who held direct rule over one part while exercising sovereignty as Adhirāja over the other units to which the princes of the royal family were sent out as viceroys. May it be, that succession to the throne was regulated by seniority in age and not by the law of primogeniture ?[3]

The well-known expression applied to Karikala in the Mālēpāḍu plates, *viz.*, *Trairājyasthitim=ātmasāt-kṛitavataḥ* has never been satisfactorily explained. It seems to us now that in the light of the foregoing discussion it must be taken to mean that for a part of his reign, if not the whole of it, Karikāla was his own Yuvarāja and Mutturāja and dispensed with the assistance of sub-kings of which lesser monarchs found need to avail themselves. The context in which the expression occurs fully supports this view.[4]

Rēvaṇakālu, who figures as the donor in the present inscription, may be identified with the donor of the Pōtladurti-Mālēpāḍu inscription of Chōḷa-Mahārāja.[5] The name seems to be a Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit name, Rēvaṇapādāḥ, the suffix *pāda* being literally rendered in Telugu as *kālu* or *kāḷḷu* meaning foot or feet. Another person bearing a similar name, *viz.*, Kuṇḍikāḷḷu, figures as the donor in the Erragudipāḍu inscription of Erikal-Mutturāju (inscription B below).[6]

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[1] This would be the third dignity in the whole realm corresponding to Vīrōḷi (Vīra-Eḷaya) of the Cochin Royal family—Padmanabha Menon : *History of Kērala*, Vol. I, p. 511.

[2] Cf : Māṛpiḍugu Raṭṭaguḷḷu meaning the person who held the office or dignity of Raṭṭaguḍi in the time of the king who bore the surname Māṛpiḍugu. This rule applies only to really early instances : later, the term Mūttaraiyan lost its special significance and became a general title of nobility.

[3] The rulers of Ceylon seem to have regulated their succession by the law of seniority ; *vide Cey. Journal of Science*, Vol. I, pp 75-6. Or, the two principles were in conflict as was also the case among the Chōḷas of the early period of the Vijayālaya line.

[4] It was precisely in this manner that Chāḷukya Vikramāditya I assumed full control of the kingdom of his father as implied by the words '*krit=aikādhishṭhit=āśēsha-rājyabhāraḥ*' in the passage '*Svagurōḥśriyam=avanipatitritayāntaritam ātmasāt-kritvā krit=aikādhishṭhit-āśēsha rājyabhāraḥ tasmin rājyatrayē vinashṭāni dēvabrahmadēyāni-dharma-yaśō-bhi-vriddhayē sva-mukhēna sthāpitavān*' (Above, Vol. IX, p. 100).

[5] *G. V. R. Comm. Vol.* p. 310.

[6] Mr. M. S. Sarma however suggests that the suffix *kalu* is a variant in Telugu of the honorific Tamil *gaḷ* or *kaḷ* as in *avargaḷ*.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Erigal may be identified with modern Niḍugal. **Rēnāṇḍu** is roughly the country between the two tributaries of the R. Pennār, *viz.*, the Chitrāvati in the north-west and Cheyyēru in the south-west comprising a major portion of the Cuddapah and parts of Kolar and Chittoor districts. The chief city or the early capital of this region appears to have been Chippili in the Madanapalle taluk, Chittoor district, which is referred to in a slightly different form, Chirppali, in the Tippalūr inscription of Puṇyakumāra (ins. F. below), wherein it is described as the capital (*paṭu*) of the king. It has been supposed that Rēnāṇḍu means Rēgaḍināḍu 'the black-soil country' which is, accordingly, traced in the regions along the valley of the Kundēru river.[1] The explanation is rather fanciful. The real meaning of the term appears to be 'the country of the king or *Rēḍu* or Mahārāja', precisely the same as Mahārājapāḍi that finds mention in a good number of inscriptions later than the 10th cent. A. D. as the name of the region. Mahārājapāḍi 7000 signified, doubtless, what had been once called Rēnāṇḍu 7000 and they both refer to the same tract.

Chirumbūru to which Rēvaṇakālu belonged may be identified with the modern Chilamakuru in the Kamalapuram taluk, a few miles E.S.E. of Kalamaḷḷa, the findspot of the inscription.

A. TEXT

First side

1 ....
2 **-kalmu[tu]rā-**
3 **ju Dhanaṁja-**
4 **yuṟu** Rēnā-
5 ṇḍu ēḷan
6 Chiṟumbūri
7 Rēvaṇakālu [paṁ-]
8 pu Chenūrukāju
9 aḻikaḷā[ū]ri-
10 ṇḍa vāru[ūri]..
11—14 four lines damaged
15 .... pañcha[ma*-]
16 hāpātakasa-
17 [ku]

Second side—damaged.

B. Erragudipadu inscription of Erikal-Mutturaju

This inscription[2] is engraved in bold and big size characters on two sides of a stone standing to the right of the Chennakēśava temple in the village of Eṟṟaguḍipāḍu, Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah district.

The **palaeography** of the inscription which resembles, in almost every detail, the Kalamaḷḷa inscription (No. A above) and is likewise assignable to the **last quarter of the 6th cent. A.D. or slightly later** calls for few remarks except that it is written in a more cursive style than A. Subscript *l* (1.2) may be noted as affording an instance showing that in early Telugu-Kannaḍa script a letter even when used as subscript was written in full with no change. The Dravidian *ṟ* (l. 11) is also worthy of note.

As regards **orthography,** the syntax of the inscription is not clear. It is not apparent who the actual donor was, although the text may be interpreted so as to give the

[1] H. K. Sastri: above, Vol. XI, p. 343 citing J. Ramayya Pantulu; *J.I.H.*, Vol. XV, pp. 33-4.

[2] From the estampages secured by Mr. M. V. R. A part of this inscription was copied by the Epigraphy department and numbered *A.R.E.* 98 of 1929-30.

meaning that the gift was made at the instance of Kuṇḍikāḷu. The word *nivabukānu* in ll. 3-4 is peculiar and has been understood by us as *nepamukānu* which literally means 'being the pretext or reason,' taking *nivabu* (or *nivambu*) as the archaic form of *nepamu*. The name *Dujayarāju* appears to stand for *Durjayarāju* and *Vallava Dukaraju* may be taken to be a corruption of *Pallava* (or Vallabha) *Yuvarāja*. The letters *v* and *p* are generally substituted one for the other in inscriptions of this period. That the word *Dukarāju* which has other forms like *Tugarāju* (ins. C below) and *Dugarāju* (ins. D below), is a form of *Yuvarāju* is clearly borne out by the records of the Eastern Chālukya king Maṅgi Yuvarāja in which the king is alternately described as Maṅgi Dogarāju[1] and Maṅghi Duvarāju. These afford instances of the substitution of *d* for *y*. Further the distinction between *k* and *g* or between *t* and *d* (cf. Dugarāju and Tugarāju (ins. C): Erikal and Erigal; Dugarāju and Dukarāju) does not appear to have been maintained in archaic Telugu, a feature which persists in Tamil even to the present day.

The proper name, *Kuṇḍikāḷḷu* and *Kuṇḍikāḷḷuḷ* with the honorific plural seems to be a Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit name *Kuṇḍipādāḥ* in the same manner as Rēvaṇakālu of ins. A above stands for Rēvaṇapādāḥ.

Attention may be drawn here to the term *pannassa* (l. 9) which is apparently a mistake for the usual form, *pannasa*. It has been stated that the term stands for a number, *viz.*, 50, the word being supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit, *pañchāśat*.[2] Although this is very plausible, especially as the word *panna* meaning 50 is in use even at the present day, the fact that several instances are found in inscriptions wherein the extent of land given is different from 50 units although the word *pannasa* is also used to denote such gifts, militates against this interpretation. In the present inscription the extent of land given is stated to be 24 *maruturs* and the gift is, all the same, described as *pannasa*. The word has probably to be understood as denoting a kind of land-tenure. It has been suggested that the word is made up of the Prākṛit words *paṇa* and *nas* meaning absence (*nas*) of money or tax (*paṇa*).[3] In this connection attention may be drawn to the term *pannāyam* indicating a kind of income occurring in several inscriptions.[4] Although the exact connotation of the term *pannasa* is not clear, it might be stated that it seems to contain some reference to a tax, on account of which. the grant is called *pannasa*. Support for this surmise is derived from the fact that in Telugu the word *pannu* at present indicates a tax generally, so that *pannasa* appears to be the Telugu counterpart of the Tamil term *iṟaiyili* meaning tax-free.[5] The extent of land given away is not indicated by numerical symbols but written in words. The extent of land is stated to be *iravadi-yādinālku maṟuntuṟlu* which, when translated, would read 'four-preceded-by-twenty *maṟunturs*'. A similar instance of indicating a number of two digits is found in the Doṅgalasāni inscription of Veṅkaya Chōḷa,[6] where the regnal year 41 is written in words as *nalpādyādiyokoṭi*. This manner of signifying a two digit number describing the tens digit and the units digit separately would appear to have been followed in early inscriptions when expressing the number by means of figures, *e.g.*, 20 (+) 4.

The inscription contains some words of **literary** interest. The word *koṭṭambu*, meaning either a settlement or a territorial division appears to be derived from Sanskrit *gōshṭham*, meaning a settlement of cowherds. The word, *Bōya-koṭṭambu*, occurs in a few Eastern Chāḷukya inscriptions of the Nellore district[7] from which it may be concluded that the word meant a settle-

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[1] *Bhārati*, Vol. V, pt. 1, p. 949.

[2] *J O.R.*, Vol. X, p. 28.

[3] *G. V. R. Comm. Vol.*, p. 305, f.n.

[4] No. 287 of 1905 of the Mad. Epi. Coll.

[5] *Iṟai, Iṟai-kāval, Iṟaiyili, Dr. S. K. Iyengar Comm. Vol.*, p. 191.

[6] *A.R.E.* No. 9 of 1939-40. Cf. also *Telaṅgāṇa Inscriptions*, p. 165 text 1.4; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 114.

[7] Kandukūru inscription of Vijayāditya III: *NDI*, Vol. II, Kandukūru 31-2. p. 545; *A.R.E.* 838 of 1922 (Addaṅki inscription of Paṇḍaraṅga): *NDI*, Vol. II, Ongole 3.

ment generally. In Tamil inscriptions and literature the word *koṭṭam* conveys the meaning of a territorial division larger than a small settlement. The word *śakshi* in line 8 clearly stands for *sākshi* or witness.

The inscription records the grant of a *pannasa* of 24 *maruntuṛs* of land in the territorial division (*koṭṭam*) to a Brāhmaṇa (*pāra*) during the reign of Erikal-Mutturāju at the instance of (or by ?) Kuṇḍikāḷḷu, the witnesses to the deed being Dujayarājula Mutturājulu, Navapriya Mutturājulu and Vallava Dukarajulu.

The identification of the persons mentioned in the inscription presents much difficulty. It is not possible to state definitely whether the king Erikal-Mutturāju of this record is to be taken to be identifical with Erikal-Mutturāju Dhanañjaya of ins. A above, although the palaeography and the provenance of the record may render it plausible. Dujayarājula-Mutturājulu may be taken to refer to the official Mutturāju who was either called Durjayarāju himself or was a subordinate under the latter whose name or surname was Dujayarāju. The identity of Dujayarāju is not easy to establish. It is perhaps to the point to recall here the descent claimed by some later royal lines of the Telugu country ; the Kākatiyas, Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis and the Velanāṇḍu kings claimed descent from a certain Durjaya of the Chaturthakula.[1] It is possible that our Dujaya has greater claims to be considered as identical with this remote ancestor of the later Telugu monarchs than the Raṇadurjaya of the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant to whom this position has been assigned by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi,[2] for the evidence is by no means clear that Raṇadurjaya was a Chōḷa monarch of the line of Karikāla.

Vallava Dukaraju was the Yuvarāja of the Pallavas[3] who must have been one of the contemporary Pallava princes of Kāñchī which was at this time ruled over by Simhavishṇu (c. 575-600 A.D.). Navapriya Mutturāju may be identical either with Navarāma, the son of Sundarananda mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates of Śrīkaṇṭha-Chōḷa or Navarāma Chōḷa-Mahārāja Mahēndravikrama, the son of Dhanañjaya (of the Mālēpāḍu plates). It is more likely that he was the latter in view of the fact that he figures along with Vallava Dukarāja and bears the name Mahēndravikrama which was also borne by the contemporary Pallava prince Mahēndravikrama I, son of Siṁhavishṇu.

The mention of the Pallava prince in an inscription of the Telugu Chōla may be taken to indicate political alliance either as between a subordinate and overlord or on equal terms.

B. TEXT

First side

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] **Erika-**

2 **lmutturājulla**

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[1] Above, Vol. V, p. 142 ; SII. iv, No. 692.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 96.

[3] It may be asked whether Vallava Dukaraju may not, instead, stand for Vallabha Yuvarāju, Vallabha being a dynastic name indicating the Western Chālukya. Pulakēśin I calls himself Chalikya Vallabhēśvara (*An. Rep. of Kannada Research in the Bombay Province*, 1940-41, p. 9), and is also referred to as Vallabha in the later Chālukya records (Fleet ; *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 344 ; Chiplun Plates of Pulakēśin II, *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 51, l. 3).Likewise, Pulakēśin II is referred to as the Vallabha king in Pallava records (Fleet ; *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 324, 326, 351, 377) and also in his own records (Nerur Grant, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 43, l. 3 ; Kopparam Plates, *E. I.* XVIII, pp. 259, 260). Kīrtivarman II is spoken of as Vallabha in the Samangad grant of Dantidurga (*Ind. Ant* Vol. XI, p. 112) as also, probably, in the Daśāvatāra Cave Ins. (*Arch. Sur. of W. India*, Vol. V, p. 88). While it is not impossible that Vallava Dukaraju of the present record may be a Chāḷukya prince, it would seem more likely that he was a Pallava prince in view of the close political relationship that existed between the Pallavas and the Chōḷas of the early period as indicated by the close correspondence in their names and titles. There is however a stray instance of the Pallavas being called Vallabhas (Oṁgōḍu grant of Simhavarman II : *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 255, l. 17).

3 Kuṇḍikāḷḷu [ni]vabukā-
4 nu ichchina pannasa
5 **Dujayarājula-**
6 **Mutturājulu Nava-**
7 **priya-Mutturājulu**
8 **Vallava-Dukarajulu** śakshi-
9 kānu ichchi[na*]pannassa

Second side

10 koṭṭambuna pā-
11 ṟaku Kuṇḍikāḷḷu-
12 ḷa ichchina pannasa
13 iravadi y-ādi-nā-
14 lku maṟuntuṟlu nēla [||*]

C. Uruturu inscription of Chola-Maharaja

This inscription[1] is engraved on a slab near a well in the village of Uruṭūru, Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah district.

The inscription is written in a cursive style of writing as shown by the letters *l*, *n*, *k* and *r*. which in the next inscription (ins. D) of the same king are found written in a square ornamental style and may be assigned on palaeographical basis to the **first quarter of the 7th century A.D.** The letters *ḷ* and *ṛ* are more developed than their usual form in this period. Attention may be drawn to the *ṛ* subscript in *nṛu* in l. 7 which differs greatly from the *ṛ* of l. 5 raising the question whether both signify the same consonant. More about this will be said below under ins. G, Rāmēśvaram Pillar Inscription of Puṇyakumāra.

As regards the **orthography** of the inscription attention may be drawn to the forms Mahārājuṟla and Tugarājuṟla which contain the peculiar suffix *ṟlu*. Tugarāju, as has been noted under ins. B above, is a corruption of Yuvarāju.

It records that while **Chōḷa Mahārāja** was ruling, a certain **Erigal-Dugarāja** granted a *pannasa* of 50 (*mattars* ?) of land to a Brāhmaṇa of Tiruvuḷa.

The Chōḷa king may be identified with Mahēndravikrama Chōḷa-Mahārāja, one of whose records has been edited by Mr. M. S. Sarma[2]. Inscriptions issued by Chōḷa-Mahārāja are assigned to Mahēndravikrama on the following grounds: (1) Palaeographically, they fall in the early part of the 7th century A.D. and this period for Mahēndravikrama has been established on other grounds.[3] (2) The title *Pariprāpta-Chōḷa-Mahārājaśabdaḥ* is borne by Mahēndravikrama who further declares that he was a *Muditaśilākshara*, a title borne out by the numerous early Chōḷa-Mahārāja inscriptions. From this it may be concluded that inscriptions issued barely in the name of a Chōḷa-Mahārāja, of which there are several in the early period, are to be generally assigned to this king if their palaeography admits of this being done (See also H. K. Sastri, above, Vol. XI, p. 343). Although the successors of Mahēndravikrama used the title their personal names are invariably stated in their inscriptions. If the identity of Chōḷa Mahārāja with Mahēndravarman suggested above is accepted, Tugarāju has to be identified with the king's eldest son Guṇamudita, who must have been the Tugarāju or Yuvarāja, while his father was king.

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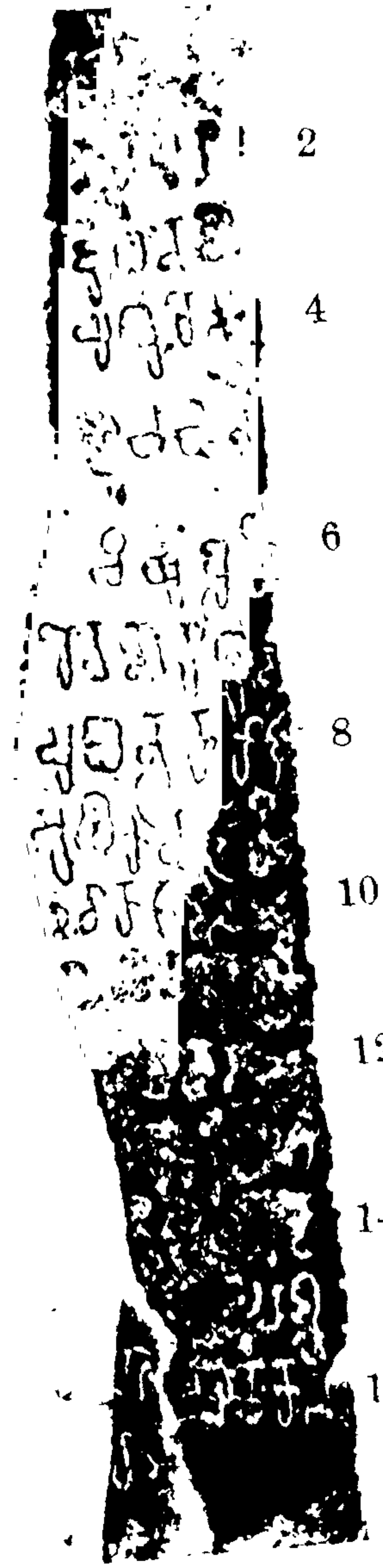
[1] From impressions secured by Mr. M. V. R. The inscription has been copied by the Epigraphy Department and numbered 330 of 1935-36.

[2] *G. V. R. Comm. Volume*, p. 301.

[3] *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. IX, p. 18; *G. V. R. Comm. Vol.*, p. 301.

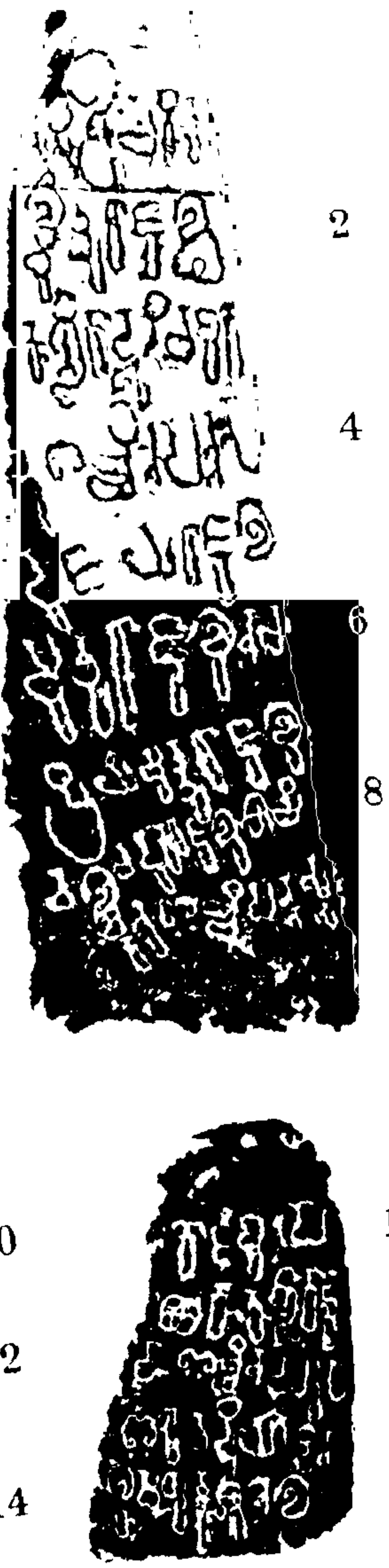
Telugu Chola Records from Anantapur and Cuddapah (I)

A



SCALE: ONE-EIGHTH

B



(From Photographs)

C

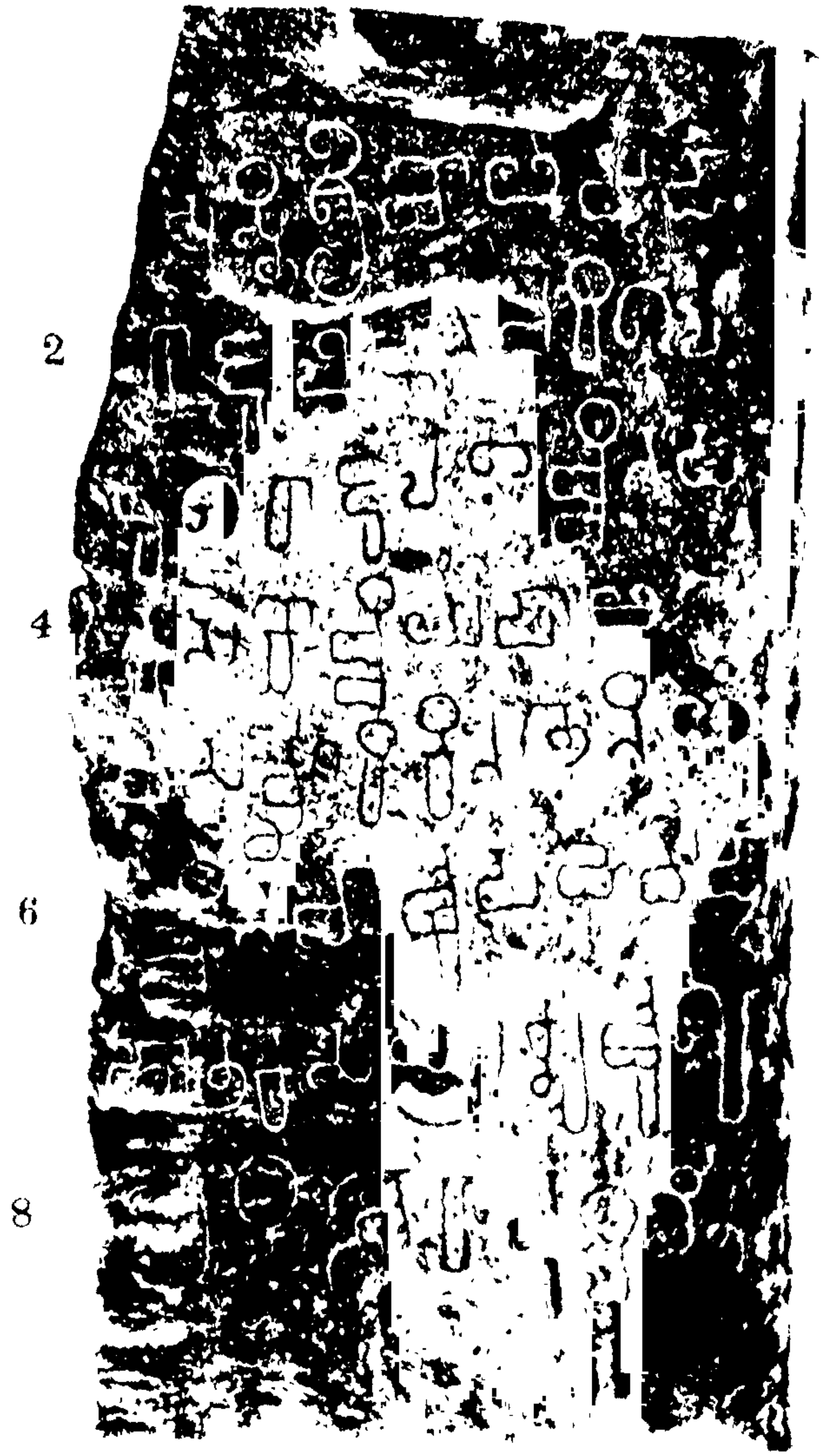


SCALE: ONE-SEVENTH

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No 3977 E'36–485'49.

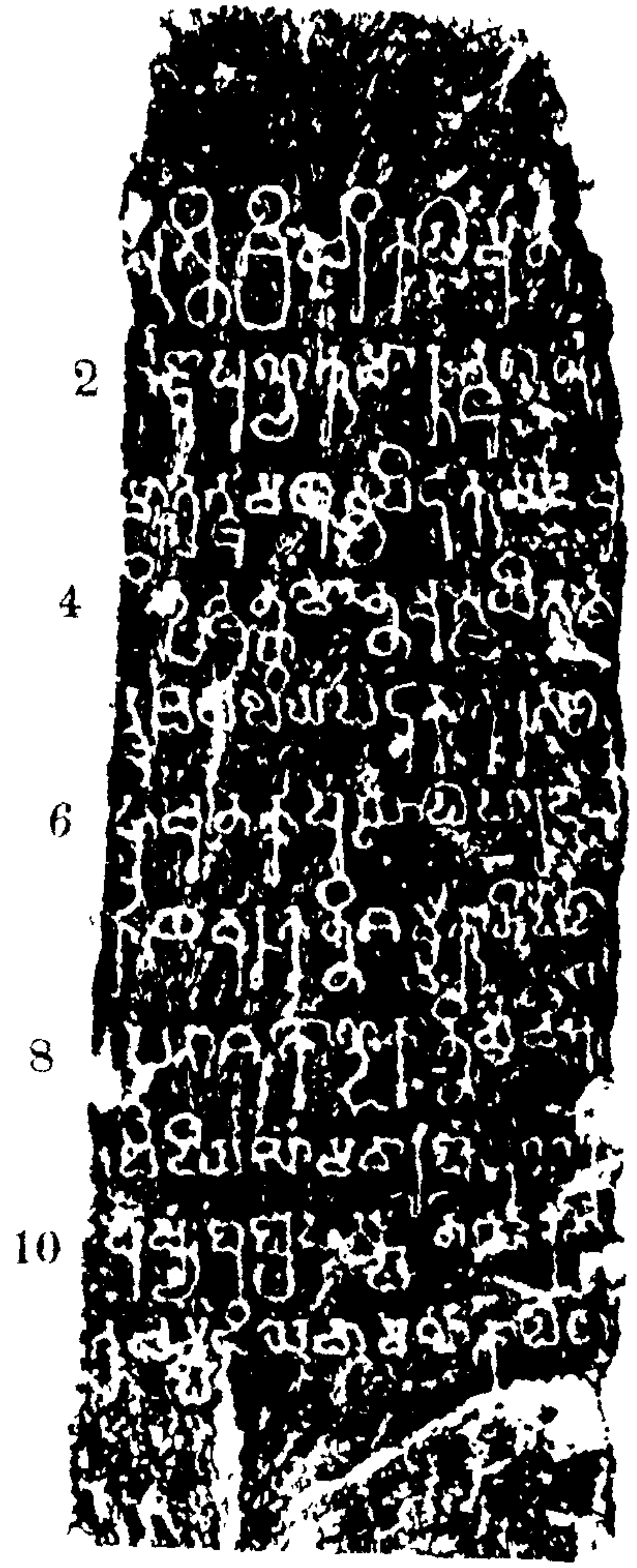
Survey of India, Calcutta

D



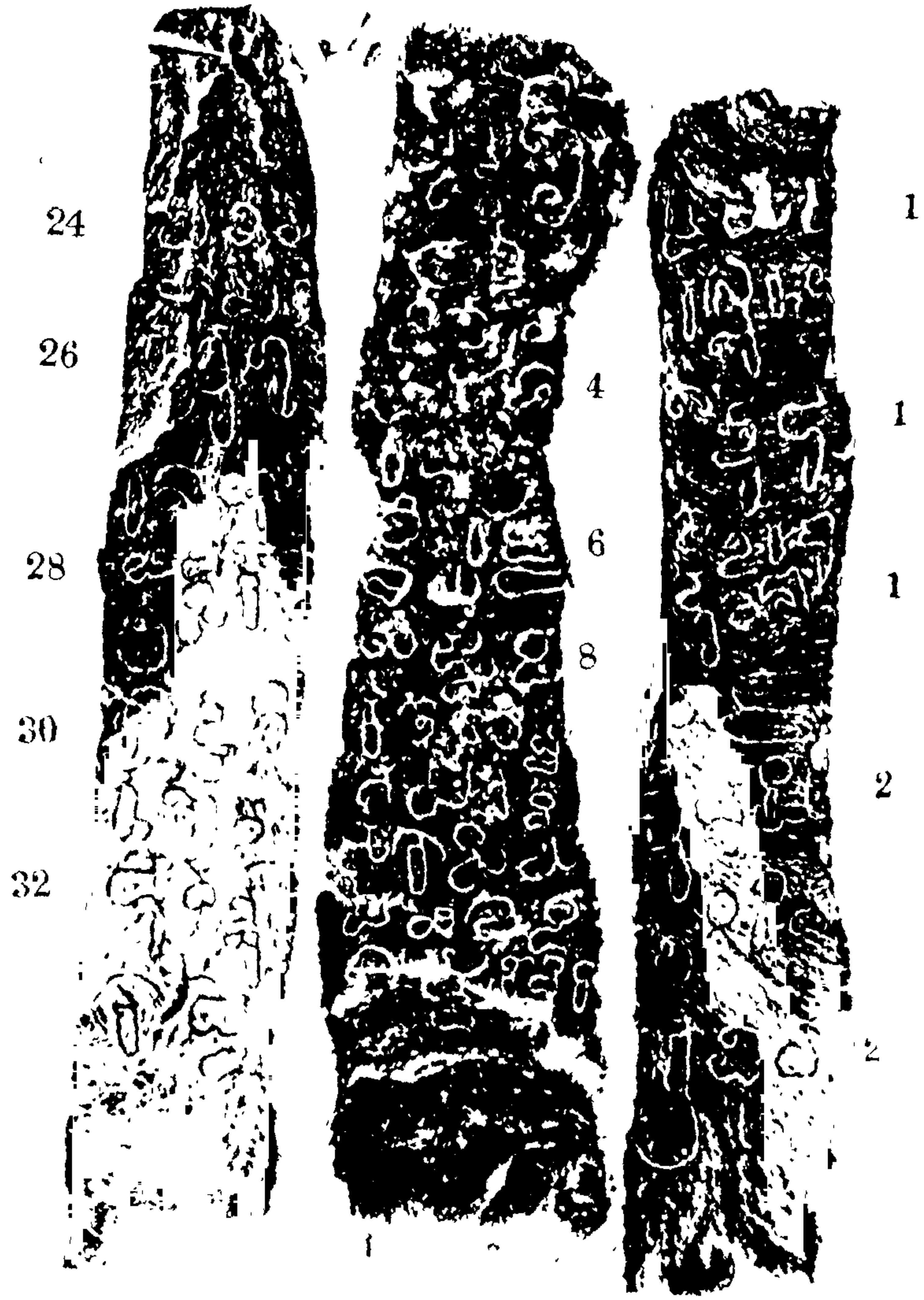
SCALE ONE-SIXTH

F



SCALE: ONE FIFTH

J



SCALE. ONE SIXTH

Tiruvuḷa, probably the place to which the Brāhmaṇa belonged, may well be the same as Tiruvura, the scene of a battle mentioned in an inscription of Dhanañjaya II of Erigalvāḍi.[1]

The same place appears to have been the scene of another battle in which a general of the Vaidumba Mahārāja (c. 9th century A.D.) is stated to have lost his life [2]; but its exact situation is not known.

C. TEXT

1 ..[**Chō**]**ḷa-Mahārāju**[**ṟla**]
2 [ēḷa]**Erigal-Tuga-**
3 [**rā**]**juṟla** ichchina pannāsa
4 rāchamānambuna ēbadi
5 Tiruvuḷa pāṟaku ichchi[na]
6 pannāsa dēniki[3] vakraṁ[bu]
7 vachinavānṟu[4] pañchamahā-
8 pātaku agu [।*]

D. Indukuru Inscription of Chola-Maharaja

This record[5] is engraved on a stone at the entrance to the village of Indukūru, Kamalapuram taluk.

The record is engraved in bold square characters in a style which differes from that of ins. C although both may belong to the same period. The **orthography** of the inscription reveals a few interesting points. A clear distinction is noticeable in the forms of the full consonant and the final consonant in that the latter is written in a slightly diminutive form without the top stroke, *e.g.*, *n*, final, in ll. 2 and 5 and *l* final, in ll. 2 and 3. The phrase, [Rē*]vaśarmmārikin (l. 5) perhaps shows that in popular pronunciation of the time *Śarmavāru* or *Śarmayāru* became *Sarmāru*. The *u* ending, of the word, as in poetry, is also noteworthy. Similarly, in l.7 in the compound word *Saṁyyuktunṟugu* which is made up of two words *Saṁyyuktunṟu*+*agu* either the letter *a* is elided or possibly we have an antique form of the *sandhi*, *u*+*a*. We may note here that in a similar *sandhi* (*u*+*a*) in the compound *Uttamōttamunṟ-ayinavānṟu* in the Tippalūru inscription of Puṇyakumāra (ins. F below l. 4), the letter *a* is elided in the more usual way.

The consonant is found doubled after the *rēpha* in *Rēvaśarmmā* of l. 5. In *saṁyyuktunṟu* (l. 7) we have an instance of the doubling of the consonant after the *anusvāra*. The distinction between *t* and *d* is not observed in the word *tēni* in l. 5 which stands for *dēni*.

The inscription registers the gift of a *pannasa* to [Rē*]vaśarman, a Brāhmaṇa (*pāṟu*) of Kochchiya, *i.e.*, of the Kauśika-gōtra, by **Erigal-Dugarāju** while **Chōḷa-Mahārājulu** was ruling. The record is stated to have been composed or engraved (*likhitaṁ*) by Asivairuvu.

The inscription belongs to the same king Chōḷamahārāju of the Urutūru inscription (inscription C above) and hence he may be Mahēndravikrama Chōḷa-Mahārāju and the donor Erigal-Dugarāju may likewise be Guṇamudita.

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Mi. 101. If however, Tiruvuḷa has to be interpreted as the *gōtra* of the Brāhmaṇa, it may be taken to stand for Traivaṇa-*gōtra*.

[2] No 439 of 1914: *S. I. I.* Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 16.

[3] *dē* seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted below the line.

[4] Read *vachchina*.

[5] From the impressions secured by Mr. M. V. R. This has been copied by the Epigraphy Department and numbered 310 of 1935-36.

Asivairuvu, who is mentioned as the engraver or the composer of the inscription figures in another record of Chōḻa-Mahārāja, evidently the same as the king of this inscription, *viz.*, the Pōtla-durti-Mālēpāḍu inscription edited by Mr. Sarma.[1]

The term Kochchiya-pāṟa may be rendered as the Brāhmaṇa of Kochchiya village, or of the Kauśika-gotra, Kochchiya being a corruption of Kauśika. The form 'Kōsiya' occurs in inscription J. below (Veludurti inscription of Uttamāditya Chōḻa), also evidently standing for Kauśika.

D. TEXT

1 Svasti śrī[‖*]**Chōḻa-Mahā-**
2 **rājullēḻan Eriga**[l-]
3 **Dugarājul** ichchina pa-
4 nnasa Kochchiya pāṟa[Re*]
5 vas(ś)armmārikin[| *] tēni ḻa-
6 chchina vānṟu pañchamahā-
7 pātaka saṁyyuktunṟugu
8 **Asivairuvu** likhitaṁ [‖*]

E. Veludurti Inscription of Erikal-Muturaju Punyakumara

This epigraph[2] is engraved on three sides of a stone in front of the Chennakēśava temple at Veludurti, Kamalapuram taluk. It is highly damaged, the inscribed portion on one side being completely effaced.

There is not much difference between the present inscription and the inscriptions of Chōḻa-Mahārāja (inss. C and D) in point of **palaeography** and it may be assigned to the same period.

The portions of the inscription which are preserved furnish the information that a gift was made by (or to) a certain **Atiśaya-Raṭṭakuṭṭa** in the time of **Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumāruṇṟu**. The donee's name is given as Pālaśarmmā.

The inscription belongs to Puṇyakumāra who is probably the same as the second son of Mahēndravikrama-Chōḻa Mahārāja of the Mālēpāḍu plates. The record appears to have been issued by him while he was holding the dignity or office of Mutturāju, a rank which, as we have stated above, was lower than that of the Dugarāju or Yuvarāju, which was probably held about this time by Puṇyakumāra's elder brother Guṇamudita. In this connection the nominative singular ending *nṟu* to Puṇyakumāra's name, the significance of which has been discussed above (p. 223), may be noted.

The information conveyed by the inscription is very meagre, except the mention of a personage, Atiśaya Raṭṭakuṭṭa. The word Atiśaya seems to contain a reference to the Adigaimān chiefs of the south who had their capital at Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri, Salem district), for it conveys more or less the same meaning as Adigan, *i.e.*, one who excels (others). Or in the alternative, it may be the title of the king which was borne by the subordinate official (Raṭṭaguḍi) as Atiśaya-Raṭṭakuṭṭa. Instances of the latter kind are numerous in epigraphy. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the name Atiśayachōḻa Vīranārāyaṇa held by a prince of the Koṅgu country in the Chōḻa period.[3]

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[1] *G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Commemoration Vol.*, p. 310.

[2] From impressions secured by Mr. M. V. R. and from those secured later by the Epigraphy Department and numbered No. 298 of 1937-38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] Nos. 708, 710, 718 to 720 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

The same name Atiśaya-Raṭṭakuḍi occurs in the Chilamakūru inscription of Vikramāditya Chōḷa II (ins. H below). Raṭṭakuṭṭa occurring in the present inscription seems to be a variant of Raṭṭaguḍi or Raṭṭakuḍi which, as explained by H. Krishna Sastri[1] signifies an office or dignity. Various forms of this word such as *Raṭṭaḷḷu*, *Raṭṭōḍi*, etc., are found in early Telugu inscriptions. The exact nature of the office or dignity signified by the term is not clear. In its earliest form, *i.e.*, *Raṭṭakuḍi* or *Raṭṭaguḍi*, the name seems to be made up of two words ***Raṭṭa*** and ***kuḍi***, the latter **term** conveying the meaning 'habitation' or 'settlement'. ***Raṭṭakuḍi*** may therefore be tentatively rendered as 'settler in the country (*raṭṭa*)', or 'cultivator' as suggested by H. K. Sastri.

E. TEXT

First Side

1 Svasti Śrī [|*] **Erikal-Mu[tu]rājulpriti....m Puṇyakumāruṇṟu**
2 Atiśaya Raṭṭakūṭṭana rkup......raṭṭakuṭṭa

Second Side

1 ....ēbhadi ma....
2 ....ri.. māsapurṇṇa[mi]..
3 ...... Pālaśarmmāri [ki]..

Third Side

1 dīni kāchi kuḍipinavāru[bhū]midānambu palambu
2 vakrapalkinavāru pañcha-mahāpāta[kaṁ][2] bupaḍu [|*]

F. Tippaluru Inscription of Erikal-Muturaju Punyakumara

This inscription[3] is deeply engraved on a red-stone in the village of Tippalūru, Kamalapuram taluk, in well-formed ornamental characters.

This is a unique record both for its **palaeography** and subject matter and for the particulars of the date it provides. In addition to the unique feature of possessing a date that mentions the week-day and the *hōra*, instances of which are rare at such an early period, the record bears a striking palaeographical resemblance to the Vallam rock inscription of Mahēndravarman I Pallava.[4] In general appearance this resembles more the so-called Pallava-Grantha script than the usual Telugu-Kannaḍa script of this period and locality. The inscription may be assigned to the **first half of the 7th century A.D.** and would belong to the same king as inscription E above. Attention may be drawn to letters *n*, *k* with the *u* medial sign, *r*, *l*, *b*, and *y* to indicate what has been stated above. The letter *n* in this form is also noticeable in the early Kaliṅga grants.[5]

As regards **orthography** the inscription does not provide any unusual features. The doubling of the consonant after the *rēpha* (*r*—superscript) in *Tarkka* (line 6) and *Śarmma* (line 7) and *kārttiya* (l. 8) may be noted. The practice, however, does not seem to have been consistently

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 343.

[2] Written below the line.

[3] From estampages secured by Mr. M. V. R. and those secured later by the Epigraphy Department: *A. R.* No. 283 of 1937-38.

[4] *SII*, Vol. II, plate X; cf. The Mahēndravāḍi inscription of Guṇabhara (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 152, plate); Sīyamaṅgalam cave inscription of Mahēndravarman I (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 319, plate); Daḷavānūr ins of the same king (*Ep. Ind*, XII, p. 226, plate) and the Maṇḍagapaṭṭu ins. (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 12, plate) for forms of *k*, *r*, *l*, *b*, *n*, *t* and *y*.

[5] Above, Vol. XVIII, plate opp. p. 310 (l. 1): *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 51, Jirjingi C. P. of Indravarmā l. 7.

observed as the consonant is not doubled after the *rēpha* in *Chirpaliya* (l. 5) and *Tirpalūra* (l. 7). The distinction between *k* and *g* is not observed, *e.g.*, *piḍuku* for *piḍugu*. The object of the grant is described as a *panāśa* which stands for *pannasa*, the meaning of which has been discussed above (ins. B). The inscription contains a few archaic words: *paṭu*, in l. 5, may be taken to mean 'seat or capital'. The meaning of the word *Pāradāya*, is not clear. In Tamil inscriptions we have a similar word Pāradāyaṉ. As suggested in the *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for the year 1938, it may be the corrupt form of Bhāradvāja, which was probably the *gōtra* of the Brāhmaṇa. *Puṇaru-Pushyaṁbu* stands for *Punarvasu* which, in Tamil, has the form, *Punarpūśam*.

An instance of a single letter abbreviation for a word is found in *dha* in l. 11, which seems to stand for *dharmam*, unless the inscription is incomplete.

The inscription registers the grant of fifty (*mattars*) of land as *panāśa* in the village of Tirpalūru to Kattiśarmmā of Kiḻevūru, a *pāradāya* of (or at) Tarkkapuḻōlu by Chāmaṇakālu while **Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumāruṇṟu** endowed with the titles Maruṉṟapiḍuku, Madamuditunṟu, Uttamōttamunṟu and Gaṇyamāuunṟu was ruling over Rēnāṇḍu from his capital (*paṭu*) at **Chirpali.** The gift is stated to have been made at the time of *Bṛihaspati-hōra*, on the second *tithi* of the dark-fortnight of the month of *Kārttika*, Monday when the *nakshatra* of the day was *Puṇarupushaṁbu* (*Punarvasu*).

Of the places mentioned in the inscription Erigal and Rēnāṇḍu have been identified already. Tarkkapuḻōlu may be identified with Takkavōlu in the Siddhavattam taluk of the Cuddapah district. It has not been possible to trace Kiḻevuru or Ḻēvuru in the modern maps. The name Tarkkapuḻōlu, which is made up of two words *Tarkka* and *puḻōlu*, appears to have changed into its modern form, Takkavōlu, through successive forms like, Tarkkapuṟōlu, Tarkkapṟōlu, Tarkkapōlu and Takkavōlu as indicated by Mr. M. S. Sarma in his disquisition on *prōlu* and other archaic Telugu words.[1] Thus the word *prōlu* by which a place or settlement is generally indicated at present appears to have been derived from *puḻōlu* (cf. Kannada *poḻal*, meaning town).

Another early Telugu word found in the inscription is *chīku* which may be taken to mean 'dark' and to indicate the dark fortnight of the month. The word is at present preserved in *chīkaṭi* which means darkness.

The astronomical details provided by the inscription are unfortunately not enough for calculating the corresponding English date. But it may be remarked that the details constitute an exceptional occurrence in a single day. It is exceptional for *nakshatra Punarvasu* (Puṇaru-Pushyaṁbu) to be associated with *Kārttika ba. di.* 2 for between *paurṇamī* and *bidiya* of the lunar month, four *nakshatras*, *Kṛittikā*, *Rōhiṇī*, *Mṛigaśirā* and *Ārdrā* must have completed their duration. This would only be possible under the following conditions:—

(1) That the *nakshatra*, *Ārdrā* must have ended before midday of Monday as during the *Bṛihaspati-hōra* of that week-day (on Mondays, *Bṛihaspati-hōra* would fall before midday) Punarvasu is stated to have commenced.

(2) That, accordingly, the *Kṛittikā-nakshatra* must have ended before the midday of Friday.

(3) That, as the month is *Kārttika*, the *paurṇamī* of the month should have begun on the day which began with *Kṛittikā* and it follows that after the midday of Friday, *paurṇamī* should have commenced and ended on Saturday sometime after midday.

(4) That *bidiya* on Monday continued up to the time of the *Bṛihaspati-hōra* though this

[1] *G. V. R. Comm. Vol.*, p. 306 ; *J.I.H.* Vol. XV, p 48.

is perhaps not quite necessary as it should have been enough for the day to have opened with *dvitīyā*.

It is noteworthy that the present inscription belonging to the early 7th century A. D mentions the **week-day** and the **hōra**. The mention of the week-day is rather a rare occurrence till about the 9th century A. D.[1] The early Pallava Prākṛit and Sanskrit charters make no mention of the week-day anywhere. It begins to be mentioned in Western Chālukya grants from about the time of Pulakēśin II,[2] *i.e.*, just about the same time to which the present inscription belongs.

On the *hōra* we have the views of Burgess and Svamikannu Pillai that its mention in India, either in literature or epigraphy, prior to the 5th century A. D. is improbable.[3] The present instance is the earliest so far available in South Indian Epigraphy.

The inscription was issued by Puṇyakumāra while he was ruling Rēnāṇḍu from his capital Chirpali; the title Erikalla Mutturāju indicates the position held by him while ruling Rēnāṇḍu. This together with the nominative suffix *nṟu* attached to his name, to which attention has already been drawn, may be taken to indicate that he had not become supreme ruler on the throne. This may have been in the period before he issued the Mālēpāḍu grant[4] and the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription (ins. G below) wherein he is found to assume supreme titles in place of the subordinate title of Mutturāju held by him earlier. That he wielded considerable power and dignity even as a Mutturāju is indicated by the string of *birudas* with which he is described in the present grant. He assumed most of the titles in imitation of the Pallavas. *Maruṇṟapiḍugu*, 'a thunderbolt to the enemies', is analogous to one of the *birudas* of Pallava Mahēndravarman I, *viz.*, *Pagāppiḍugu* found in several of his inscriptions.[5] It is almost synonymous with *Māṟpiḍugu* a probable title held by Puṇyakumāra (*see* ins. G below). *Madamuditunṟu* seems to have been modelled on *Mattavilāsu*, one of the *birudas* of the same Pallava king. Some of the titles of Puṇyakumāra borne by him in the present record were improved upon and later added to by him as noticeable in his Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription (ins. G below) and the Mālēpāḍu plates.

F. TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī [1*] **Erikalla-Mutu-**
2 **[rā]ju Puṇyakumārunṟu** gaṇya-
3 mānunṟu maṟunṟapiḍuku madanu-
4 ditunṟ=uttamōttamunṟ=ayinavā-
5 nṟu **Chirpaliya** paṭukānu Rēnāṇḍē-
6 ḷuchu Tarkkapuḻōla p[6]āradāya
7 Ki ḷēvuru (Kiḷevuru) Kattiśarmmaku Tirpalū-
8 ra panāśa koṇḍa Kā[rtti]ya-chīku-
9 na Bidiya Sōmavārambu Puṇaru-
10 Pushyambu Bra(Bṛi)haspati-hōra kā-
11 nu ēmbadiye Chāmaṇakāla dha [*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! prosperity! While **Puṇyakumāra**, the **Erikalla-Mutturāju**, who was held in

[1] *MASI*, No. 18, p. 37; *J.R.A.S.* 1912. pp. 1039 ff.: K. G. Sesha Iyer, *Ceras*, pp. 108-9.
[2] The Kopparam plates, above, Vol. XVIII. p. 257.
[3] *Indian Ephemeris*: Vol. I, pt. 1. p. 19.
[4] Above, Vol. XI, p. 341.
[5] Vallam rock ins. *S.I.I.*, II, pl. X. pp. 340-1.
[6] The long medial *ā* is attached to the letter *p* on its right prong instead of on its left prong by mistake. That this does not make it *ha* can be seen by comparing the latter letter in l.10 where its right prong is lower down.

high esteem, was the thunderbolt to hostile kings, was happy in his pride and the noblest of the noble, was ruling (*the*) Rēnāṇḍu (*country*) with **Chirpaliya** as his capital (*paṭu*), a *panāśa* at Tirpalūru given to Kiḻevuru or Ḷēvuru Kattiśarmmā, the *pāradāya* of Tarkkapuḻōlu,[1] on the second day of the dark fortnight of Koṇḍa-Kārttika, Monday, Puṇaru-pushyaṁbu and (*at the time of*) Bṛihaspati-hōra, (*is*) fifty (*matters ?*). (*This is*) the charity of Chāmaṇakāla.

G. Ramesvaram Pillar Inscription of Punyakumara Cholamaharaja : 5th year

This inscription (No. 384 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) is engraved on a pillar set up in the courtyard of the Rāmaliṅgēśvara temple at Rāmēśvaram near Proddaṭūru, Proddaturu taluk.

The inscription is marked by a few **palæographical** and **orthographical** peculiarities to which attention may be drawn here. The long medial *ī* is indicated by a circular loop attached to the short medial *i* sign as in *ntī* in line 9. The letter which has been read as *ṛi* in *pōṛi* of line 7 presents a problem. It differs from *thi* of *Prithivī* of line 3 in having a bar instead of a dot in the centre. Compare *ṛi* in lines 10 and 21 and *ṛu* in line 13. The subscript of *nṛi* in line 9 closely resembles *ṛi* in *pōṛi*. It may be doubted whether this letter has to be pronounced as *ṛ* or *th* ; on the whole it seems best to take this letter as an alternative form of *ṛ*, a letter for which we get three different forms in this inscription, in ll.7, 10 and 21. The letter *r* in line 8 may be noted as it appears to be in a transitional stage between its earlier and later forms. The subscript *l* in line 9 is of peculiar interest as it appears as a miniature replica of the consonant.

Pri is written for *pṛi* in *prithivī* in line 3. The absence of the usual doubling of the consonant after the *rēpha* in *rmu* in Pōrmukha of line 2 may be noted. The word, *Mārpiḍugu* (l.14) has to be split up as *Māṛ+piḍugu* meaning the thunderbolt to the opponent (cf. Marunṛapiḍugu of inscription F. Tippalūr inscription of Puṇyakumāra, above).

The form *Dēvuḷu*, the honorific plural of *Dēvī*, in line 8 is noteworthy.

The inscription states that in the **fifth year** of the reign of **Pōrmukharāma Pṛithivīvallabha Puṇyakumāra-Chōḷamahārāja**, (*his*) queen **Vasantipōṛi Chōḷamahādēvī** granted to the temple of Vasantīśvara in Tārumunṛi, two gardens of the extent of three-hundred (*martūru*) at **Viripaṛu** with Mārpiḍugu Raṭṭaguḷḷu as the *Āṇatti* (*ājñapti*). The blacksmith (*kammari*) of Viriparu is stated to have engraved the inscription.

Regarding the persons mentioned in the inscription, besides the king who is the same as the donor of the Mālēpāḍu plates, Vasantipōṛi Chōḷamahādēvī, the queen, does not find mention elsewhere. It is not unlikely that she belonged to the Pōṛi family several records of which, assignable to the 7th century A. D., are found in the Chittoor Dt.[2] The dominion of these Pōṛi chiefs lay in the Madanapalle taluk, Chittoor District, and was not far removed from Chippili, the capital of Puṇyakumāra, which was situated in the same taluk.[3] Raṭṭaguḷḷu, who was the *āṇatti* (executor) of the grant must have been an official who derived his surname Mārpiḍugu from the surname or title of Puṇyakumāra, *viz*., *Marunṛapiḍugu* which he is found to bear in the Tippalūr inscription (ins. F above).[4] Of the places mentioned in the inscription Viripaṛu and Tārumunṛu can-

[1] Lines 6-7 may be read alternatively as 'Tarkkapulōla pāradāya Kilevūru Kattiśarmmaku ' and rendered as 'Kattiśarmmā of Kilevūru, a pāradāya (*i.e.*, Bhāradvāja) of or at Tarkkapuḻōlu'.

[2] *ARE*. 1923, part II, para. 21, p. 101 : ins. Nos. 307 and 329 of 1922 of the Madras Ep. Coll.

[3] Attention may here be drawn to a chief, Vayandippiriaresaru, figuring as a subordinate of Pallava Mahēndra I in a record at Vallam (*S.I.I.*, II, plate X, pp. 340-1). It is difficult to say if he is connected with Vasantipōṛi of our record judging exclusively from the similarity of their names. If Vasantipōṛi is to be equated with Vayandappiri, the change in the latter part of their names, that is, *Pōri—piri* or *vice versa* is difficult to accept phonetically.

[4] *Vide*, also H. K. Sastri, above, Vol. XI, p. 342 and *n*. 7.

not be satisfactorily identified with any modern village. Bi(Vi)ripāṟu is referred to in several other records, *viz.*, the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra [1] and the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nityavarsha (Indra III).[2] In the former record the place is said to lie on the south bank of the river Suprayōgā in Hiraṇyarāshṭra. The Suprayōgā may be identified with the river Pennār while Hiraṇyarāshṭra may be taken to be identical with the region around the present Kamalapuram and Cuddapah taluks.[3] Besides the above records in and around Mālēpāḍu, two more inscriptions refer to Viripāṟu. One is the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin II[4] and the other the Mayidavōlu plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman.[5] In the former it is stated that the 'road leading to Virpaṟu' (*Virpaṟu-patha*) constituted one of the boundaries of the village granted, *viz.*, Irbuli in Karmarāshṭra (Guntur Dt.). In the second, Viripaṟa is described as belonging to Āndhrāpatha. It is doubtful if the same village is referred to in all these records. The Viripāṟu (Viripaṟu) mentioned in inscriptions in and around Mālēpāḍu may be different from the Virpaṟu or the Viripara of the Āndhrāpatha mentioned in the aforesaid Kopparam and Mayidavōlu plates and which has been identified with Vipparla, Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur Dt.[6]

Therefore, the Viripaṟu of our record has to be looked for in the region around Rāmēśvaram and Mālēpāḍu as stone inscriptions at the latter place also mention it. The importance of the place and its situation south of the river Pennār make its identification with Mālēpāḍu itself not unlikely, as both have their location on the south bank of the Pennār and their very names also appear to have a common import.[7] The village Tārumunṟu cannot be located.

G. TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [||*] **Pō-**
2 **rmukharāma Puṇyaku-**
3 **māra Prithivīvallabha**
4 **Chōḷa Mahārājulaku**
5 pravarddhamāna vijaya rā-[8]
6 rājya saṁvatsarambuḷ **yē**
7 **nagu** nāṇḍu **Vasantipōṟi**
8 **Chōḷamahādēvuḷu** Tāru-
9 munṟi Vasa[9]ntīśvaraṁbuna Pūlla-
10 vaṭṭambuna-vāriki **Viripaṟi-**
11 [**ti**]-puloṁbuna reṇḍu tōṭaḷu
12 [ri]hitaṁba[10] rāchamānaṁbuna

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 345, l.20; H. K. Sastri's reading as Birapāṟu is to be corrected as Biripāṟu.

[2] No. 391 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[3] *JOR.* Vol. XII, p. 363; Mr. M. S. Sarma, however, identifies the *rāshṭra* with Arurornoi of Ptolemy and locates it in the Nellore district between the rivers Pennār and Suvarnamukhī, *Mad. Uni. Journal*, Vol. XII, p. 153. In the *An. Rep. on S.I. Ep.* for 1936, para. 7, pp. 56-7, the region is located in the Atmakur taluk of the Nellore district.

[4] *JTA.* XI, p. 201; *A. Bh. O. I.* IV, p. 49; above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

[5] Above, Vol VI, p. 87, text l. 12.

[6] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 48-9.

[7] Mālēpāḍu, a probable corruption of Mallepāḍu, means the 'place of jasmines' (*malle*) and more or less the same meaning is conveyed by the name Biripaṟu or Viripaṟu which means literally the 'place of flowers'. The *Virijāji* is a variety of the *malle* or jasmine and the term *viripurru* is the colloquial name of this flower. Cf. also *māle*, garland. It has been suggested (*An. Rep. on S. I. Ep.* for 1936, para. 7, pp. 56-7) that Billupāḍu in the Atmakur taluk, Nellore district, must have been the ancient Biripaṟu; but there are no vestiges of Telugu Chōḷa rule in that region in this period.

[8] Cancel this *rā* as the letter is repeated at the beginning of the next line.

[9] First written as *śa* and then corrected into *sa*

[10] This may be read as [*sa*]*hitaṁba*.

13 munnūṟu nēla Mā-
14 ṟpiḍugu-Raṭṭaguḷḷu
15 āṇati gānu Vasantīśva-
16 rambunāk=ichchinadi [|*] dē-
17 [ni]ki vakrambu vachchuvā-
18 nṟu. .nēni Bāra-
19 ṇāśi vē [vu]ru pāṟa
20 [jam]pina vānṟu[|*]Gaṭṭu
21 Viripaṟiti[1] kamma[ri]Vini-
22 yaṇa vrāse [||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the **5th year** of the increasing victorious reign of **Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra Prithivīvallabha Chōḷamahārāja,** (*queen*) **Vasantipōṟi-Chōḷamahādēvī** gave to the people of the flower garden (*pūlla-vaṭṭam*) in the (*temple of*) Vasantīśvara in Tārumunṟu, land of the extent of three hundred (*mattars* ?) by the royal measure including two gardens in the field belonging to **Viripaṟu,** Māṟpiḍugu Raṭṭaguḷḷu being the *āṇati* (*i.e.*, *Ājñapti*). He who destroys this gift (*incurs the sin of*) killing 1000 Brāhmaṇas at Vārāṇasi (Benares).

The black-smith (*kammari*) of Gaṭṭu-Viriparu, Viniyaṇa, wrote this.

H. Chilamakuru Inscription of Vikramaditya Chola-Maharaja II

This inscription (No. 400 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection), which is damaged towards the end, is engraved on one of the three faces of a pillar that once stood in front of the Agastyēśvara temple at Chilamakūru, Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah district. The stone has since been removed to the Madras Museum. The other two faces of the pillar contain two other inscriptions which mention a certain Baṇḍaya but are not issued in the name of any ruling king.

Some words of **linguistic** interest are found in the record. The word *Sāmantakamuḷ* in lines 6-7 affords another instance, like *dēvuḷ* in line 5, of the use of the honorific plural for *sāmantakam* or °*kamu*. The word *tēni* in line 21 is used either for *dēni* or *dīni*, meaning ' which ' or ' this ' respectively. The distinction between *t* and *d* which exists in Sanskrit, does not appear to have been observed in early Telugu, a feature which is also characteristic of other Dravidian languages.

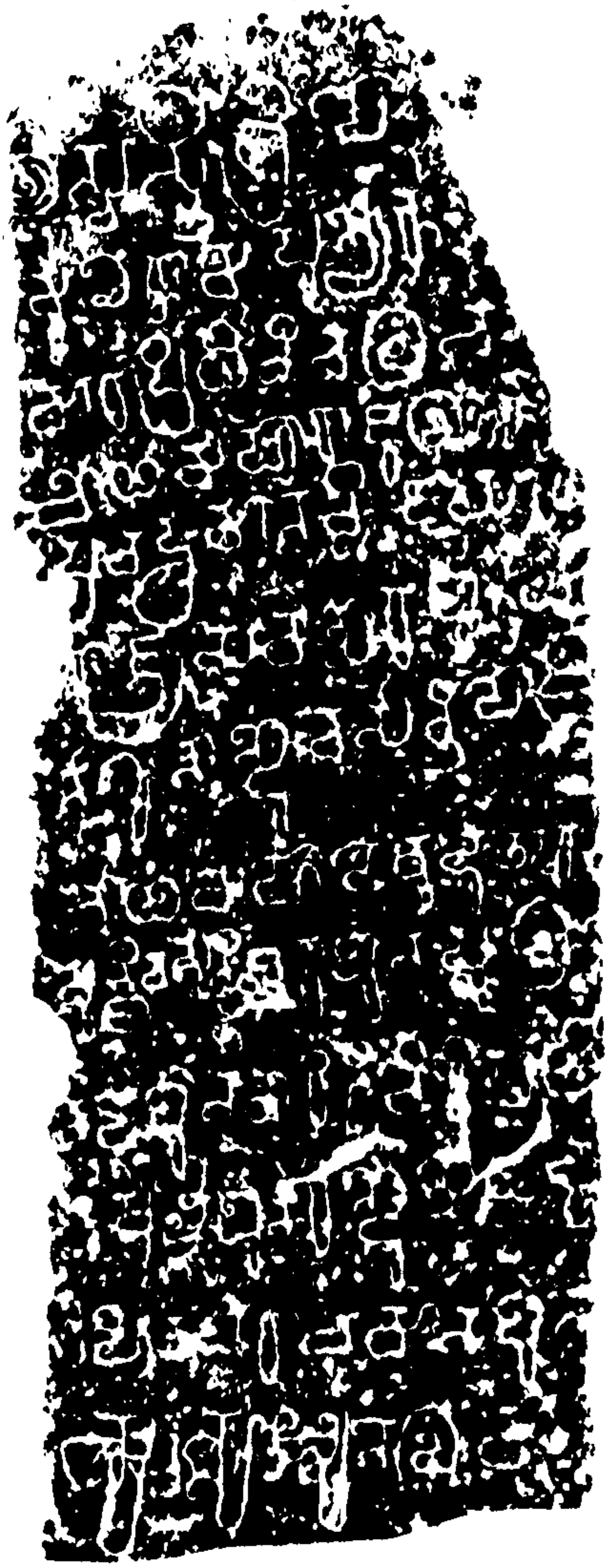
Lines 4-5 which seem to have been read as *Eḷañchōḷamahādēvuḷ* as reported in the *Epigraphical Report* for the year 1905, have been re-read here as *ēḷan-Chōḷamahādēvuḷ* so as to comprise two words and not one compound word taken to refer to ' a queen of Eḷanchōḷa '. The inscription abounds in archaic Telugu words, the meaning of some of which it has not been possible to determine exactly.

The record reveals a few peculiarities of **palaeographical** interest. The letter which has been read as the final *l* in *-jul* of line 4 is worth noting. It is not certain if the letter stands for the final *l* as a sign of *rēpha* is found attached to it, *rl*. It is possible that the medial vowel sign *u* has been omitted to be attached to *rl* in which case the letter intended would be *rlu* the honorific plural suffix of *Rāju* (*Rājurlu*). The distinction between the short *e* and the long *ē*, **initial**, is not **indicated**, *e.g.*, in *ēḷan* in line 4. The distinction does not arise in Sanskrit as the **short** *e* has no

[1] **Space for two lines left between lines 20 and 21, but there are no traces of writing.**

K

G. First piece



G. Second piece

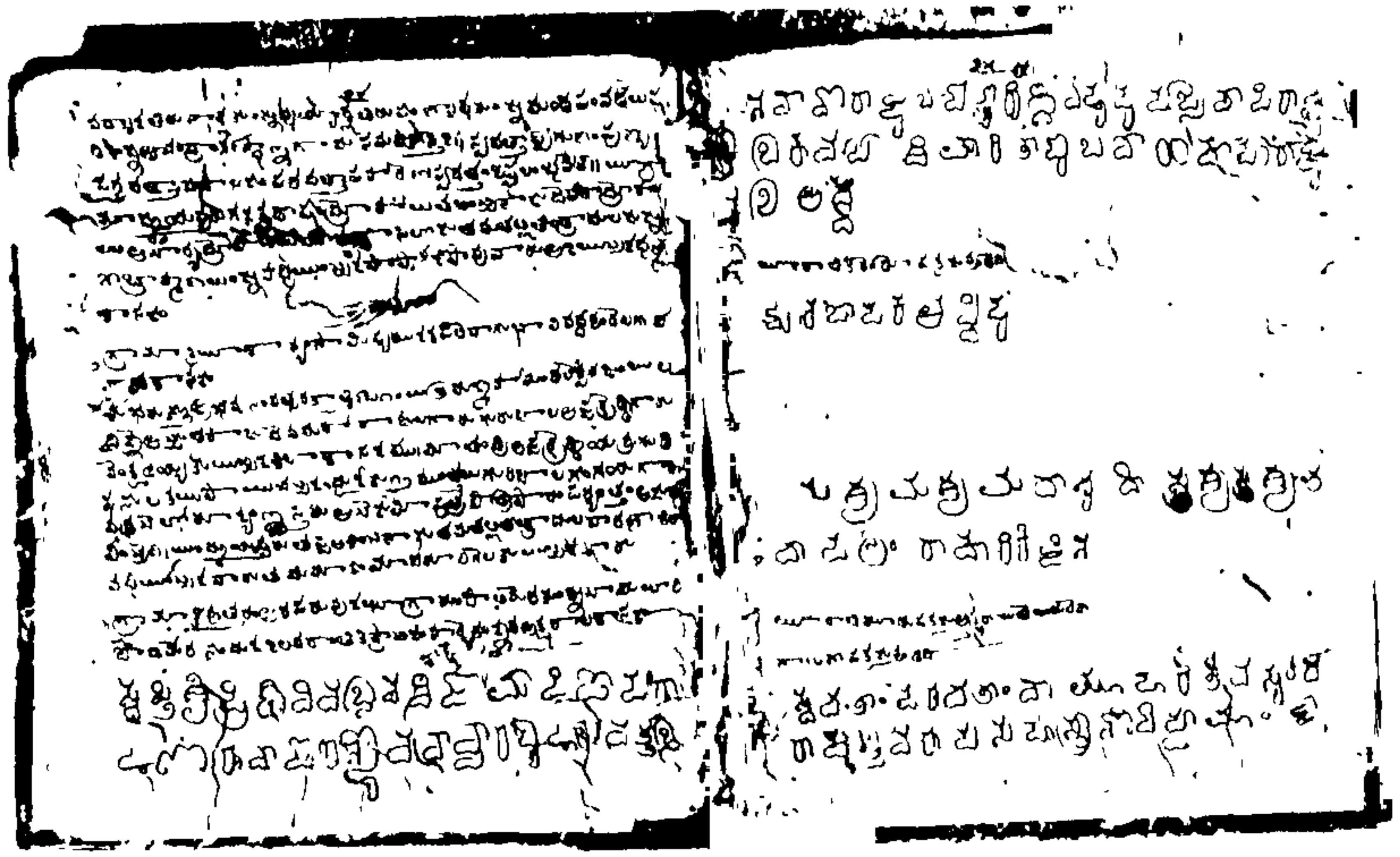




(Side I)



(Side III)

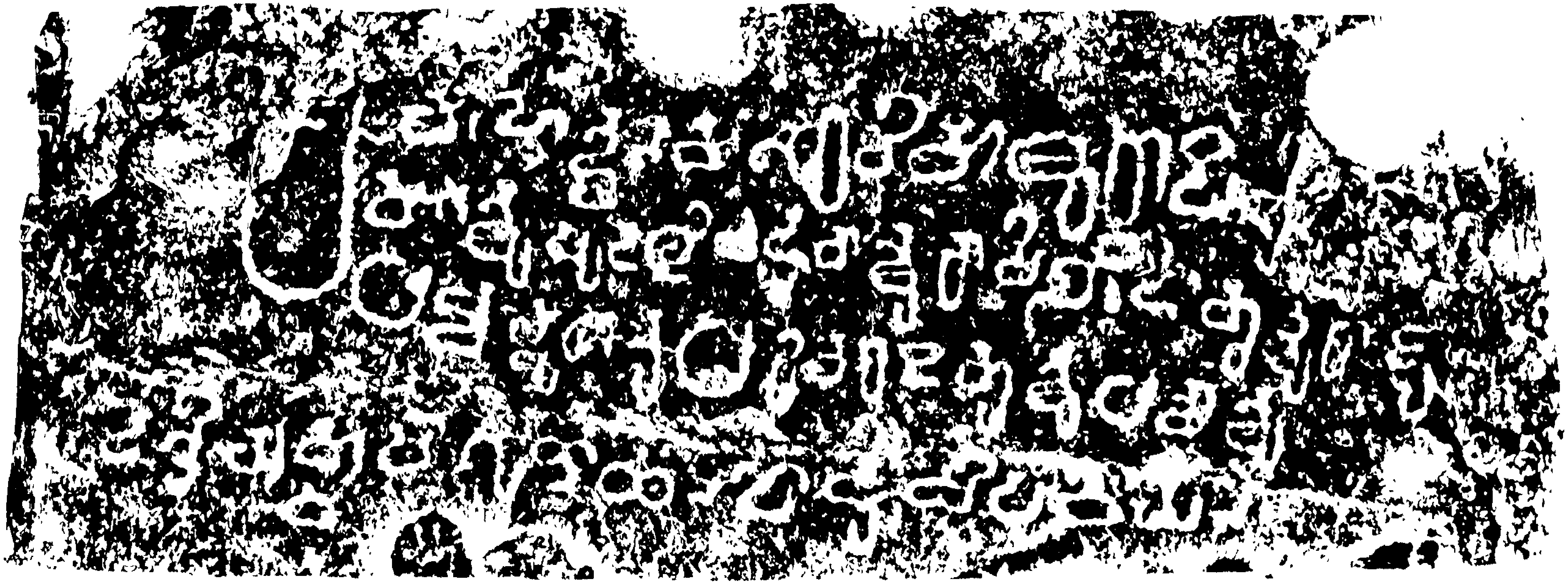


(From Photographs)

SCALE: ONE-SEVENTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

L



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

place in Sanskrit orthography. But in Telugu the distinction is observed from early times although the same letter indicates both the long and the short forms. The initial long *ū* in line 8 (*ūra*) and medial *ū* in *pūrvvam* of line 20 may be noted.

On **palæographical** grounds the inscription may be assigned to a period later than the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription of Puṇyakumāra (ins. G above), *i.e.*, to about the **beginning of the 8th century A. D.** It may accordingly be assigned to Vikramāditya II, the father of Satyāditya, the donor of the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription.[1]

The record under study states that in the reign of the **Vikramāditya Chōḷa-Mahārājuḷ** while the queen, **Chōḷamahādēvuḷ**, with **Uttamāditya** (probably the king's son) as *sāmantaka* was ruling at **Chiṟumburu** (*i.e.*, Chilamakūru) a gift of land (?) was made, the details of which are lost. Ēḷupāṟla are mentioned. They were probably the recipients of the gift.

In regard to the persons mentioned in the inscription, if Uttamāditya is taken to be the king's son, which is very likely in view of his status of *Sāmanta* ruling in conjunction with the queen, probably his mother, he would be another son of the king, besides Satyāditya, donor of the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription.

A number of other persons are also mentioned in the inscription, *viz.*, Tolpakāmi-Raṭṭaguḷḷu, Chōḷiya Raṭṭaguḷḷu and Atiśaya-Raṭṭaguḷḷu, the exact nature of whose connection with the donation is not clear. It is probable that they figure in the record as witnesses.

Further *Raṭṭaguḷḷu* is common to all the names thus indicating that it refers to the office of the Raṭṭaguḍi or the head-man of the village.[2] The prefix in these compound names represents either the personal name of the *Raṭṭaguḷḷu* or village-headman or the dynasty of the community to which he belonged. Atiśaya, as pointed out above (ins. E, Veludurti ins. of Puṇyakumāra), may stand for the Adigaimān rulers of Tagaḍūr or Dharmapurī or it may be his personal name.[3]

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 345. H. Krishna Sastri translates the genealogical portion of the record as 'Satyāditya of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, son of Śaktikomāra Vikramāditya (and grandson of) the great lord, the glorious Chōḷa Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya', thus making out three generations of kings. But as the text has no word describing Satyāditya as a grandson, and since only one relationship is stated, *viz.*, that he was the son, the passage may better be rendered as 'Satyādityunṟu, of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, son of the great lord, the glorious Chōḷa-Mahārājādhirāja, Vikramāditya-Śaktikomāra-Vikramāditya'. The supreme titles have to be attributed to the second Vikramāditya in the compound, who being described as Vikramāditya-Śaktikomāra-Vikramāditya, was evidently the son of Śatikomāra and the grandson of Vikramāditya. Thus four generations are made out in the record, *viz.*,

Vikramāditya I
|
Śaktikomāra
|
Vikramāditya II, Chōḷa-Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara
|
Satyādityunṟu

The objection to this construction on the ground that only three generations are generally stated in inscriptions and not four does not arise in the present case as the record does not purport to give three generations but simply describes the donor, Satyādityunṟu, as the son of the king Vikramāditya. It may not be far wrong if we take Satyādityunṟu figuring in the record only as a prince, as his name ending in nominative singular 'nṟu' without the usual honorific ending of a ruling king, may be taken to indicate. If so, the ruling king of the record is Vikramāditya II bearing imperial titles, whose ancestry is, as usual, indicated for only three generations including himself in the threefold name he bears. Proof that such a practice was prevalent in the Telugu country is afforded, although at a late period, by such names as Rāmarāja-Timmarāja-Viṭṭhalarāja (*A. S. R.* 1908-9, p. 195).

[2] Above, Vol. XI, p. 343, where the names of other Raṭṭaguḍis are cited from the other inscription on this stone.

[3] Cf. also, above, Vol. XI, p. 343, where H. K. Sastri notes the instances Salki Raṭṭaguḍi, Gaṅga Raṭṭaguḍi, etc.

II. TEXT

1 Svasti[||*]Śrīmat-
2 **Vikramāditya**
3 **Chōḷamahārā**
4 **juḷēḷan Chō**
5 **ḷamahādēvuḷ**[1]
6 **Uttam[ā]ditya-sā**
7 mantakamuḷ Chiṟuṁ-
8 buru ēḷan ūra
9 eḷupāṟla[pā]-
10 kāṭuḷuna vaṇaṁ [pa]-
11 riyāramu maru[tu]
12 ṇḍu pā.. [pra]-
13 sādachēsiri ācha-
14 ndradararkaṁbu nilva[nu][||*]
15 Tolpa-Kāmi-Raṭṭaguḷḷu
16 Chōḷiya-Raṭṭaguḷḷu
17 Atiśa[ya-Ra]ṭṭaguḷḷu
18 Aḷikō...... ri-
19 ikki prasāda
20 pūrvvama....
21 tēni ḷachchu..
22 hāpāta[ka]..[gu]

I. Nallacheruvupalle Inscription (of Vikramaditya-Cholamaharaja II)

This inscription (No. 495 of 1906 of the Madras Ep. Collection) is engraved on two sides of a pillar near the well called *kaṭṭubhāvi* on the way to the Mōpūr temple from Nallacheruvupalle, Pulivendla taluk, Cuddapah Dt. It is damaged and fragmentary. The first few lines, probably two in number, containing the name of the king are lost.

It is written in characters which are cursive and lacking in uniformity: see letters *r*, *ṟ*, *j* and *ḷ*. The long *ī* in l. 5 is noteworthy as the same form persists in Tamil at the present day while in Telugu it has undergone considerable change.

The inscription contains a few **orthographical** peculiarities which are common to the period. Thus the use of *k* for *g* in *Kaṅgaḷūṇṟu* of l. 8 and that of *t* for *d* in *tēvul* in l. 10 and in *tēni* of l. 3 of the second side show that the distinction between *t* and *d* or *k* and *g* was not always strictly observed in the early Telugu of the period, as in other Dravidian languages.

The proper name *Maṁkhi* (Mañchi ?) *poṟṟiyāru* in l. 12, seems to be made up of the name Maṁkhi (Mañchi ?) poṟṟi and the honorific suffix *āru* which is a shortened form of *vāru* (gāru). *Maṁkhi* (*ñchi* ?) *poṟṟi* and *āru* became *Maṁkhi* (*ñchi* ?) *poṟṟiyāru*, the letter *y* being the usual euphonic insertion in such cases. A similar instance is found in *Śarmmāru* in ins. K, Chamalūru inscription of Vijayāditya[chōḷa] below. The word *koḷoche* in line 9 (second side) meaning 'engraved' (Skt. *utkīrṇam*) appears to be the earlier form of *krochche* which occurs in later inscriptions with the same meaning. The change from *koḷoche* to *krochche* is easily understandable (cf. Puḷōlu which underwent the changes *puṟōlu*, *pṟōlu* and *prōlu*). It is possible that the Tamil word *kuḷittal* and the Telugu *koḷoche* are related. The meaning of some other words in the inscription is not clear.

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[1] The reading adopted by Venkayya is 'Eḷañ-Chōḷamahādēvuḷ' *i.e.*, the queen of Eḷañ-Chōḷa.

On **palaeographical** grounds, the inscription may be assigned to the same period as the foregoing inscription H, *i.e.*, **the beginning of the 8th century A.D.** It may also be noted that perhaps the same queen Chōḷamahārājuladēvuḷ is mentioned in both considering that the records come from places within 15 miles of each other. If so the king of the two records may be the same, Vikramāditya Chōḷa II. The queen's name is given in this record as Maṁkhi (Mañchi) poṟṟiyāru and she seems to be ruling, residing at Ujjayini, a place which may be identified with Ujjini in the Kudligi taluk, Bellary district, about 100 miles west-south-west of Erigal (Niḍugal).

As the inscription is highly damaged, the names of some persons mentioned in it are lost. An **Erigallu-Mutturāju** is referred to and he may have been a prince of the family holding the official dignity of Mutturāju. It is not unlikely that he was the son of the king and queen of the record, but his identity with any of the known sons of Vikramāditya cannot be established at present. As can be gathered from the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya and the foregoing Chilamakuru inscription of Vikramāditya II (ins. H), Vikramāditya II had evidently two sons, Uttamāditya and Satyāditya ; it may be suggested that the Erigallu-Mutturāju of the present inscription may have been one of these, probably the younger, being only a Mutturāju and not a Yuvarāja. As Uttamāditya is seen to be ruling from Chilamakūru in company with Chōḷamahādēvī (his mother) during the reign of his father Vikramāditya as recorded in the Chilamakūru inscription (H above) it may be inferred that he was the Yuvarāja (although referred to by the general epithet of *Sāmantaka* in the record) and hence, the elder of the two brothers ; Uttamāditya succeeded to the throne as he has left an inscription (J, the Veludurti inscription below) in which he bears kingly titles and is described as ruling the earth.

I. TEXT

First Side

1-3 lines lost.
4 .. r[ā]ju..
5 ṇḍu ēḷa Īnt[e]-
6 ddivāḍi **Eriga-**
7 **llu-Mutt [u] rāju**
8 ēḷa Kaṅgaḷūnṟu ē-
9 ḷa Chōḷamahā-
10 rājula tēvuḷ Ma-
11 ṁkhi (ñchi ?)[po]ṟri-
12 yāru [u]ṇḍē-
13 lu Ujjayi-
14 ni ichchi [na*] pannavī
15 ..ga [ṁ]ji[pā]ṟa mā-
16 ..ḍiyāriki tēni
17 [ni*]ki .. nṟugō
18 [ṇḍapu .. lva]

Second Side

1 ....
2 kaḷuñje
3 [t]tēni ḷachchuvā-
4 [ḍi] valvar-ācha[ndrā]-
5 diṟṟu bāraṇā-
6 si vēvura vadhi[*]-

7 sina vanṟu Āḷu[Bā ?]
8 pasiṇḍi miṟe-
9 koḷoche [||*]

J. Veludurti Inscription of Uttamaditya-Cholamaharaja.

This record[1] is engraved on the three sides of a stone in front of the Chennakēśavasvāmin temple at Veludurti, Kamalāpuram taluk, adjacent to the inscription of Erikal-Muturāju Puṇya-kumāra, edited above (Ins. E).

On **palaeographical** grounds the record may be referred to about the same date as the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya[2] and may be assigned to the **second quarter of the 8th century A. D.**

The writing is more cursive than ornamental and the engraving has not been done in a uniform manner. The same letter is written in different styles. Thus the forms of *b* in lines 17 and 22 differ from each other. The latter *b* is of the same form as the *b* in line 13 of the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya.

Attention may be drawn to *l* subscript (l. 15), *ṉ* (l. 18), *r* (l. 12), which appear to be in a transition stage from the earlier square type to the later cursive form.

The record reveals a few **orthographical** peculiarities and contains some archaic Telugu words.

It is interesting to note that in the word *kunṟugu* (l. 26) which is made up of two words *kunṟu* and *agu* the initial vowel of the latter word is dropped instead of the final vowel of the former as is obtaining in similar *sandhis* of *u* and *a* at present. A similar instance has been noted in ins. D. above (l. 7).

The word *chakshi* in l. 20 meaning 'witness' (*sākshi*) may have been pronounced popularly as *chākshi* and then contracted into *chakshi*. *Koṭṭali* (l. 30) may be taken to mean 'engraver'. In the proper name, Vēṇa Vōjanṟu (ll. 18-20) the suffix *-vōjanṟu* occurs in combination with many proper names in Telugu inscriptions of a later period. The word *vōja* (*vōju*) seems to signify an artisan or one who is skilled in the use of tools. It is probably derived from the Sanskrit *ōjas* meaning 'skill in the use of weapons' or alternately from *upādhyāya* (Skt.) through its Prākrit forms, *Uvajjha*, *Ojha*, etc. In the latter case *vōja* should be taken to mean teacher.

The record is issued in the reign of king **Uttamāditya Chōḷa-Mahārāja** and registers the gift of a *pannavīsa* by a certain Immaḍi Ītō (or Ratō) to Chēdiśarmmā, a Brāhmaṇa of Kōsiya, *i.e.*, of the Kauśika-gōtra. The inscription is stated to have been composed (*vṟāsiri*) by Eṟama, the Brāhmaṇa (*pāṟa*) of Kacheru and engraved (*koṭṭe*) by the *koṭṭali*, Kuṇandāḷuvānṟu. The witnesses to the deed were Eyarikallu-kulagaṭṭuḍu (*i.e.*, kulagaṭṭuḍu of Ēyariakallu, possibly same as Erigallu) and Vendarambuḷu Vēṇa Vōjunṟu, *i.e.*, Vēṇa, the *vōju* of the place called **Vendarambuḷu.**

The king of the present inscription, Uttamāditya Chōḷa Mahārāja, can be identified with Uttamāditya, evidently the son of Vikramāditya II, who figures as a *Sāmanta* in the Chilamakūru inscription of Vikramāditya II (ins. H) wherein it is stated that in company with (his mother) Chōḷamahādēvī, he was ruling at Chirumbūru (modern Chilmakuru). He seems to have succeeded his father, and the present inscription was issued when he was ruling the earth (*prithivīrājyaṁchēya*). Thus, of Vikramāditya's two sons, Uttamāditya I and Satyāditya, Uttamāditya was probably the elder as he is found associated with the queen (his mother) and holding the office of *Sāmanta* while his father was reigning and later on succeeded him. Regarding Satyāditya it is

[1] From impressions secured by M. V. R. and from those secured later by the Epigraphy Department. *A. R.* No. 297 of 1937-38.

[2] Above, Vol. XI, p. 346, plate. H. K. Sastri thinks that the inscription is engraved in characters similar to the Ālupa inscriptions at Udiyāvara (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 15-24) of about 800 A. D.

MGIPC—S1—XVI-1-6—8-3-50—450.

not known if he succeeded to the throne, as the only inscription left by him, *viz.*, the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription, although describing him as ruling Rēnāḍu 7,000 and Siddhi 1,000, does not give him kingly titles nor even the honorific ending to his name.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Vendaraṁbuḷu (ll. 17-18) may be taken to be the old name of Veludurti, the find place of the inscription. Kachēṟu (l. 27) to which Eṟama, the composer belonged cannot be identified. Eya(ra)kallu may be identical with Erigal, the identification of which has been discussed already.

J. TEXT

First Side

1 Svasti Śrī[*]
2 **Uttamā-**
3 **ditya-Chō-**
4 **ḻa-mahā-**
5 **rāju** pri-
6 thivirājya[ṁ*]
7 chēya
8 Immaḍi-
9 Ītō[1] ichchi-
10 na pannavī-
11 sa Kōsiya-
12 paṟa Chēdi-
13 śarmmako(k=i)chchiri

Second Side

14 Eya[ra]-
15 kallu kuḷa
16 gaṭṭuḷu
17 Vendaraṁbu-
18 ḷu Vēṇa-
19 vōja-
20 nṟu chakshu [*]
21 [dō]niki va-
22 kraṁbu va-

Third Side

23 . . . .[2]
24 pañcha-ma-
25 hāpāta-
26 kunṟugu
27 Kachēṟu pā-
28 la(ra) Eṟama
29 [vrā]siri [*]
30 Koṭṭali
31 Kuṇaṇḍā-
32 ḷuvānṟu
33 kotte [*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! While **Uttamāditya-Chōḻamahārāja** was ruling the earth, Irmmaḍi Itō gave to Chēdiśarmmā, the Brāhmaṇa of Kōsiya, (*i.e.*, of the Kauśika-*gōtra*) a *pannavīsa*,

[1] May also be read *ratō*.

[2] This line is completely lost.

Eya[ra]kallu-Kula-ġaṭṭuḷu and Vendarambuḷu-Vēṇavōjanru being the witnesses. He who destroys this (*gift*) becomes guilty of the five great sins. Erama, the Brāhmaṇa (?) of Kachēru wrote this. (*This is*) engraved by the *Koṭṭali*. Kuṇaṇḍāḷuvānṛu.

K. Chamaluru Inscription of Prithvivallabha Vijayadi[tya] Chola: 22nd year

The inscription is engraved on four sides of a stone lying in a field on the borders of the village of Chāmalūru, Jammalamadugu taluk. The stone is broken and fragmentary and the inscription damaged in places, although at the time when the Assistants of Col. Mackenzie inspected it and took an eye-copy, it was in a better state of preservation. The lost portions are here restored with the aid of the eye-copy left by them.[1] Portions of the record appear to have been damaged even before it was noticed by them as there are some blanks in their copy also.

The record is written in the Telugu **language**. A slight mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit prose in the sentence describing the donee presents a peculiarity.

The inscription is engraved in bold characters. The letters *j*, *l* and *b* are in a transitional stage from the earlier square type to the later cursive type. The subscript *l* which, in earlier inscriptions, is in the form of a miniature of the consonant, is here found in an attenuated form.

Several words of **linguistic** and **orthographical** interest are found in the record. The word *ēbhādi* in l. 5 of the third side corresponding to the modern form *ēbhadi* meaning 'fifty' is noteworthy. *Penbāṛa* in ll.7-8 (same side) meaning the chief (or big) (*pen* or *penu*) Brāhmaṇa is a word of rare occurrence. It is made up of two words *penu* and *pāṛa* which, when compounded take the form *penbāṛa*.[2] *p* being changed into *b*. *Chavachcharambuḷ* in ll.4-5 (first side) is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit *Saṁvatsara*. The donee's name, *Aggisārmmāru* (ll.8-9 of the third side) is a shortened form of *Agni-Śarmmagāru* with the *g* elided. Similar instances occurring in ins. D (Indukuru inscription of Chōḷa-Mahārāja) and ins. I (Nallacheruvupalle inscription) have been noted above; *aggi*, the Telugu form of Sanskrit *agni*, is in use at the present day. The words *tāmbul* in l. 9 and *amma* in l. 10 meaning younger brother (or sister) and mother respectively may be noted as instances of the early use of these words in the Telugu language.

The record seems to register a grant by the queen-mother (*Chōḷa-Mahārājula-amma*) of **Chōḷa-Mahārāja** when **Bāṇarāja** was ruling (at) **Pāṁbuḷiggi** in the **22nd year** of reign of king **Prithvīvallabha Vijayādi[tya]-Chōḷa.** The queen's relationship to a **Pallavādhirāja** is mentioned though its exact nature is not clear owing to the archaic wording of the record. The passage describing this relationship ' Pallavādhirājula Kūchapōṛiyāri tāmbul Chōḷamahārājula amma ' may be understood either as Chōḷamahārāja's mother (*who was*) the younger sister (*tāmbul*) of Kūchapōṛiyāru (*the queen?*) of Pallavādhirāja or the mother of Chōḷamahārāja who was the younger brother (*tāmbul*) of Kūchapōṛiyāru (*the queen?*) of Pallavādhirāja. In either case the relationship through marriage between the Pallava king and the Telugu Chōḷa king is indicated and is noteworthy.

The inscription is dated in the **22nd year** of the reign of king Vijayādi[tya]-Chōḷa who might have been so named by his father after his Chālukya overlord. Vijayāditya, who is known to have ruled from A.D. 696 to 733. If so, the period of rule of the king of our record has to be put a generation later, say **about A.D. 750** and he would have ruled sometime after Uttamāditya and Satyāditya. The **palaeography** of the inscription though a little archaic for the period may be taken to support this date. Thus the record is important in that it **adds one more name to the dynastic list of the Chōḷas of Rēnāḍu**. Several points of historical interest arise out of this and from other facts mentioned in the record. In the first place, the supreme title of Prithvīvallabha

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[1] *Mack. Mss.* 15-3-60 Ms., pp. 74-75; *vide* photo-plate subjoined.

[2] The Kannaḍa counterpart Hebbāruva retained in the name of the Hebbār community of Mysore may be compared with this name; *vide* Hayavadana Rao, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

held by the Telugu Chōḷa, Vijayāditya indicates that after he became king, he threw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas and assumed independence. In the wake of his assumption of independence, the Bāṇa subordinates of the Chālukyas in this region were subdued, and they passed under his suzerainty from that of the Chālukyas as indicated by the mention of the Bāṇa in a subordinate capacity in the record under review.

It would be of interest to trace here the activities of the Bāṇas during the period prior to their subjugation by the Telugu Chōḷa Vijayāditya of the present record. Several inscriptions of Chāḷukya Vijayāditya found in the locality around the place where the present record has been discovered, mention a number of Bāṇa chiefs ruling over this region. One of these dated in his 23rd year (=A.D. 719) found at Koṇḍupalli, Gooty taluk, Anantapur District[1] mentions Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, son of Balikulatilaka Narasiṁha Bāṇādhirāja, as ruling over Turumara-*vis'haya*. At Bētapalli[2] in the same taluk, an undated record of the same Chālukya king is found mentioning an unnamed Bāṇa as ruling the same *vishaya*[3] while the Bāṇa's uncle, Vikramāditya, was ruling Ayiraḍi. Another record of Vijayāditya (date lost) is found at Dānavulapāḍu[4] in which a chief, Bhūpāditya, finds mention. This Bhūpāditya may be identified with Bhujaṅgadi Bhūpāditya of the Perbāṇa family, who figures as the donor in the Arkaṭavēmula inscription of Śrī-Vallabha[5], which has been assigned to Vikramāditya I[6] on the ground that the title Śrīvallabha was an epithet of Vikramāditya I assumed by him after his conquest of the Pallavas[7]. The same Bāṇa, Bhūpāditya, is mentioned as ruling Rēnāṇḍu in another record of Vijayāditya at Rajolu, Sirvel taluk, Kurnool District, which has been noticed and copied by the Assistants of Col. Mackenzie.[8] The Bāṇa subordinates of the Chālukyas under Vijayāditya seem to have extended their rule from Turumara-*vishaya*, north of the river Pennār, to the south of the river, into Rēnāṇḍu. They appear to have been in occupation of Chilamakūru (Chiruṁbūru of the inscription) in the Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah District, as evidenced by an inscription of an unnamed son of Vikramāditya Perbāṇādhirāja at the place. As the Telugu Chōḷas up to the time of Satyāditya were ruling over Rēnāṇḍu, the Bāṇa occupation of their territory must have taken place during or subsequent to his rule. The conquest of their own dominions (*i.e.*, Rēnāṇḍu) as also those of the Bāṇas by the Telugu Chōḷas under Prithvīvallabha Vijayāditya Chōḷa seems to be indicated by the record under review. The Perbāṇa family to which some of these Bāṇas of the Ceded Districts are stated to belong, may have, as their family name indicates, belonged to the Bṛihad-Bāṇa line, the foes of Kadamba Mayūraśarman, mentioned in the Talagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman.[9]

Regarding the other persons mentioned in the inscription and their identification, Pallavādhirāja may probably be identified with Nandivarman Pallavamalla (acc. c. 725 A.D.) as the date assigned for this inscription falls during the period of his rule. The mention of the Pallava in terms of family relationship to the mother of the Telugu Chōḷa king would indicate that friendly relations that had subsisted between the two dynasties earlier in the time of Mahēndravikrama Chōḷamahārāja, were again established. This was evidently made possible by the assumption of independence—as his title Prithvīvallabha indicates—by Vijayāditya-Chōḷa from the yoke of the

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[1] No. 359 of 1920 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[2] No. 333 of 1920 of the Mad Ep. Coll: *SII*. IX, Pt. I, No. 47.

[3] *ARE*. 1921 pt. ii, para 2: Turumara-*vishaya* of these records corresponds to a portion of the Gooty taluk, around Chitrachēḍu.

[4] *ARE*, 339 of 1905; *SII*. IX, Pt. I No. 49.

[5] No. 474 of 1906 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; *JTA*, Vol. XXIV, p. 160.

[6] *JOR*. Vol. X, p. 34, *n*. 4; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 185, *n*. 8.

[7] Gadval plates; above, Vol. X, p. 103, text l. 18.

[8] *Mack. Mss*. 15-4-30, Ms. p. 242.

[9] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 24; XXIV, p. 185, n. 8. A Perbbāṇa-Muttarasar figures in a record of the W. Ganga king, Durvinīta; *MAR*. 1941, pp.132-3.

Chāḷukyas, the inveterate enemies of the Pallavas. The Bāṇa king, who ruled from Pāṁbuḻiggi, may have been a successor of Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, son of Balikulatilaka Narasiṁha Bāṇādhirāja, who figures in the inscription of the 23rd year of Vijayāditya Chāḷukya at Koṇḍupalli noted above. The Chōḷamahārāja referred to in the record was evidently the king of the record, Vijayādi[tya]-Chōḷa. **Pāṁbuḻiggi** from where the Bāṇa is stated to be ruling, may be identified with Hāvaḷige in the Gooty taluk, Anantapur District. An inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI found at this place[1] gives Hāṁbuḷige as its name, evidently a later from of Pāṁbuḻiggi occurring in our record.

K. TEXT

First Side

1 to 3 Svasti Śrī [।*] **Prithivīvallabha-Vijayādi[tya*]-Chōḷa**rāju! **iru**[2]-
4 **[vādire]ṇḍu** [cha]**va-**
5 chcharaṁbul pravartti-
6 llan **Vāṇarājul Pā-**
7 **ṁbuḻiggi** ēḷuchu Palla-
8 vādirājula [Kū]chapō
9 ṟiyāri tāṁbul Chō-
10 ḷamahārājula amma

Second Side

All lines lost.

Third Side

1 .. pāgadanṟa...
2 ḷōḷuru Kūchapōṟiki-
3 [nētra] .. da .. ichchi a[na]nta-
4 nāka .. de [rlana] rāchamā-
5 nambunan ēbhādi maṟu-
6 ntuṟlu nēla ala[gha] chinta u-
7 [ttara]bu kaṭṭu Kauṇḍilya-gōtrasya pe-
8 nbāra Rēvas(ś)armāṇa [pu]ttrasya Aggi-
9 S(Ś)ārmārik-ichchina dati [।*]

Fourth Side

[Svadatāṁ paradatāṁ vā yō harēti vasundharā[ṁ*] shashṭi-varusha-sahasrāṇi vishṭā]-[3]-
1 yā[ṁ] jā-
2 yā(ya)tē
3 krimi[ḥ ।*]

L. Budidigaddapalle Inscription of Mahendra (II)

This epigraph[4] is engraved on a hero-stone set up to the north-east of the village of Būḍidigaḍḍapalle[5] in the Hindupur taluk of the Anantapur District.

[1] No. 440 of 1920 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. We are obliged to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for this identification.

[2] The first three lines have been restored from *Mack. Ms.* 15-3-60, p 74-75; see photo-plate. Owing to the fault of the eye-copyist *tya* has been omitted.

[3] Restored from *Mack. Mss.* 15-3-60, p. 72-75: see photo-plate.

[4] No. 797 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[5] In the same village there is an inscription of a Chōlamahārāja mentioning as his (*magamaga*)son (or subordinate) a certain Aravala Mahēndra Raṭṭaguḍi (No 798 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)

On **palaeographical** grounds the record has been assigned to about the **latter half of the 8th century A. D.** which may be accepted as correct, as the inscription shows, especially in the letters *k*, *r*, *l* and *j* later forms than the Veludurti inscription of Uttamāditya-Chōḷa (ins. J. above) which we have assigned to about the second quarter of the 8th century A.D.

The letters are deeply engraved and are well-formed. While, as we have noted, a few letters are of later development than the Veludurti inscription of Uttamāditya, only the letter *ḷ* (line 4) appears more archaic than the *ḷ* of the Veludurti inscription. This need not be taken to militate against its date being later than that of the inscription of Uttamāditya. The persistence of old forms of certain letters in later inscriptions is not uncommon in South Indian Epigraphy.

Attention may be drawn to the letter *ṟ* in l.1 which is exactly in the form in which it is written as subscript in *nṟu* of lines 2 and 3. The absence of the serif in *n* final (lines 1 and 4) may be noted. The *u*, medial sign, attached to *m* in lines 2 and 3 presents a peculiar form.

The inscription records that a certain Arivarajama fell after piercing Dantiyamma-Maṅgu while **Kāpi-Bōḷa-Mutturāju,** the ruler of **Pudali** (*Pudali ēḷuvānṟu*) and the son of **Mahēndran** surnamed Mānaravi and Māṟurāpi[ḍugu], was looking on with wonder.

The title Māṟurāpiḍu[gu], ' thunderbolt to enemy kings ', of Mahēndra recalls a similar title of Puṇyakumāra, viz., *Marunṟapiḍugu* (ins. F. Tippalūr inscription) meaning ' thunderbolt (*piḍugu*) to the enemies (*marunṟu*) '.

The meaning of the title *Mānaravi* is not clear but it seems to be identical with *Mānāditya* which was the name of a Telugu-Chōḷa subordinate of the Kaliṅga Gaṅga kings.[1]

The place Pudali, which is stated to be under the rule of Kāpi-Bōḷa may be identified with Būdili, a hamlet of Būḍidigaḍḍapalle, where the present inscription has been found.

The inscription[2] is important for the several personalities it mentions and for the useful information it provides in regard to the Telugu Chōla genealogy. Mahēndra, who bore the *birudas*, Māṟurāpiḍugu and Mānaravi, father of Kāpi-Bōḷa Mutturāju, may be identified with Mahēndravarman II of the line of Sundarananda mentioned in the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha.[3] The Eḷañjōḷa (crown-prince or Yuvarāja) mentioned as the successor of Mahēndravarman in the record of Śrīkaṇṭha may have been another son of Mahēndra besides Kāpi-Bōḷa-Mutturāju of the present record. Kāpi-Bōḷa, being a Mutturāju, was probably the younger brother. Further, the Chōḷika Muttarasa figuring in several inscriptions at Śravaṇaguḍi[4] Miḍagēśi *hobli*, Tumkur District, (a place which is 30 miles west of Būdili and 10 miles south-east of Niḍugal or Erigal) and in another record at Nagaragere, Goribidnur taluk[5] (a place 10 miles south west of Būdili), wherein he is described as holding sway over Kandakoṭṭa and Rāmaḍi-nāḍu, may probably be identified with Kāpi-Bōḷa-Mutturāju. Probably he is the same prince mentioned in an inscription at Dānavulapāḍu[6] in the Jammalamadugu taluk of the Cuddapah District, as Kāpyaṇa, son of .... Chōḷamahārāja (name lost).

Regarding **Dantiyamma-Maṁgu,** the opponent of Arivarajama, it may be stated that he is probably identical with Maṅgi, who seems to have renewed a grant of a Chōḷa-Mahādēvī at Chilamakūru.[7] His surname, Dantiyamma (*i.e.*, Dantivarmma), would make him either a contemporary

[1] Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta III, above, Vol. XI, p. 148. The full name of the Chōḍa is given as Mānādityachōḍa. Cf. Mahimānachōḍa in the Telugu Chōla genealogy (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*. 1900, p. 16).

[2] Although the record which is a *vīrakal* inscription, does not specifically describe Mahēndra as a Chōḷa, considerations such as the title he bore which are similar to those used by the princes of the family, the provenance of the inscription in Telugu Chōla territory and the identifications proposed above would render it quite likely that he was of Telugu Chōla extraction.

[3] *JIH*, Vol. XV, p. 32.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Mi. 94, 95 and 96.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, X. Gn. 76.

[6] No. 341 of 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[7] No. 396 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

or, more appropriately, a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga (c. 750 A.D.)[1] whose name Dantivarmmā he bears. The subjugation might have taken place when Dantidurga conquered Kāñchī and the Śrīśaila region.[2]

L. TEXT

1 Śrī **Mahēndran** M[ā*]naravi Māṟurāpi[ḍugu]
2 maganṟu **Pudali** ēḷuvānṟu **Kāpi-Boḷa-Mutturāju**
3 achcha[r*]vvuganu Arivarajamunṟu anvānṟu
4 **Dantiyamma-Maṁgu** tōḷan[3] poḍuchi paḍiyen.[||*]

TRANSLATION

While **Kāpi-Bōḷa-Mutturāju**, son of **Śrī Mahēndra** Mānaravi Māṟurāpiḍugu, the ruler of **Pudali**, was looking on with wonder, he who was called Arivarajama (death to the best of enemies) fought with **Dantiyamma-Maṁgu** and piercing, fell.

We may proceed to discuss the origin, genealogy and chronology of these rulers. Only a few inscriptions of the Chōḷas of Rēnāḍu have so far been edited and their historical contents elucidated. They are: 1) The Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra[4], three of whose stone inscriptions, E, F, and G are edited by us here. 2) The Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya[5]. 3) The Mālēpāḍu-Pōṭlaḍurti record of Chōḷamahārāja[6], two of whose inscriptions (C and D) are edited here. 4) The Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha-Chōḷa.[7]

In a note on the date of the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra,[8] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has discussed the history and chronology of these rulers expressing certain views different from those held by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. A brief account of their history has been furnished by Dr. M. Rama Rao.[9]

In regard to their **origin**, beyond the bare statement that they belonged to the family of Karikāla, we have no information in their inscriptions as to the date and manner in which they established themselves in the Telugu country. The circumstances of their migration to the north can, however, be ascertained by a study of the legendary traditions which are found embedded in their *praśastis* regarding their ancestry.

As stated already, the Chōlas of the Telugu country included Karikāla among their ancestors in their inscriptions[10] from very early times.

In them, the common fact mentioned is the construction by Karikāla of the Kāvērī banks to which an additional detail is sometimes added, viz., that the work was effected with the help of the dependent kings led by Trilōchana.

Traditions like these may not constitute conclusive proof for the solution of historical problems. But what they reveal to us in a general way is that a live connection may have existed between these Telugu Chōḍa chiefs and Karikāla, who may be taken to be a historical figure. The nature of this connection has been envisaged by several scholars in a variety of ways. Venkayya[11] and

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[1] The Pallava Dantivarman was removed from the time of the Chōla by over a generation as his rule lasted from c. 790 to 840 A.D.

[2] *ASWI*, V, p. 88: the Daśāvatāra cave ins. of Dantidurga.

[3] The word *tōlan* meaning 'with' is evidently the earlier form of *tōḍan*. *ḷa* being replaced by *ḍa*. Cf. *Nolambi tōḷi kayyambuna* (in the fight with Nolambi). Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 192, l.3 of text of ins. C.

[4] Above, Vol. XI, p. 337.

[5] Above, Vol. XI, p. 345.

[6] *G. V. R. Comm. Vol.* p. 301.

[7] *JIH*, Vol. XV, p. 39; C.P. No. 5 of 1935-6 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[8] *M. C. C. Magazine*, Vol IX, pp. 7—18.

[9] *JAHRS*, Vol. VII, pp. 215-228: *vide* also *Colas*, Vol. I, pp.122 ff. and *Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōḷa*.

[10] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 339-40, 344.

[11] *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 200; *ASI*, 1905-6, p. 175, *n.* 8.

H. Krishna Sastri[1] stated that the Telugu country may have once formed part of the dominions of Karikāla whose empire was believed to have extended to the river Krishṇā. Recently the nature of Telugu-Chōḷa migration has been sought to be explained by attributing it not to any activity on the part of Karikāla but to that of the Pallavas, who under Siṁhavishṇu, brought to subjugation the Chōḷas of the Kāvērī region and who thereby served as the medium through which the drift of the Chōḷas to the north took place.[2] Although it is true that the Telugu-Chōḷas of the early period bear names and titles which betray strong Pallava influence, a fact that renders the above view plausible, yet it would appear that long before the Pallava conquest of the Kāvērī basin took place in the time of Siṁhavishṇu (c. 575-600 A.D.)[3], the Telugu-Chōḷas had already established themselves as a dynasty in the Telugu country. The first known member of the family, Nandivarman, obviously bears the surname of the Pallava monarch Nandivarman, who preceded Siṁhavishṇu. In the whole genealogy of the Pallavas of the period prior to Siṁhavishṇu, there figures only one Nandivarman[4], viz., the grandson of Siṁhavarman, lord of Kāñchī (c. 435-461 A.D.) mentioned in the *Lōkavibhāga*[5] and the son of Skandavarman (c. 461-485 A.D.) who installed Mādhava II (c. 475-600 A.D.) on the throne.[6] This Pallava Nandivarman (c. 485-510 A.D.) is likely to have been the king after whom Nandivarman-Chōḷa was named by his father probably in token of submission. This would also presuppose that even for a generation prior to Nandivarman Chōḷa, the Chōḷas were probably under subjection to the Pallavas.

We have therefore to assume the existence of the Telugu-Chōḷas in the Telugu country earlier than the Pallava conquest of the Chōḷa country of the Kāvērī basin. Further, the probability of a Chōḷa occupation of Kāñchī earlier than the time of Siṁhavishṇu leads us to the supposition that the migration was part of a general northward movement caused by the conditions following upon the disturbances due to the Gupta raid into E. Deccan in the 4th century A.D. But whether such a major conquest on the part of the Chōḷas took place under Karikāla, as has been supposed by some scholars[7], is more than what can be said at present in view of the absence of a more direct and concrete piece of evidence, epigraphical or otherwise, than what has been adduced so far. And so long as the question remains open, no final account can be given of the nature and circumstances of Chōḷa migration to the Telugu country.

We may proceed to examine the **chronology** and **genealogy** of these rulers. The chief records that furnish data besides those edited by us are (1) the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra,[8] (2) the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya[9] and (3) the Madras Museum Plates of Śrīkaṇṭha-Chōḍa.[10] The following genealogical table can be constructed on the basis of the above records and those edited by us here.

N.B.—The family tree as here constructed cannot be strictly called genealogical as the relationships at several points of the genealogy are not definitely known. In the table where relationship as between father and son is definitely known, descent is indicated by a straight line, and where such relationship is not known and only sequence in succession is established, a dotted line represents the probable descent.

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, p. 284 and *n.* 2.

[2] *Cōḷas*, Vol. I (1935), p. 119, *n.*

[3] *SII*, II, p. 501.

[4] Above, Vol. III, p. 142; Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman I: the Vēlūrpāḷayam plates (*SII*, II, p. 501). The latter record gives the genealogy after Nandivarman as:

Nandivarman
:
Siṁhavarman
(son)
Siṁhavishṇu.

[5] *JRAS*, 1915, p. 471.

[6] Penukonda Plates: above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

[7] Venkayya: *A. S. R.* 1905-6, p. 175, *n.* 8: H. K. Sastri, above, Vol. XV, p. 248 and *n* 2; Gopalan: *Pallavas*, pp. 65-66. Mr. Gopalan notes several objections against a Chōḷa interregnum (1) that Kumāravishṇu may have conquered Kāñchī from one of his collaterals or from the Kadambas and not necessarily from the Chōḷas. (2) Kumāravishṇu is not credited with the conquest of the Chōḷas even in the verbose Vēlūrpāḷayam plates (3) the reign of Karikāla, who it was that could have caused an interregnum cannot be made to fit into the events of the 4th cent. A. D. See also K. A. N. Sastri: *Studies in Chōḷa history and administration*, pp. 56-7, 69-70: *J. O. R.* Vol. X, p. 38; *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. IX, p. 7.

[8] Above, Vol. XI, p. 337. [9] *Ibid*, p. 345. [10] *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV, p. 32.

Solar race.

⋮

Karikāla

(who appropriated the *Trairājyasthiti* and conquered the Kāvērī region.)

⋮

Generations			
I	Nandivarman, of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* (c. 550 A.D.).		
II	Siṁhavishṇu (c. 575 A. D.)	Sundarananda (c. 575 A. D.)	Dhanañjayavarmā (c. 575 A. D.)
III		Navarāma (c. 600 A. D.)	Mahēndravikrama I (c. 600 A. D.) *Navarāma*, *Muditaśilākshara*, *Lord of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries*
IV		Ereyamma (c. 625 A. D.)	Guṇamudita (c. 625 A. D.); Puṇyakumāra. *m.* Vasantipōṛi Chōḷa Mahādēvī (c. 625 A. D.). sur. *Pōrmukharāma*, *Purushaśārdūla*, *Madanavilāsa*, *Madamudita*, *Uttamōttama*.
V		Vijayakāma (c. 650 A. D.)	Vikramāditya I[1] (c. 650 A. D.)
VI		Vīrārjuna (c. 675 A. D.)	Śaktikomāra (c. 675 A. D.)
VII		Agranipiḍugu (c. 700 A. D.)	Vikramāditya II-Chōlamahārāja (c. 700 A. D.) *m.* Chōḷamahādēvi.
VIII		Kokiḷi (c. 725 A. D.)	Uttamāditya (c. 725 A. D.); Satyāditya (c. 725 A. D.)
			(*Bāṇa interregnum*)
IX		Mahēndravarman II (c. 750 A. D.) sur. *Mānavari*, *Mārurāṇiḍugu*	Prithivīvallabha Vijayāditya Chōḷa (c. 750 A. D ?)
X		Elañjōla (c. 775 A. D.); Kipi-Bōla-Muttaraju (c. 775 A. D.)	
XI		Nripakāma (c. 800 A. D.)	
XII		Divākara (c. 825 A. D.)	
XIII		Śrīkantha-Adhirāja (c. 850 A. D.)	

[1] The assignment of the kings from Vikramâditya I onwards to the line of Puṇyakumāra is based upon historical and chronological probability as explained in the body of the article rather than upon any definite evidence connecting them with this line to the exclusion of the two other lines.

The genealogy consists of two collateral lines representing the descendants of two of the three sons of Nandivarman. Of the decsendants of the remaining son, viz., Siṁhavishṇu, the eldest, if there were any, we have no knowledge. But that the sons were each endowed with the wealth of a kingdom that remained in the continuous and separate enjoyment of their sons and grandsons is implied by the statement in the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra viz., *tē pu[trā]nu-putry-ānubhūta-rājya-śriyaḥ*, made in reference to all the sons of Nandivarman. The passage conveys the meaning that at the time when Puṇyakumāra, ruling over Rēnāḍu and Hiraṇyarāshṭra, issued the plates, the two senior lines were in existence exercising sway at other centres[1]; probably Erigal[2] and Būdili which are known to have been other capitals of the Telugu Chōḷas.

The descendants of Sundarananda, who are represented in the lineage of Śrīkaṇṭha seem to have carved out a separate territory for themselves, viz., the country round Būdili, as can be gathered from the fact that Mahēndravarman II and his son Kāpi-Bōḷa-Mutturāju of this line are stated to be ruling from Būdili in the Būḍidigaḍḍapalle inscription (ins. L above).

Coming to the third branch founded by Dhanañjaya I, it becomes known from the Mālēpāḍu inscriptions and other records in the region of Rēnāḍu left by the members of this line (inss. A to K) that Dhanañjaya I and his decendants who hailed from Erigal established themselves in the territories of Rēnāḍu, Hiraṇyarāshṭra, and Siddhi 1000. They seem to have exercised sway from two capitals, Chirpali or Chippili in Madanapalle taluk, the capital of Rēnāḍu, and from Biripāṛu or Mālēpāḍu in Hiraṇyarāshṭra. The details as to whether the three branches held independent charges over their respective territories or ruled conjointly over the entire Chōḷa dominions are by no means clear in the present state of our knowledge.

Examining the collateral lines more closely it is found that there are some gaps in the genealogy. Among the descendants of Dhanañjaya I, the immediate successor of Puṇyakumāra remains unknown. But palaeographical and historical considerations point to the probability that the four generations of kings detailed in the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya[3] must have immediately followed Puṇyakumāra and hence probably belonged to his line—the historical considerations being that the set of kings ending with Puṇyakumāra bear the titles of the Pallava kings while the set ending with Satyāditya have names of Chāḷukyas of a later date, and both are found ruling over the same tract. The resemblance between Puṇyakumāra and Śaktikumāra, the names respectively of the predecessor and the son of Vikramāditya I may perhaps be taken to give some support to this arrangement, besides the more general considerations of history and palaeography. The two inscriptions found so far of Vikramāditya-Chōḷa-Mahārāja (inss. H and I) have to be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the second king of that name. His queen Chōḷamahādēvī *alias* Maṁkhiporṟi seems to have been an important personage as she is represented in the Chilamakūru inscription of Vikramāditya II (ins. H) as ruling at Chiruṁbūru (*i.e.* Chilamakūru) in company with her son Uttamāditya. It is not known to which line Prithvīvallabha Vijayāditya Chōḷa of ins. K belonged. As his record is found in Rēnāḍu (at Chāmalūru, Jammalamadugu taluk, Cuddapah District) he may have belonged to the line of Dhanañjaya and ruled the Rēnāḍu tract subsequent to Satyāditya after driving out the Bāṇas who had temporarily occupied his ancestral dominions. If so, he would be the last known member of the line of Dhanañjaya.

The line of kings founded by Sundarananda, which held sway from Būdili, and Kandakoṭṭa—some members of this line are described as ruling from these places—seem to have lasted longer

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[1] *JAHRS*, Vol. VII, p. 223.

[2] A certain Adhirāja Dhanañjaya of the Chōḷa family is mentioned as ruling Erigalvāḍi 600 in several epigraphs at Maddagiri (*Ep. Carn.*, XII, Mi. 92, 93, 94, 97, 100 and 101). He lived about the middle of the 8th cent. A. D. and was a contemporary of Śrīpurusa of the Gangas, Balavarmā of the Chāḷukyas and Kṛishṇa I of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. His conne tion with the ma in dynasty is not known.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, p. 345

than the rest. After the extinction of the other two collateral lines Śrīkaṇṭha remained the sole representative of the progeny of Nandivarman, and he accordingly assumed the title of Chōḷa-Adhirāja. Stray inscriptions of a slightly later date than Śrīkaṇṭha which mention Chōḷa names like Mayindama-Chōḷa, Mayindavikrama and Chōḷa Perumānaḍi are found in the vicinity of Būdili, at Nagaragere[1] and Baṅgavāḍi[2]. It has been correctly stated that the Mayindavikrama who took part in the battle of Sōremaḍi was a Telugu Chōḷa king[3]. He is therefore the third of that name among the Telugu Chōḷas. At Būdili itself is an inscription, later than the above, of a Śōḷa-Mahārāja who is found to adopt the *Aridurddhara*, etc., *praśasti*[4] and whom we may designate Chōḷa-Mahārāja II to distinguish him from the Chōḷa-Mahārāja I *alias* Mahēndravikrama of the early Rēnāḍu-Chōḷa family. This king has left a good number of records in the Rēnāḍu and other tracts in which he describes himself as the ruler of Rēnāṇḍu 7000[5]. It is not known definitely if all these later chiefs belonged to the line of Śrīkaṇṭha. But as they are found to hold sway over the region of Būdili, in and around which their records are found, they may be assumed to have been his descendants, or, better, political successors who, in spite of constant conflicts with the Bāṇas, Vaidumbas and Noḷamba-Pallavas, continued to hold sway over the region. Chōḷa-Mahārāja II extended his rule over the whole of the dominions of the Telugu-Chōḷas as the distribution of his records shows.

Turning to the **chronology** of these rulers, it has to be remarked that there are no definite dates to work upon as none of the inscriptions under consideration bear any date, either in the Śaka or any other era. Our construction has therefore to depend upon palaeographical and historical considerations alone which, however in this instance are found to be rather weighty owing to the number and variety of inscriptions on stone and of copper-plates that are available. The method we shall follow will be to fix a probable date for one or two members of the line on palaeographical and historical considerations and assign corresponding dates to the other members calculating on the basis of twenty-five years for a generation.

On **palaeographical** grounds, the records of some of the members of the family edited above have been assigned to dates ranging from the **6th to the 8th century A. D.** Apart from palaeography, other considerations such as the similarity of the names and titles held by these chiefs with those of the Pallavas and the Chāḷukyas render it necessary to treat them as their contemporaries and place them accordingly in the same period, during which the Pallavas and Chāḷukyas also held sway. The above arrangement may also be supported by reference to an ancient practice of feudatories assuming the names and titles of their overlords which affords a reliable canon for chronological studies as it enables us to treat the feudatory and the overlord as contemporaries[6]. In accordance with this practice it will be seen that Nandivarman

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, X, Gn. 69, 72, 73 and 75.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb. 227 and 228 ; above, Vol. VII, p. 22.

[3] Above, XXIV, p. 183. Sōremaḍi can be identified with Chōḷamari on the east bank of the Pennār, a few miles west of Penukoṇḍa in the Anantapur District. The place is situated about 20 miles west of Vāṇavōlu and 20 miles north-west of Būdili, *vide Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XII, p. 193.

[4] No. 892 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *SII*, IX, pt. i, No. 401.

[5] Nos. 405, 406 and 408 of 1904 ; 352 of 1905 ; 466 and 517 of 1906 ; 104 of 1929-30 and 174 of 1931-32 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

[6] Numerous examples of this practice can be cited. To mention a few, the Western Gaṅga kings of the Penukoṇḍa Plates of Mādhava II (above, Vol. XIV, p. 331) are found to bear Pallava surnames like Simhavarman and Skandavarman consequent on the fact, clearly stated in the record, of their having been installed on the throne by the two Pallava kings bearing the same names. The Kadamba king Simhavarman, son of Vishṇuvarman of the Birur plates (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Kadur 162) and the Hebata record (*Mys. Arch. Report*, 1925, p. 98) evidently bears the Pallava name of Simhavarmā in consequence of the fact that Vishṇuvarman had a Pallava overlord (Uruvupalli grant of Simhavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 52 : *Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōḷa*, p. 54).

and his son Siṁhavishṇu, the earliest known members of the Chōḷa family, bore the names of their Pallava contemporaries, Nandivarman and Siṁhavishṇu who were ruling in the 6th century A.D. and of whom they were evidently feudatories. Accordingly, Nandivarman-Chōḷa must be taken to have been ruling in c. 550 A.D. and this date affords a workable basis for the calculation of the dates of his successors and it is found that the results so obtained accord well with the facts of contemporary history. Thus we find the Telugu Chōḷa Mahēndravikrama I Chōḷamahārāja, the grandson of Nandivarman, adopting the name of the Pallava Mahēndra I of whom he was evidently a contemporary. The available records of Chōḷa Mahēndravikrama I, bearing evidence of his activities, enable us to state that he was in close connection with both the Pallava monarchs, Siṁhavishṇu and Mahēndra I. That he was also associated with Siṁhavishṇu may be accepted for a fact for, as recorded in the Mālēpāḍu plates of his son Puṇyakumāra, he gets the title 'Lord of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries' which Siṁhavishṇu of the Pallavas is said to have conquered[1]. It is probable that the Chōḷa took part in the campaigns of the Pallava in the southern regions.

Similarly, Guṇamudita and Puṇyakumāra bear some of the surnames of Pallava Mahēndra I indicating that they were all contemporaries. The name Guṇamudita is, doubtless, modelled on that of Guṇabhara, a surname of the Pallava king. Again, the epithets Marunṟapiḍugu (or Māṟpiḍugu), Madanavilāsa and Madamudituṇḍu of Puṇyakumāra can be traced to similar titles, Pagāppiḍugu and Mattavilāsa of the Pallava king. If he is treated as a contemporary of Mahēndra I, Pallava, whose latest date has been placed at A.D. 630, the year in which his son Narasiṁhavarman I is known to have come to the throne[2], his date would fall about A.D. 625[3] and this date is also arrived at by calculating the generations from Nandivarman-Chōḷa (c. 550 A.D.). Confirmation of the above dating is afforded by the inscriptions of Puṇyakumāra[4]. Of this king three inscriptions have been edited above (viz., inss. E, F and G) of which the second (ins. F) viz., the Tippalūr inscription, bears a striking palaeographical resemblance to the Vallam rock inscription of Mahēndra I, Pallava, on the basis of which it might be stated that Puṇyakumāra and Mahēndra could not have been removed from each other in date by more than a generation.

Another factor supporting the above scheme of chronology is that these dates can also be obtained by working independently from other starting points, of which, the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha is one. Professor Kielhorn who compared the palaeography of these plates with those of the Masulipatam plates of Vijayāditya III (A.D. 854-897) was of the opinion that they may be assigned to the same period.[5]

It is found that nearly the same date for Śrīkaṇṭha is arrived at by counting the generations from the time of Puṇyakumāra.

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[1] Kaśākuḍi plates: *SII*, II. p. 342.

[2] This date is obtained for him by calculating from the Bādāmi ins. of the 13th year which is supposed to coincide with the last year of Pulakēśin's rule, in A. D 642 (*Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 359.)

[3] *M. C. C. Mag.* IX, p. 17.

[4] If, as stated by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, the Puṇyakumāra of the Mālēpāḍu plates has to be assigned to the end of the 8th cent. A. D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 344), the Puṇyakumāra of the above stone records which are of the 7th century A. D. is to be considered as a different and earlier member of the family. But for reasons stated above we have not accepted Krishna Sastri's dating of the Mālēpāḍu plates and are inclined to treat the Puṇyakumāra of the stone records as identical with his namesake of the copper-plates. Attention may, however, be drawn here to two other chiefs of the same name figuring in stone records from Bōdināyanipalle (*A. R.* No. 183 of 1931-32) and Chippili (*A.R.* No. 299 of 1905) in the Chittoor District. The script of both of them is referable to the 8th or 9th cent. A. D., but it is not clear if they were of Chōla extraction.

[5] Above, Vol. V, p. 123 and n.

No. 43—NANDSA YUPA INSCRIPTIONS

(*2 Plates*)

A. S. ALTEKAR, BANARAS

Inscriptions on the Yūpa of Mālava King—[Śrī ?]Sōma, Kṛita Year 282

The two inscriptions on the *yūpa* of a **Mālava king** whose name cannot be completely deciphered, which I am editing here, were discovered in February 1927 by the late Rai Bahadur M.M. Dr. Gaurishankar H. Ojha in the village of **Nāndsā**, situated in the Sahārā District of the Udaipur State. This village is about 36 miles to the east of the Railway Station, Bhilwara on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, and about four miles to the south of Gangapur, a town in the jurisdiction of the state of Gwalior. Both the inscriptions are inscribed on one and the same stone pillar, about 12 feet in height and 5½ feet in circumference. The pillar stands in the bed of a lake near the village, and so remains under water in the rainy season when the lake is full, but emerges out in view in the hot season when the water level goes down. The inscription A is written vertically along the pillar, reading from the top downwards. The inscription B is engraved in horizontal lines.

These inscriptions were noticed for the first time by Mr. R. R. Halder, who published a short note about them in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53, along with the facsimile of a portion of the first line of the inscription A, giving its date, both in words and in numerals. This short note was an important one, as it gave publicity to the discovery of the oldest inscription in the Kṛita, *i.e.*, Vikrama era. The information, however, which this note gave about the names of the sacrifice and the sacrificer and the number of lines in the inscription B was inaccurate. In February 1938, ink-impressions of these inscriptions were prepared and sent to Ootacamund by Mr. A. K. Vyas, M.A., Superintendent, Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, at the request of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist ; and under his instructions Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the then Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, kindly forwarded the ink-impressions to me for editing them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Dr. Chhabra has helped me in my work by a number of valuable suggestions, for which I am highly indebted to him.

It appears clear from the records on the pillar that it was erected as a *yūpa* to commemorate a sacrificial *sattra* performed in the locality early in the 3rd century A. D. The Vedic texts require the *yūpa* to be an octagonal pillar ; the sacrificers at **Nāndsā** do not seem to have paid attention to this injunction. I do not know whether this *yūpa* has a *chashāla* near the top or a girdle at the centre, as is the case with one of the Īsāpur *yūpas* preserved in the Curzon Museum of Archæology at Mathura. For further information and discussion about the *yūpas* I would refer the reader to my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on *yūpas*', published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 43-55.

The two inscriptions engraved on the *yūpa* are practically identical in their contents. The only difference that can be seen in their preserved portions is that the date in the opening line is given both in words and in numerals in the vertical inscription, henceforth called inscription A, and only in numerals in the horizontal inscription, henceforth called inscription B. Why one and the same pillar should contain two copies of one and the same record is really a mystery. It may perhaps have been solved if both the records had been preserved in their entirety ; for it is possible, though not probable, that after recording the performance of the Ēkashashṭirātra *sattra*, the record, later inscribed, may have commemorated a different benefaction of the king, as, for instance, is done in the inscription on the Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpa*.[1] It would appear that the inscription A, written in vertical lines, was the first to be engraved. Its execution is more careful and characters more graceful than those of the inscription B ; its

[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 250-1.

date is also given both in words and in numerals. Inscription B appears to be engraved later. If such is the case, and if the inscription B was nothing more than a copy of the inscription A, it is likely that it may have been subsequently engraved to make the task of the reader easier. Inscriptions written in vertical lines, six or seven feet in length, are difficult to read : those written in horizontal lines, about three feet only in length, are easier to scan. I have, however, to admit that both the above explanations about the existence of two apparently identical copies of the same record on the same pillar are not quite convincing.

The length of the extant portions of the vertical lines of the inscription A is five feet. But ten to twelve letters of each line have been completely destroyed. So originally its lines must have been about six feet in length, covering approximately half the height of the pillar. Letters at the ends of its lines have been considerably damaged. The damage is most extensive in the last line, nearly half of which is completely peeled off, resulting in the loss of about 34 letters, supposing of course that originally it was of full length. The extant lines on the average contain about 72 letters each, the number of the letters in the first three lines being about ten less than those in the last three. The average height of a letter without a vertical is ¾ inch, that of a letter with a vertical or a subscript being about twice as much.

The inscription B is written in horizontal lines, commencing at the same height of the pillar as the inscription A, and covering practically the whole of the remaining portion of the surface of the pillar. The two recordr, have, however, been neatly and carefully separated from each other by a blank space of nearly four inches at one end and six inches at the other. The length of each line is about three feet, and each line on the average contains about 22 letters. The height of the extant portion of the record is about five feet ; but there is space for two lines more at the end, which have been probably peeled off. Considerable portion of the first half of each line has been damaged, the damage being more extensive in later lines. The letters of this record are larger than those of inscription A ; those without verticals are about 1.1 inch in height, those with verticals and subscripts having about twice that dimension.

The engraving of both the records has been done fairly carefully ; mistakes like *purvvāyā* for *pūrvvāyāṁ* (B, l.1) and *paitāmahim* for *paitāmahīm* (A, l.2 ; B, l.4) are really few. If there is a solecism in the record after the end of the series of absolute clauses, the mistake is probably of the drafter and not of the engraver.

These records are the earliest inscriptions dated in the Kṛita, i.e., Vikrama era, and so, we may note the peculiarities of their **characters** rather carefully. The letters *ka*, *ra* and *ña* have developed tails at the ends of their verticals ; cf. *guruṇā* in A, l.1 and B, l.2 ; *-rātra* in A, l.2 and B, l.3 ; *yajña* in A, l.4 and B, l.10. *Ya* has a loop on the left ; cf. *Kṛitayōr-* in A, l.1, *māyām=iva* in A, l.3 and B, l.7. The subscript *ya* is usually bipartite ; cf. *samuddhṛitya* in A, l.2 and B, l.4. In a few instances, however, the cursive form of the later period makes its appearance ; cf. *niravakāśasya* in B, l.9. The letters *ma* and *va* have a triangular base and the horizontal bar of *śa* does not yet reach the other side ; cf. *māyām=iva* in A, l.3 and B, l.7, *śakti* in A, l.1 and B, l.2. Letters *pa*, *sha*, *ha*, *gha*, and *ba* have an indent in their left limb ; cf. *mahatā* and *pūrṇṇamāsī* in A and B, l.1, *-shashṭi-* in A, l.2 and B, l.3, *Brahm-ēndra-* and *kāmaugha-* in A, l.3 and B, l.8 and l.7. The vertical line of *la* has developed a curved ornamental tail ; cf. *suvipulaṁ* in A, l.2 and B, l.5, *Mālava* in B, l.3., etc. The form of the letter *ḍa*, resembling the reversed form of the modern Dēvanāgarī letter *ṭa*, is rather peculiar ; cf. *taḍāka* in A, l.4 and B, l.10.

The medial *ā* is usually denoted by a small horizontal stroke to the right, but in the case of *mā*, *ṇā*, *dhā*, *śā*, and *thā* this stroke is attached to the centre of the letter on the right ; cf. *pūrṇṇamāsī* in A and B, l.1, *guruṇā* in A, l.1 and B, l. 2, *-dhārāṁ* in A, l. 3 and B, l.7, *yath-ārttham=* in A, l. 5 (but not in B, l. 13), *vaiśvānarēshu* in A, l. 3 and B, l. 8, etc. In the case of *mē* the

stroke for the medial vowel is similarly attached at the centre to the left of the letter, cf. *anuttamēna* in B, l. 5. In the case of *jā* also the medial *ā-mātrā* is attached to the centre of the letter, but it develops into an ornamental curve ; cf. *Prajāpati-* in A, l. 3 and B, l. 8, *prajā-* in A, l. 4 and B, l. 10, etc. Short medial *i* is denoted by an ornamental curve opening to the left, and the long one by a similar curve opening to the right ; cf. *siddham* and *pūrṇṇamāsī* in A and B, l. 1, etc. Medial *ṛi* is denoted by a short curve or stroke attached to the left of the letter usually at its bottom ; the subscript *ra* differs from it only in being a little longer : cf. *sattra* in A, l. 3 and *chandra* in B, l. 2, with *pitṛi-* and *samuddhṛitya* in A, l. 2 and B, l. 4 ; see also *vipraghṛishṭa*, A, l. 6. In the case of *kṛi*, this stroke is attached, however, at about the middle of its vertical, in order to distinguish it from the tail, which the letter has developed, cf. *kṛi* in *Kṛitayōr=*, A, l. 1. Medial *au* is denoted by a curve above the letter with a horizontal line on its either side ; *pautrasya* in A, l. 5 and B, l. 15. The curve is attached at the end of the right hand stroke in the case of *mau* ; cf. *bhūmau* and *kām-augha-* in A, l. 3 and B, l. 7. The stop *m* occurs in *siddham* at the beginning of the inscription A ; it is denoted by a smaller form of the letter *ma*, but written below the line.

Most of the palæographical peculiarities noted above occur also in the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman I, dated in the [Śaka] year 72. Our inscription is only 76 years later than this record. As will be presently seen, Nāndsā was under the Śaka rule for a fairly long time. The palæographical resemblance, therefore, need not cause any surprise. It may also be pointed out that many of the palæographical characteristics of this record also recur in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A. D.

Numerical symbols for 200, 80, and 2 occur in both the records in the opening line. The symbol for 200 is exactly similar to that occurring in the inscriptions on the three *yūpas* at Baḍvā.[1] Symbols for 80 and 2 are the normal ones for the period.

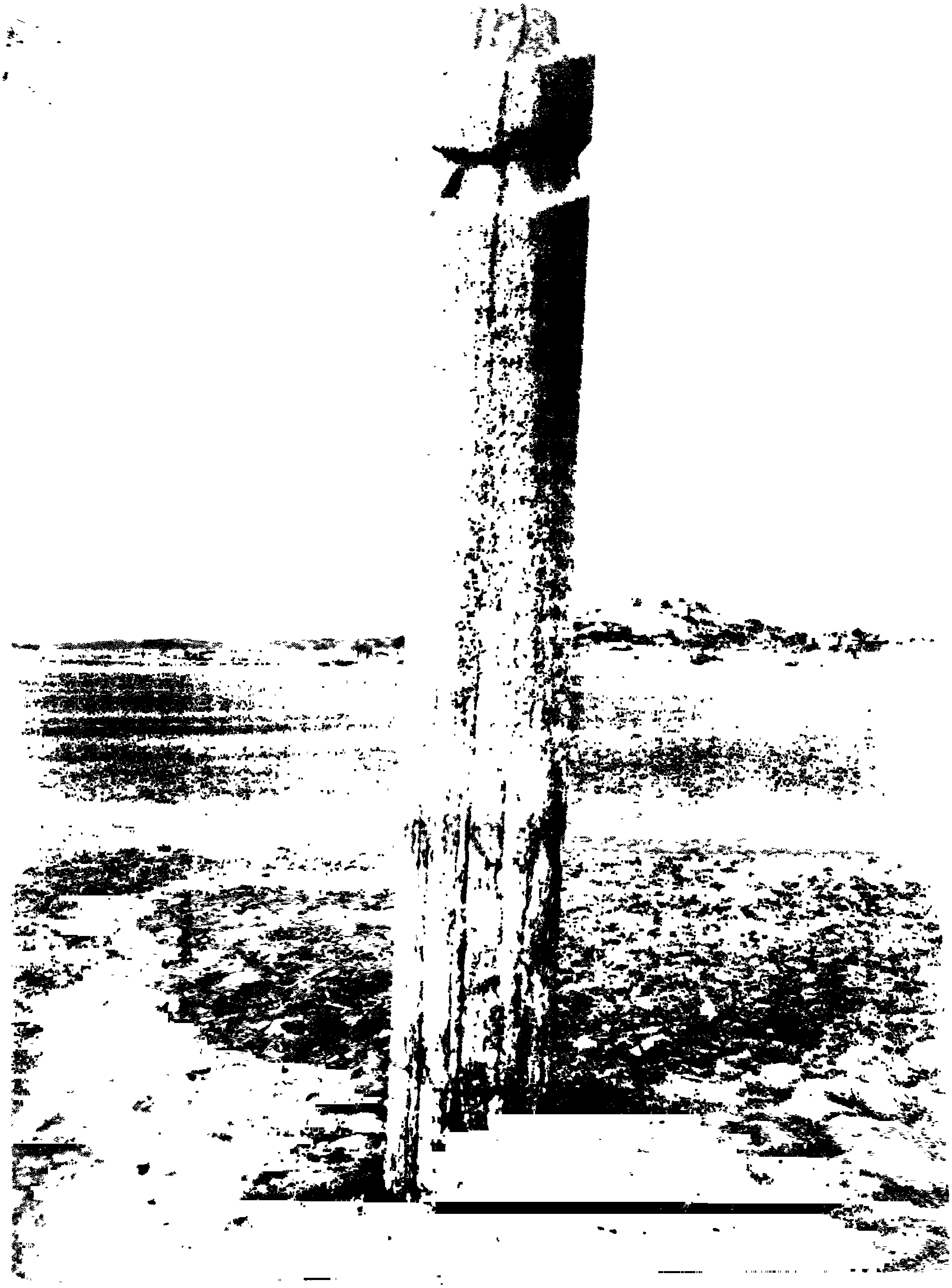
As regards the **orthography**, the following points deserve to be noted :—The usual symbol for *upadhmānīya* is used in inscription A, l. 4 ; cf. *prasaṅgaiḥ purāṇa-*. In the corresponding place of the inscription B, however, the *visarga* has been engraved ; cf. l. 11. But the most interesting orthographical peculiarity of the records is the surmounting of the *anusvāra* by a concave semicircle, when it is followed by a *va* or a *śa* or a *ra* ; cf. *dhārāṁ vasōr=* in A, l. 3 and B, l. 7 ; *vaṁśē Mālava-vaṁśē* in A, l. 5 and B, l. 14 ; *purāṇaṁ rājarshi-* in A, l. 4. In the last case both the *anusvāra* and the concave semicircle above it are midway between *ṇa* and *rā* ; but there can be no doubt that they were intended to be engraved above the *ṇa* in *purāṇaṁ*. In *siddhiṁ vitatya*, A, l. 3 and B, l. 7 we expect this concave semicircle above the *anusvāra*, as it is followed by a *va* ; but it does not occur. The medial *i* mark has, however, a natural concave semicircle in it, and the *anusvāra* has been engraved under it ; this may possibly be the reason for an additional semicircle not being engraved over the *anusvāra*. It is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation for this concave semicircle mark in the above cases. One is tempted to think that it may be possibly the Vedic ⁽\ -mark, which is common in the text of the *Yajurvēda*. Such, however, does not seem to be the case. This mark is used in the Yajurvedic text when an *anusvāra* is followed by *śa*, *sha*, *sa*, *ha*, and *ra*.[2] In our inscription it is no doubt used when the *anusvāra* is followed by *ra* and *śa*. But it is also used when the *anusvāra* is followed by a *va* as shown above, and not used when it is followed by a *sa* ; cf. *dharmmamātraṁ samuddhṛitya*, A, l.2 and B, l.4. The occurrence of the mark is thus a puzzle, difficult to explain.

The **language** of both the records is Sanskrit. There is some influence of Prakrit as in *kṛitēhi* for *kṛitaiḥ* in B, l.1. The language is on the whole correct ; we, however, have an incorrect

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 52.

[2] *Ath=ānusvārasya* ⁽\ *ity=ādēśaḥ śashasaharēphēshu tasya traividhyam=ākhyātam.* The *Pratijñāsūtra* of Yajurvēda, No. 3.

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE STONE YUPA AT NANDSA



B. CH. CHHABRA

Reg. No. 3977 E 36 — 475'50

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

form in *avatārayitvā* for *avatārya* in A, ll. 1-2 and B, l. 3. If the record has been correctly copied, we have to admit that there is a glaring syntactical irregularity in it. The series of the absolute clauses with which the record commences is left without any subject, nor are they followed by a principal clause, as is usually required. The author of the record adopts the ornate style of Sanskrit prose. There are several similes and metaphors; *anuprāsa* is not forgotten (B, l. 9), compounds are frequent and some of them are very long (A, l. 4). The record is a *praśasti*, and it must be acknowledged that the language used is appropriate for the occasion. It gives a vivid idea of the fame and exploits of the hero it commemorates.

Both the records are **dated.** The **date,** which is given in numerals as well as in words in inscription A and in numerals only in inscription B, is **the full moon day of the month of Chaitra of the Kṛita** (*i.e.* **Vikrama) year 282. The corresponding year according to the Christian era would be A.D. 226. The inscriptions are thus the earliest records of the Vikrama era so far known.** They are two years earlier than the Barnālā *yūpa* inscription A,[1] and 11 years anterior to the three *yūpa* inscriptions of the Maukharis[2] discovered by the present writer at Baḍvā.

The inscriptions are primarily intended to commemorate the performance of the **Ēkashashṭirātra** sacrificial session, which, as its name indicates, used to extend over 61 days. The following constituent sacrifices were offered in this session in the order given below :—

1st day,	Prāyaṇīya sacrifice.
2nd day,	Chaturviṁśa sacrifice.
3rd to 20th day,	Three Abhiplava sacrifices, each lasting for six days.
21st to 26th day,	Pṛishṭhya sacrifice.
27th to 35th day,	Navarātra sacrifice.
36th to 41st day,	Pratilōma Pṛishṭhya sacrifice.
42nd to 47th day,	Abhiplava sacrifice.
48th day,	Āyu sacrifice.
49th day,	Gau sacrifice.
50th to 59th day,	Daśarātra sacrifice.
60th day,	Mahāvrata sacrifice.
61st day,	Udāyanīya sacrifice.[3]

The *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śrauta Sūtras* give several details of each of the above sacrifices,[4] but it is unnecessary to discuss them here. The purpose and significance of the session itself will be discussed later on.

We have so far noticed several *yūpa* inscriptions, but they usually refer to short sacrifices. The longest sacrificial session, so far discovered from epigraphs, was the *Dvādaśarātra-sattra*, performed at Īsāpur near Mathurā in the 28th year of the reign of the emperor Huvishka by Brāhmaṇa Drōṇala.[5] A long sacrificial session, lasting for as many as 61 days, is referred to for the first time in the present records.

A sacrificial *sattra* can be performed only by Brāhmaṇas[6]; but the potentate who is eulogised in our records was a Kshatriya. So it is stated that he did not himself perform it, but caused it to be performed; cf. *avatārayitv=ai(avatāry=ai)kashashṭirātram=atisatraṁ*, B, ll. 3-4. Not

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 118 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 43 ff.

[3] *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXIV, 18; *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, 25, 18, 17-24.

[4] *Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa*, XXIV, 1-3; *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 10-16; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, IX, 22; etc.

[5] *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1910-1, p. 41.

[6] **ब्राह्मणानां वेतरयोरार्त्विज्याभावात् ॥** *Pūrvamīmāṁsā*, VI, 6, 18.

less than 17 Brāhmaṇas are required for a *sattra* ;[1] they are both *ṛitviks* (priests) and *yajamānas* (sacrificers). Since a Kshatriya could not be a *ṛitvik* at the time of our record, he could not himself perform the *sattra* ; he could only get it performed for him by Brāhmaṇas officiating on his behalf. All the Brāhmaṇas had to be of the same *gōtra* and *kalpa* ;[2] otherwise there would result a conflict at the time of offering the Āprī oblations.

It is indeed a strange irony of fate that there should be an uncertainty about the full name of the king, whose exploits are described on the pillar, though he had taken the precaution of getting the record engraved twice on it. In inscription A, the concluding part of l. 5, where his name occurred, has been peeled off ; in inscription B the relevant portion in ll. 15-16 has been so heavily damaged, that no confident reading of the text is possible. After mentioning the donor's father's name as Jayasōma, the records proceeded to give his own name. It is given in apparently eight letters. The first two of these letters are Sōgi. In inscription B *sō*, which is the last letter of l. 15, appears to have a subscript, and the next letter *gi*, which is the first letter of l. 16, looks more like *gni* than *gi*. But if we examine these letters in inscription A, l. 5, it becomes clear that neither *sō* nor *gi* had any subscript. The reading *Sōgi* may therefore be taken as certain. The succeeding two letters are quite illegible in inscription A. Inscription B (l. 16), however, shows that the first of them was certainly *nē* ; the next letter, (which is the 3rd letter of l. 16), appears most like a damaged *tuḥ*. These four letters may therefore be read as *Sōginētuḥ*, meaning ' of the leader of the Sōgis ' :

It appears that before giving the king's personal name, an epithet of his has been given. Who then were the Sōgis, whose leader the king claims to be ? The mystery is solved by a fragmentary inscription which is being edited at the end of this paper as C. This inscription was also found in the village Nāndsā, where the *yūpa* bearing inscriptions A and B was discovered. It is also inscribed on a pillar, standing not far away from the other *yūpa*. Palæography shows that its time is not far removed from that of the former inscriptions. Unfortunately this inscription is extremely fragmentary, but its 7th line distinctly refers to a Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma, who is styled *Sōgi* ; cf.

Mahāsēnāpatisya Bhaṭṭisōmasya Sōgisya ma-.

It is therefore clear that the Mālavas had a subclan called Sōgi, probably so-called after its *gōtra*, Saugi .[3] The hero of our record was a leader of these Sōgis and was very proud of that fact. His personal name is therefore preceded by the title *Sōginētuḥ*. The Sōgis still exist in Mewar as a caste group, and have been so recorded in the census of 1941.

The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th letters of l. 16 of inscription B give the personal name of the hero. Of these the 5th and the 6th letters, though considerably damaged, definitely look like *sōma*, and the succeeding letter, though partly obliterated, looks like *syā*. The space between *ma* and *syā* is not greater than the ordinary space between two consecutive letters of this record. What therefore looks like the remnant of a damaged letter after *ma* would probably be nothing more than a mere damage in the stone surface. The 5th, 6th and 7th letters of l. 16 are therefore *sōmasyā*. The hero's name therefore ended in *sōma*, as was the case with that of his father and that of the Sōgi general, mentioned in inscription C below. It was preceded by only one letter, but it cannot be made out with certainty. It is considerably damaged, but a portion of what remains looks like a part of *ga* or *śa*, with perhaps an *ī-mātrā* above it. I would therefore suggest, not without some diffidence, that the letter may have been *Śrī* ; one can hardly think of any other suitable monosyllabic letter to precede Sōma. The king's name was therefore most probably

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[1] सप्तदशावराः सत्त्रमासीरन् । Śabara on *ibid.* VI, 6, 1.

[2] संनिपातेऽवैगण्यात् प्रकृतिवत्तुल्यकल्पा यजेरन् । *ibid*, VI, 6, 1, See also the commentary of Śabara.

[3] *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadambaka.* (Mysore edition), p. 177.

Śrīsōma, the first letter being merely an honorific prefix. As, however, the reading of this letter is very doubtful, I would prefer to restore it conjecturally as [Śrī ?] sōma. It is very likely that this [Śrī ?] sōma is identical with Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma mentioned in inscription C below.

The name of the father of the king, Jayasōma, is clear in both the inscriptions (A, l. 5 and B, l. 15). The grandfather's name again is seriously damaged in both the inscriptions. In inscription A the letters are partly blurred and partly damaged, and what we can read does not make out a good sense. All told 11 letters are used in this connection. The first two letters are fairly clear in both the records and they are *Jaya*. The last three letters are legible only in inscription A, and they are certainly *varddhana*. The three preceding letters, which have been completely peeled off in inscription B, can be seen in inscription A, but in a damaged condition. The first of these letters looks like a *pu* but may also have been a *pra* ; the second letter undoubtedly looks like *rbhā*, and the third one may appear to be a damaged *ga* or *dha* with a subscript. This letter has a round back, which is always the case with the *ga* of this record and never with the ***dha***. I would amend *rbhā* into *bhā* and read the last six letters as *Prabhāgravarddhana*. The preceding five letters seem to have denoted an epithet of Prabhāgravarddhana which began with ***Jaya***. The next three letters look like *natana* in inscription A, but in inscription B (l. 15), there is a clear mark of the superscript *r* over the second of these letters, which is otherwise completely destroyed there. I therefore think that the grandfather of the donor is described as *Jayanartana*, and that Prabhāgravarddhana was his proper name. The epithet *Jayanartana* probably had a reference to the real or imaginary victories of Prabhāgravarddhana, which perhaps made him dance in joy. The readings proposed are of course not free from doubt, but I wonder whether we can propose anything better in the present state of our knowledge and with the present ink-impression.

The sacrificer claims that he was a scion of the royal Mālava family (*Mālava-rājarshi-vaṁśa-prasūta*), which was as famous as the Ikshvāku family of Pauranic fame (A, l. 5). The expression used in this connection is *Ikshvāku-prathita-rājarshi-vaṁśē Mālava-vaṁśē prasūtasya*, and it is possible to explain it as *Ikshvākūṇām prathitē rājarshi-vaṁśē Mālava-vaṁśē prasūtasya*, 'of one born in the Mālava family, which was a royal family of the famous Ikshvākus'. This construction is, however, unnatural and involved and the expression *Ikshvāku-prathita* really means *Ikshvākuvat-prathita* and maintains that the Mālava royal family was as famous as that of the Ikshvākus, from which Śrī-Rāmachandra had sprung.

The Mālavas had issued a very copious copper currency in this part of Rājputāna during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. Bhapaṁyana, Magaja, Mapaya, Magajaśa, Magōja, etc., are some of the queer personal names occurring on these coins, and as they all look extremely un-Indian, it has been suggested by Smith that the Mālavas were probably a foreign tribe, which had not been yet completely Hinduised during the 3rd century A. D.[1] This suggestion will have now to be given up, for the present record, which is almost contemporaneous with the coins in question, clearly states that the Mālava stock was as respectable as that of the Ikshvākus. They were zealous champions of the Vedic sacrifices, and though Kshatriyas by caste, were adopting names like Jayasōma and Śrīsōma which showed a keen appreciation of the Brahmanical Vedic religion. The performance of the *Ēkashashṭirātra-sattra* does not support the theory of their foreign descent. It is true that the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* informs us that this *sattra* was performed by *Vrātya-dēvas* (XXIV, 18), but it does not state that, as a result, they ceased to be *vrātyas* and became pure gods. Had such been the case, it could have been argued that king [Śrī ?]-sōma performed this *sattra* to make himself a Hindu or Kshatriya of the bluest blood. Of course the names on the contemporary Mālava coins are foreign-looking. They may be either unintelligent attempts to

[1] Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. 1, pp. 174-6.

reproduce parts of the legend *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ*, as Mr. Allan has recently suggested,[1] or they may be contraction of Mahārāja followed by his individual name as Jayaswal had thought.[2] It has to be admitted that neither explanation is convincing.

There is, however, no doubt that the Mālavas were a people of great antiquity in ancient India, and that they were enjoying a high status and respectability even in the epic period. In the great war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, they had thrown in their lot with the latter, and on several critical occasions their battalions had saved Bhīshma himself.[3] The mother of Kīchaka was a Mālava princess and so was the wife of the Madra king Aśvapati, the father of famous Sāvitrī. Yama, the god of death, informed Sāvitrī that the hundred sons that would be born to her father and Mālavī mother as a result of one of his boons, would be known as Mālavas.[4] The political geography of the present version of the *Mahābhārata* generally holds good for the period between 300-100 B.C. The above statement of Yama would therefore lead us to infer that during this period the Mālavas were closely allied to the Madras. The latter are known to have been in the occupation of the Central Punjab ; the Mālavas were most probably their southern neighbours.

The *Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya* or the country of the Mālava tribe, which is referred to in the present inscriptions was, however, not located in the Southern Punjab. It was obviously a portion of Eastern Rajputana, where Nāndsā is situated. The fact is that during the different periods of Indian history different tracts were known as Mālava country. Besides Mālwā, the well known province in Central India, even to-day a large part of the Southern Punjab, comprising the districts of Ferozepore and Ludhiana and the Indian States of Jīnd, Patiāla, Nābhā and Mālerkoṭlā is known as Mālwā. There is no doubt a tradition to the effect that this name is a modern one, the title of Mālava Singh having been conferred upon the Sikhs of this tract by Banda Bairāgi in the 18th century, who promised that the tract would be as fruitful as Mālwā.[5] There does not seem to be any truth in this tradition. We have already seen that one of the boons given to Sāvitrī clearly shows that the Mālavas were close allies and neighbours of the Madras, probably occupying the territory to the south of the latter's. It is precisely this territory that is now being occupied by the Mālava Sikhs.

The *Mahābhārata*, however, refers to the Mālavas of the east, the north and the west.[3] It would therefore appear that the Southern Punjab was not the only tract occupied by them in *c.* 300 B.C. In numerous places in the epic the Mālavas are closely associated with the Kshudrakas ; the *dvandva* compound, *Kshudraka-Mālavāḥ* is usually used to denote them. Thus the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas had come together to offer tribute to Yudhishṭhira at the time of his Rājasūya sacrifice (II, 78,90) ; in the disposition of the Kaurava forces on the eve of the great war, the battalions of the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas were grouped together (V, 57, 18) ; both of them suffered severely when Arjuna had launched a heavy attack on the Kaurava forces on the third day of the great war (VI, 59,136). This close association of the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas, disclosed by the great epic, is confirmed by the Greek historians of Alexander the Great. They describe how the leaders of these tribes, whom they name as Oxydrakai and Malloi, had decided to offer a joint resistance to Alexander the Great, and how Alexander smashed the

[1] Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Introd. p. cvii.

[2] *Hindu Polity* (1st edition), i, p. 218.

[3] सौवीराः कितवाः प्राच्याः प्रतीच्योदीच्यमालवाः । संग्रामे नाजहुर्भीष्मं वध्यमानाः शितैः शरैः । VI, 106, 6-7. (Kumbhakonam edition.)

[4] पितुश्च ते पुत्रशतं भविता तव मातरि । मालव्यां मालवा नाम शाश्वताः पुत्रपौत्रिणः ॥
भ्रातरस्ते भविष्यन्ति क्षत्रियास्त्रिदशोपमाः । III, 298,60-1. (Kumbhakonam edition.)

[5] *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, p. 105.

Malloi before they could effect a junction with the Oxydrakai. At this time the Kshudrakas were occupying the territory roughly corresponding to the Bahawalpur State and the Mālavas were their northern neighbours in the occupation of the Ravi-Sutlej Doab, from Multan to Kasur. These were probably the Mālavas of the West referred to in the *Mahābhārata*.

But apart from the south-eastern and the south-western Punjab, portions of Rājputāna were also occupied by the Mālavas fairly early. At Nāgar, 25 miles south-east of Tonk, a very large number of Mālava coins were discovered, some bearing the names of individual rulers and some having the legend, *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ* or its equivalent. The former coins are no doubt of the 3rd or the 4th century A. D., but the latter ones are much earlier. Cunningham thought that the earliest of these go back to *c.* 250 B. C., but Rapson and Smith felt that their antiquity could be taken back to only *c.* 150 B. C.[1] The latest writer on the subject, Mr. Allan, thinks that they are not earlier than the second century A. D.[2] Unfortunately the coins are too small to enable us to form any decisive opinion about the time suggested by their palæography ; but I think that the earliest of the Mālava-*gaṇa* coins are not later than *c.* 150 B. C. If such is the case, we shall have to postulate the Mālava occupation of this tract in central Rājputāna in about 150 B. C. ; it may have been necessitated by the pressure of the Greek invasions under Demetrios, Apollodotus and Menander. From the 2nd century A. D. we get ampler proofs of the occupation of this tract by the Mālavas. The Nasik inscription No. 10 shows that the Mālavas were a strong power in the territory round Ajmer, and were in a position to harass the Uttamabhadras, who were the allies of the Śakas (*Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 78). This inscription does not give the precise location of the Uttamabhadras and the Mālavas, but it says that after relieving the former, Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa, bathed in the lake of Pushkara near Ajmer. The Mālavas therefore must have been occupying the tract near Ajmer.[3] The *Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya*, mentioned in inscription B, included the territory round about Nāndsā, which is about 75 miles south-south-west of Ajmer and 110 miles east of Nāgar. In 1940 a seal bearing the legend [*Mā*]*lava-janapadasa* was found at Rairh in Jaipur State about 56 miles from its capital, which from its characters appears to be as old as the 2nd century B. C.[4]

It would thus appear that *Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya*, referred to in our record, extended over a considerable portion of south-eastern Rājputāna, comprising parts of the States of Udaipur, Jaipur and Tonk and the district of Ajmer. Whether the Mālavas continued to occupy their old homeland in the Southern Punjab at this time is not known. But there is nothing improbable in such being the case, when we remember how the tract is still known as Mālwā.

The expression *Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya* occurring in our record thus signifies the territory of the Mālava *gaṇa* or republic. It would therefore appear that the term *gaṇa* in expressions like *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* cannot mean *gaṇanā* or counting as Kielhorn had thought. Expressions like *Śrī-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnātē* and *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* ought therefore to be translated as 'according to the era current in the Mālava Republic' and 'according to the usage of the Mālava Republic.' There is no justification for the view that these expressions refer to an era founded to commemorate the constitution of the Mālava Republic, that was established in 57 B. C.[5] The Mālava republic existed several centuries earlier, as shown above.

[1] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 162.

[2] Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. cvi.

[3] It is interesting to note that the *Mahābhārata*, while narrating the conquests of Nakula, states that the Pāṇḍava hero first defeated the Mālavas and their neighbours, and then on return defeated the Utsavasaṁkētas near Pushkara (II 35, 7-8). If we assume that the Utsavasaṁkētas were the same as Uttamabhadras, it would follow that the relative geographical situation of the Uttamabhadras and the Mālavas was the same in the 2nd century A. D., as it was in the 3rd century B. C., when probably the *Mahābhārata* account was written.

[4] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. III, p. 48, pl. IV A, No. 6.

[5] See *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 913 and p. 995 ; and 1914, p. 413 and p. 745.

Let us now proceed to discuss the historic data supplied by the record.[1] It is a eulogy of the Mālava king [Srī ?]sōma. It is interesting to note that neither this king nor his father or his grand-father bears any royal, feudatory or military title, like *mahārāja*, *rājan* or *sēnāpati*. It would appear that the republican traditions were still strong among the Mālavas, and no regal titles were permitted to their rulers even when they had established hereditary dynasties ruling at least for three generations. Inscription B, l. 4 refers to the hero supporting the ancestral yoke of administration borne by his father and grandfather, and l. 15 gives their names. Inscription B, ll. 5-7, informs us that the hero had filled the space between the earth and heaven by his all-excelling fame, and had heralded an era of uncommon prosperity for his country. The fame of the king and the prosperity of the country must have been the result of some signal victory over an important enemy; it is a pity that the record does not preserve his entire name.

We know that during the reign of Rudradāman I, in *c.* A. D. 150, the sphere of influence of the Śaka power had extended to Bahawalpur; for the Girnar inscription of the above king informs us that he had conquered Maru (Marwar), Sindhu and Sauvīra (Southern and Northern Sindh). Rudradāman also claims to have defeated the Yaudhēyas, who were then occupying the Bahawalpur State and the territories beyond.[2] It will thus be seen that both the earlier and later homelands of the Mālavas had come under the rule of the Śakas in A. D. 150. The Śaka rule over these territories continued for about half a century. Then, however, started a struggle for the Śaka throne, lasting for about 15 years from *c.* A. D. 181 to 196, between the Mahākshatrapa Jīvadāman and his uncle Rudrasiṁha I.[3] This must have weakened the Kshatrapa power and given an opportunity to the Mālavas to assert themselves. The father Jayasōma and the grandfather Prabhāgravarddhana (?) of the hero of these records were ruling from *c.* A. D. 180 to 200 and from A. D. 200 to 220 respectively. Whether they initiated any revolt against the Kshatrapa power is not definitely known.

If the record really uses the epithet *jayanartana* with reference to its hero's grandfather, it is likely that he may have scored some victories. But these need not necessarily have been in any open revolt against the Śakas. Probably he fought as a partisan either of the uncle or of the nephew in the struggle for the throne that was being fought in the Śaka kingdom at that time; his victories may be the victories which he had won for his suzerain. The real revolt must have been initiated by [Śrī ?]sōma himself. He describes his bravery as *sva-śakti-guṇa-guruṇā* 'great on account of the quality of his own prowess'. This epithet is more or less similar to the title *svayam=adhigata-mahā-kshatrapa-nāmnā*, which Rudradāman I had taken for himself, and may have been even suggested by it. The Śaka ruler defeated by [Śrī ?] sōma may have been either Rudrasēna I (A. D. 200-222) or one of his younger brothers, Saṅghadāman (A. D. 222-3) or Dāmasēna (A. D. 223-235). Most probably it was Saṅghadāman, the shortness of whose reign may have been due to his having died in the struggle against the Mālavas. It is interesting to note in this connection that his death took place only three years before the date of our record, and after a short reign of only about one year.

It was probably to celebrate his signal victory over the Śakas that king [Śrī ?]sōma performed the Ēkashashṭirātra sacrifice. The sacred texts state that as a result of this *sattra*, nature regains its original vigour and brilliance and there ensues a period of all round prosperity.[4] During the

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[1] Since both the records are almost identical, they will henceforth be referred to in the singular.

[2] सुराष्ट्श्वभ्रभरुकच्छसिन्धुसोवीरकुकुरापरान्तनिषादादीनां···विषयाणां पतिना···यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन··· Above, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

[3] Rapson, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhras, Kshatrapas, etc.*, p. cxxv.

[4] अथ ह वै तर्हि नौषधीषु पय आसीन्न क्षीरे सर्पिर्न मांसे मेदः···। तद्वत एतदेकषष्टिरात्रं देवा व्रात्या उपायंस्ततो वैतानि भूतानि एतैर्वीर्यैः समसृज्यन्त तेजस्वन्ति एव आसन् पयस्वन्ति च।···। ते सर्वामृद्धिमार्ध्नुवन्। सर्वामृद्धिमघ्नुवन्ति य एतदुपयन्ति। *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, 24, 18.

foreign rule of the Śakas, the country of the Mālavas must have been squeezed out, and as a result of the victories of [Śrī ?]sōma it must have been restored to its prosperity.

We should not, however, exaggerate the importance of these victories. They secured independence for the Mālavas, and to that extent circumscribed the boundaries of the Śaka empire. Perhaps they brought about the death of Saṅghadāman. But they did not give any serious set-back to the Śaka power. There is no break in the dates of the Śaka coins at this period, nor do we find the title Mahākshatrapa in abeyance, as it subsequently became, during the first half of the 4th century A. D.

We shall now briefly review the contents of the record. While doing so, we shall refer to the lines in inscription B, as they are shorter and therefore easier to follow. L. 1 (with the exception of the last two letters) gives the time of the record as the full moon day of the month of Chaitra, which would appear to be the last day of the *Ēkashashṭirātra sattra*. The *sattra* must have started about the full moon day of the month of Māgha, falling sometime in the month of February or March A. D. 226. The next clause from *mahatā* to *dharmmamātraṁ* (ll. 1-4) refers to the sacrificer [Śrī ?]sōma and the *sattra* performed under his auspices. It is worth noting that the causal construction is used here. We are told that the king 'caused the *Ēkashashṭirātra sattra* to descend to the Mālava country.' *Prima facie* this causal construction seems inexplicable, but the mystery is solved when we remember that this *sattra*, like all other *sattras*, could be performed by Brāhmaṇa sacrificers (*yajamānas*) only. The chief [Śrī ?]sōma was a Kshatriya and so could not be consecrated as a *yajamāna* at this sacrificial session ; but he could only get it performed under his auspices. The next two clauses, from *samuddhṛitya* to *yaśasā*, ll. 4-6, describe [Śrī ?]sōma as belonging to a well-established house and his own fame as having filled the entire space between the earth and the heaven. The implications of this statement have been already discussed above. The next clause, from *sva-karma-sampadayā* to *vitatya*, ll. 6-7, points out that the fame of the hero was not an empty one ; his achievements enabled him to acquire riches, which were so immense that they appeared to be as it were a result of magical power (*ātmasiddhi*). The next clause, from *māyām=iva* to *hutvā*, ll. 7-8, describes how very liberal presents were given to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of the *sattra*. It is interesting to note that according to the traditional practice, no *dakshiṇā* can be given on the occasion of a *sattra*. This was but natural. The sacrificer gives the *dakshiṇā* to the priests ; in a *sattra*, the priests themselves are the sacrificers ; so no gift of a *dakshiṇā* was possible.[1] Brāhmaṇas were, however, naturally not unwilling to permit their patron to depart from the usual practice in this respect. He may have stated that the *dakshiṇā* was being given to them not as *ṛitviks* (priests) of the *sattra*, but simply as learned Brāhmaṇas. The words used in this clause have a *double entendre*. The *Purōhita* is called *Agni-vaiśvānara* in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 25. One way in which the present clause can be explained is as follows :—'having offered to the sacrificial priests, who are veritable *Agnivaiśvānaras*, a stream of wealth as it were, which was sufficient to satisfy all their desires.' But the clause also recalls the concluding scenes of the sacrificial session. *Vasōr=dhārā* is the technical name of the final oblation offered to *Agnivaiśvānara* at the end of the sacrifice, when he is made whole and entire. Agni is the priest among the gods, and so the compound *Brāhmaṇ-āgnivaiśvānara* would, in this case, mean *Agnivaiśvānara*, who is Brāhmaṇa. *Vasōr=dhārā* consisted of 401 ghee offerings made continuously to fire. They were so called, because when Agni receives them, he satisfies all the desires of the sacrificer. While they are being offered, the *mantras* in the *Vājasanēyī Saṁhitā*, XVIII, l. 29, are recited for the fulfilment of all varieties of desires of the sacrificer. *Vasōr=dhārā* also represented the consecration ceremony of Agni as King. It was therefore regarded as a kind of superior consecration ceremony for the royal sacrificer himself,

[1] *Parikrayāt=cha tādarthyāt. Pūrvamīmāṁsā*, X, 2, 35 : *Sattrēshu dakshiṇā na syāt.* Śabara's commentary on the above.

more potent than the Rājasūya or the Vājapēya.[1] It is but natural that king [Śrī ?]sōma should have shown unstinted liberality on the occasion.

Grammatically, the clauses in ll. 2-8 are defective as no subject whatever is supplied to the verbal forms occurring in them. After a series of absolute clauses, we expect the main clause, but it does not make its appearance. In its stead we have a series of compounds ending in the genitive case in ll. 8-16, which further describe the achievements and lineage of the royal patron.

The first of these epithets, *Brahm-ēndra-....niravakāśasya*, ll. 8-9, describes how the king who gave no room (*avakāśa*) to sin, had allotted space (*kṛit-āvakāśasya*) at places sacred to Brahmā, Indra, Prajāpati, Vishṇu and Maharshis. There is a pun on the word *avakāśa*, but there is some uncertainty about the meaning of *kṛit-āvakāśasya* ; it seems that the royal patron had allotted extensive sites (*avakāśa*) or landed properties or both to the temples of the above deities. Whether Brahmā was at this time regarded as a god separate from Prajāpati, or whether the two expressions have been used by oversight, cannot be definitely stated. Temples of Maharshis or great sages are not known in modern times ; but it appears from our record that in the 3rd century A. D. there used to be shrines dedicated to sages like Agasti, Vālmīki and Vasishṭha.

The next epithet *sita-sabhā-....niśchayasya,* in ll. 9-12, describes how king [Śrī ?]sōma had resolved to follow unswervingly the path chalked out by ancient royal sages by building magnificent (*sita*, literally, white) halls, rest-houses and temples, by digging wells and tanks, by following injunctions about sacrifices, charity and truth and by properly protecting his subjects. The succeeding clause, *sva-guṇ-ātiśaya..........m=anubhavataḥ*, ll. 12-4, states that the numerous qualities of king [Śrī ?]sōma were as high and genuine as those of Manu. The next clause *Ikshvāku... vaṁśē......sōmasya,* (ll. 14-6), discussed already, (p.257), describes the family and genealogy of the donor. The next four letters, which occur only in inscription B, cannot be confidently read and interpreted. The first of these is seriously damaged, but may have been a *na*, the second is certainly a *ka*, the third may be a damaged *śa* and the fourth is a *ta*. The reading *-sy=ānēka-śata-gō-sahasra-dakshiṇā* gives an excellent meaning. The king claims to have given several lakhs of cows in charity. There is nothing improbable in this. Ushavadāta had given three lakhs of them. It is true that we expect *śata* to go along with *sahasra*, and not to be separated from it by the word *gō*. Transposition of adjectives in compounds is, however, sometimes done in this record ; immediately in the next sentence we have *vṛisha-pramatta-* instead of *pramatta-vṛisha-*. The same may have been the case here.

The last sentence, *vṛisha....yūpa-pra,* ll. 16-18 is both incomplete and considerably damaged. It is possible that it could have contained many words more after *pra*, if we merely take into consideration the remaining space of l. 6 of inscription A. Such, however, was probably not the case, this line being shorter than the earlier ones. The stone *yūpa* on which the records are inscribed is even to-day standing in the bed of a tank at Nāndsā. I therefore think that the clause very probably ended with *yūpa-pra[tishṭhā kṛitā]*. There may have been some more adjectives, but it is doubtful whether any other sentence or clause followed this sentence. The word *saṁkaṭa* in the first compound of the sentence is to be taken in the sense of 'full'; it states that the bank of the tank was full of wooden *yūpas*, against which bulls scratched their horns. This reminds us of Kālidāsa's description of the Sarayū as a river, whose bank was full of *yūpas*.[2] It appears that the custom was to perform the sacrifices on the banks of rivers or tanks or to transplant the *yūpas* in these places, after the sacrifices were over. The expression *Pushkara-pratilambhabhūte* states that the lake was a 'reproach to,' *i.e.* a rival of, the famous Pushkara lake near Ajmer in sanctity.

[1] See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 213-6 and the note on pp. 213-4.

[2] जलानि सा तीरनिखातयूपा वहत्ययोध्यामनु राजधानीम् । *Raghuvaṁsa*, XIII, 61.

If our restoration of the text is correct, it would follow that the stone *yūpa* on which these records are engraved, was installed in the bed of the holy lake of the village, where it is still standing even after the lapse of seventeen centuries, a silent monument to the piety and bravery of king [Śrī ?]sōma.

TEXT[1]

Inscription A

1 सिद्धम् । कृतयोर्द्वयोर्व्वर्षशतयोर्द्व्यशीतयोः २०० ८० २ चैत्रपूर्णमासीं (स्या) म-
स्याम्पूर्व्वायां महता स्वशक्तिगुणगुरुणा पौरुषेण प्रथमचन्द्रदर्श[नमिव मा[2]] [लवगण-
विषयमवतार-[3]]

2 [4]पित्वैकषष्टिरात्त्रमतिसत्त्रमपरिमितधर्म्ममात्त्रं समुद्धृत्य (त्य) पितृपैतामहि (ही) न्धुरमावृत्य (त्य) सुवि-
पुलं द्यावापृथिव्योरन्तरमनुत्तमेन [यशसा[2]] [स्वकर्मसंपदया विपुलां समु[3]-]

3 पगतामृद्धिमात्मसिद्धिं वितत्य मायामिव सत्त्रभूमौ सर्व्वं[5]कामौघधारां[6] वसो[7]र्द्धारामिव
[8]ब्राह्मणाग्नि[9]वैश्वानरेषु हुत्वा ब्रह्मेन्द्रप्रजापतिमहर्षिविष्णु[9][स्थानेषु कृतावकाशस्य पापनि-[3]]

4 रवकाशस्य सितसभा[10]वसथतडाककू[11]पदेवायतनयज्ञदानसत्त्यप्रजाविपुलपालनप्रसङ्गः पुराणं[12] (ण)-
राजर्षिधर्म्मपद्धती (ति) सततकृतसमनुगमननिश्च[यस्य स्वगुणातिशयविस्तरैर्मनु-[3]]

5 निर्व्विशो (शे) षमिव भुवि मनुष्यभावं यथार्त्थमनुभवत इक्ष्वाकुप्रथितराजर्षिवंशे[6] मालववंशे[6]
प्रसूतस्य जयनर्तनपु (प्र) भर्ा (भा) ग्र (?) वर्द्धन[13]पौत्त्रस्य जयसोमपुत्त्रस्य सोगिने[तुः श्री (?)-
सोमस्यानेकशतगोसहस्र-[14]]

6 दक्षिणा [।] वृषप्रमत्तशृङ्गविप्रघृष्टचित्त्यवृक्षयूपसंकटतीरो[15] (रे) पुष्करण्यृतिलम्भ[16]भूते स्वधर्मसेतौ
महा[तडाके यूपप्र[3]][तिष्ठा कृता[17] ।]

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[1] Edited from ink-impression.

[2] These letters are partly legible.

[3] Letters in the square brackets are supplied from the text of inscription B.

[4] Read °*tāry-aika.*

[5] There is an unnecessary stroke engraved to the left of the vertical of *ka*, below the left side horizontal line.

[6] A concave semicircle has been engraved above the *anusvāra* mark.

[7] An unnecessary dot has been engraved in front of the letter *sō*.

[8] The first letter of the conjunct looks more like *p* than *b*, but obviously *b* is intended. Read *brā-*.

[9] The subscript is faint, but it is clear in inscription B.

[10] There is an unnecessary dot over the letter *bhā*.

[11] Through carelessness, an *ō mātrā* has also been engraved on *kū*.

[12] There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* over this letter, over which there is engraved a concave semicircle, as is done on the letter *vaṁ* in *vaṁśē*. In inscription B the reading is *purāṇa* and not *purāṇaṁ*; so there was ~~or~~ no occasion here for the introduction of this mark.

[13] For the reading of the grand-father's name, see introduction, p. 257.

[14] Supplied from inscription B. For the reading of the name Śrīsōma, see introduction, pp 256-57.

[15] This letter can also be read as *ṇa*.

[16] The subscript letter is damaged, but obviously it was a *bha*.

[17] This portion is conjecturally supplied. See introduction, p. 262.

INSCRIPTION B

1 सिद्धं(द्धम्) [।] कृतेहि(तैः) २०० ८० २ चैत्रपूर्ण्णमासी(स्या)मस्यां पु(पू)र्व्वाया(यां) मह-

2 ता स्वशक्तिगुणगुरुणा पौरुषेण प्रथमचन्द्रदर्शनमि-

3 व मालवगणविषयमवतारयित्वै[1]कषष्टिरात्रमति-

4 सत्रमपरिमितधर्म्ममात्रं समुद्धृत्य पितृपैतामहिं(हीं) धु-

5 रमावृत्य सुविपु[2]लं द्यावापृथिव्योरंतरमनुत्तमेन यश-

6 सा स्वकर्मसंप[3]दया विपुल(लां) समुपगतामृद्धिमात्मसि-

7 द्धि(द्धिं) वितत्य मायामि[4]व सत्रभूमौ सर्वकामौघधारां[5] वसोर्द्धा-

8 रामिव ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाग्निवैश्वानरेषु हुत्वा ब्रह्मेंद्रप्रजापतिमह-

9 र्षिविष्णुस्थाने[षु] कृतावकाशस्य पापनिरवकाशस्य सितस-

10 भावसथतो(त)डाककूपदेवायतनयज्ञदा[6]नसत्यप्रजावि-

11 पुलपालनप्र[7]संगैः पुराणराजर्षिधर्म्मपद्धती(ति)स्त-

12 त्कृतसम[नुग[8]]मननिश्चयस्य स्वगुणातिशयवि-

13 स्तरैर्मनुनिर्विशे[9]षमिव भुवि मनुष्यभावं यथार्थम-

14 नुभवत इक्ष्वाकुप्रथि[10]तराजर्षिवं[5]शे मालव[5]वंशे प्रसूत-

15 स्य जयनर्तनप्रभाग्र[11]वर्द्धनपौत्रस्य जयसोमपुत्रस्य सो-

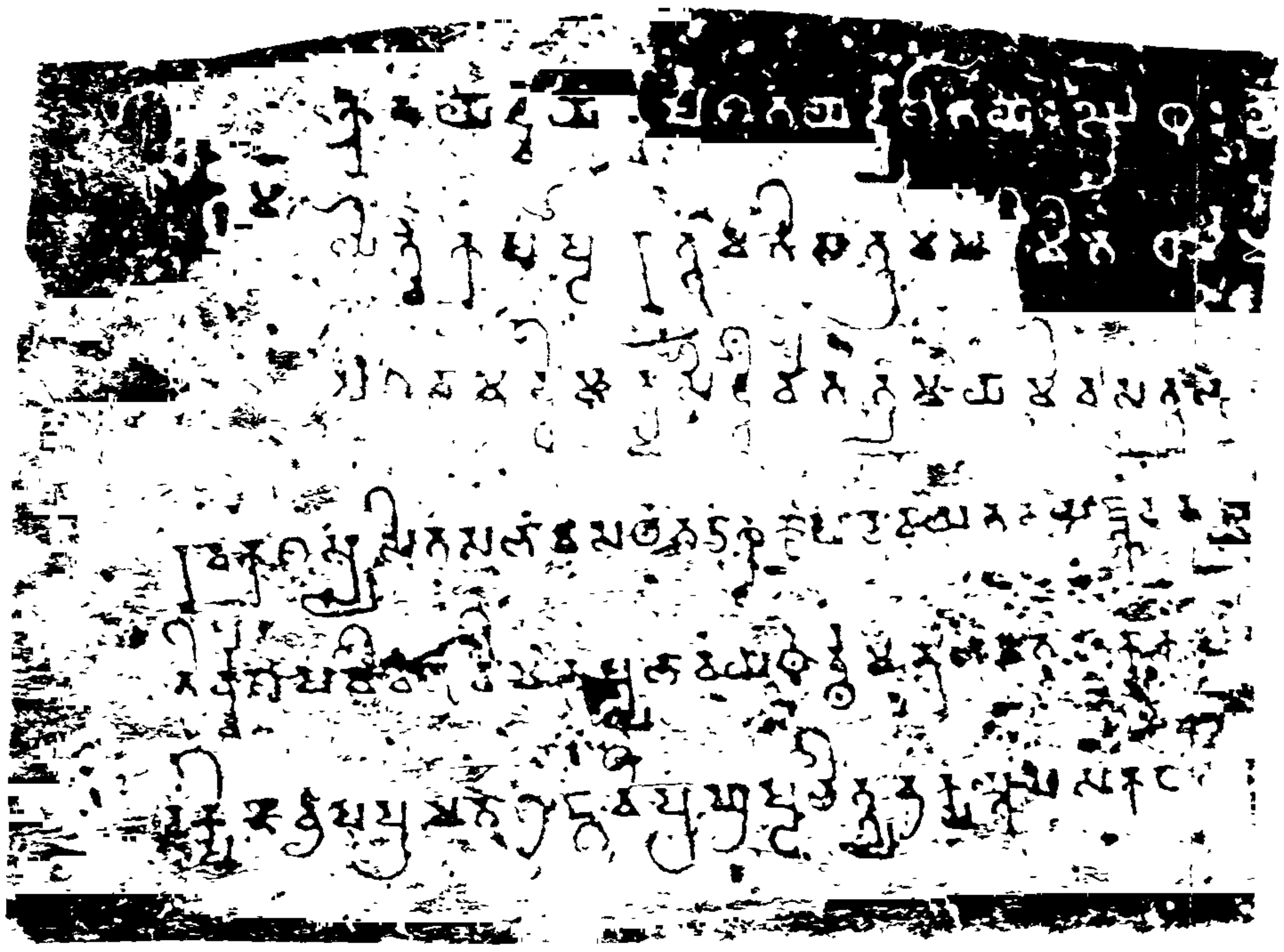
16 गिनेत(तुः) [[12]श्री?]सोमस्याने[13]कशतगो[14]सहस्रदक्षिणा [।] वृष-

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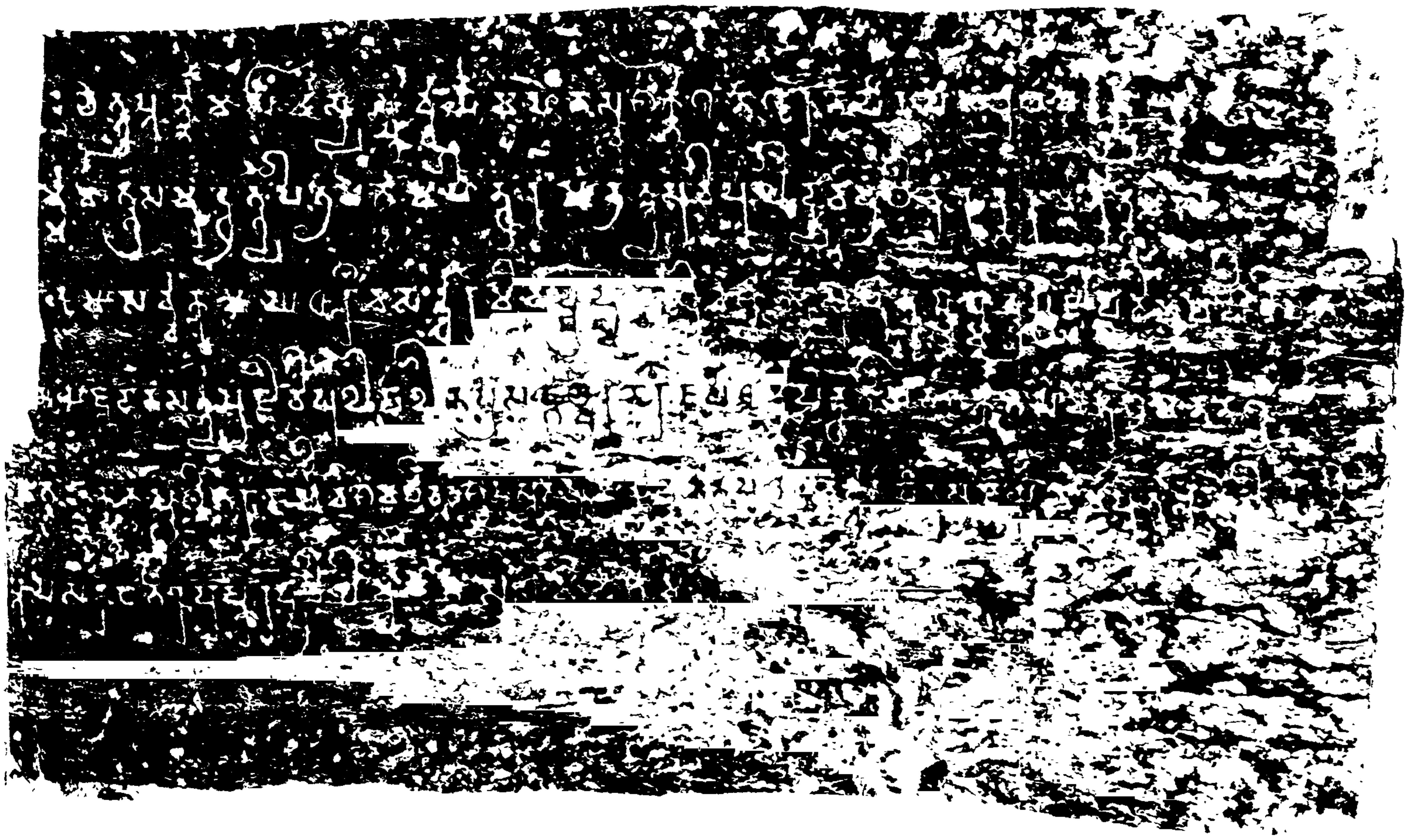
[1] Read *-tāry=aika.*
[2] The letter *pu* is damaged.
[3] The letter *pa* is damaged.
[4] The letter *mi* is damaged.
[5] The *anusvāra* here is surmounted by a concave semicircle.
[6] The letter *dā* is damaged.
[7] The letters *pālanaprasaṁ* are damaged.
[8] The letters *nuga* are damaged.
[9] Letters *rviśē* are damaged.
[10] Letters *Ikshvāku* are completely, and *prathi*, partly, damaged.
[11] Letters *Prabhāgra* are completely damaged. For this reading, see the discussion in the introduction.
[12] The reading *śrī* is not certain. See the introduction.
[13] The traces of *nē* are certain in the original.
[14] The letter *gō* looks more like *śō*, but there can be no doubt that *gō* was intended.

A

Left Portion



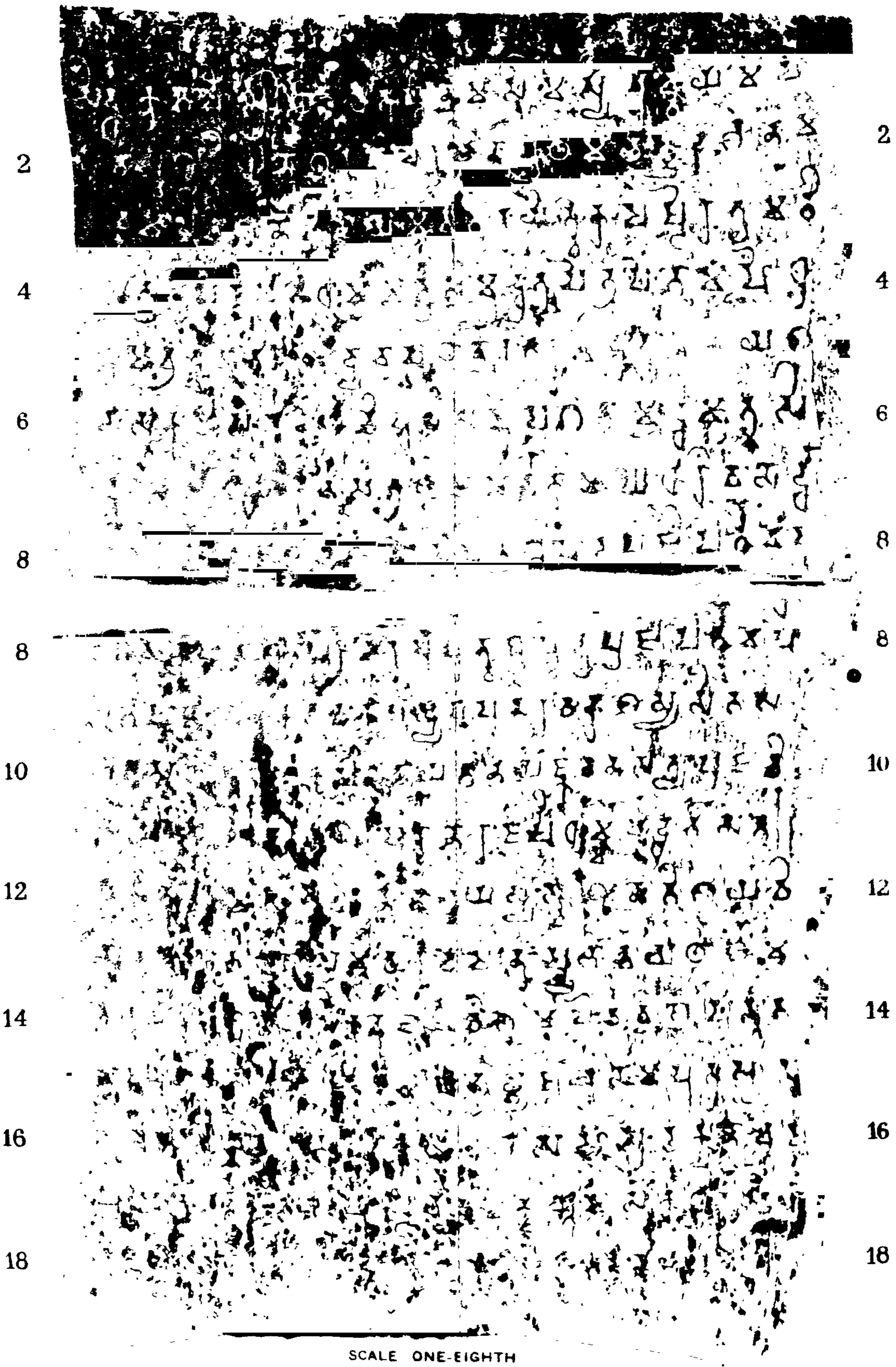
Right Portion



B. CH. CHHABRA. SCALE: ONE-SIXTH SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

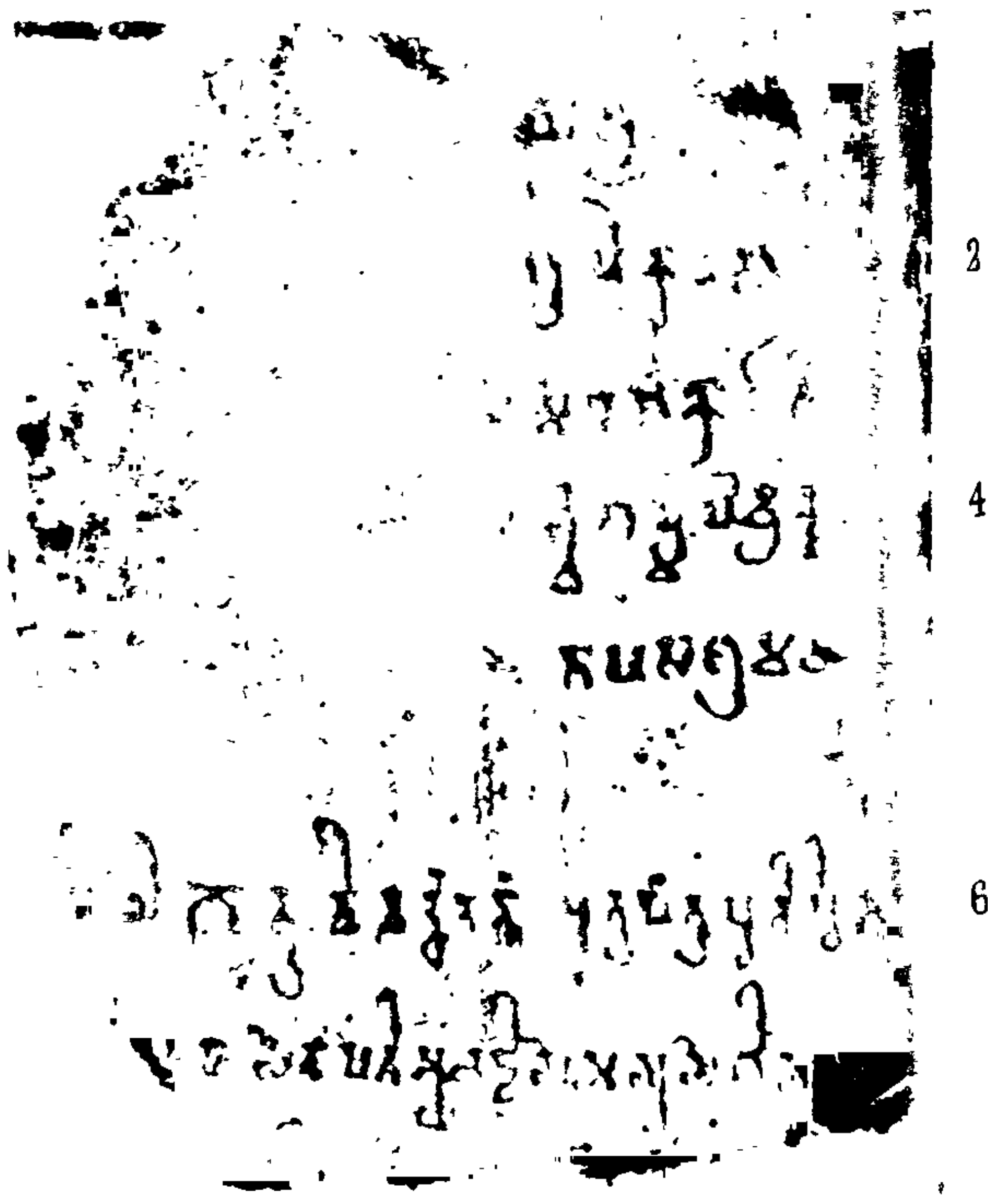
Reg. No. 3977 E.36– 475'48.

B



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

C



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

17 प्रमत्त[शृङ्गविप्र[1]]घृष्टचित्यवृक्षयूपसंकटतीर(रे) [पुष्क[1]]-

18 रप्र[तिलम्भभूते स्वधर्म[1]]सेतौ महातडाके यूपप्र[तिष्ठा कृता[2] ।]

TRANSLATION

(References are to the lines in inscription B.)

Line 1 Be it auspicious! On the **full-moon day** of (*the month*) of **Chaitra** (*of the year*) **282 by the Kṛita (era).**

Ll. 1-4 On the afore-mentioned (*day*), king [Śrī]sōma, having caused by means of his valour, remarkable on account of the qualities of his prowess, the great **Ēkashshṭirātra** sacrificial session, (*a source of*) incalculable merit, to descend down to the country of the **Mālava republic,**—(*the sacrificial session, which was as welcome*) as the sight of the new moon,

Ll. 4-5 having supported the yoke (*of administration*) descending down from (*his*) father and grandfather,

Ll. 5-6 having covered (*i.e.*, filled) the ample space between the sky and the earth with his unsurpassable fame,

Ll. 6-7 having made the great prosperity produced by the richness (*i.e.* excellence) of his *karman* (i, bravery, ii, religious merit) (*appear like the result of*) his own spiritual power,

Ll. 7-8 having offered on the sacrificial ground in Agnivaiśvānara fires, Brāhmaṇas (*by caste*), *Vasōr=dhārā* oblation series,[3] magical as it were, (*as it produces the satisfaction of*) the stream of all desires,[4]

Ll. 14-16 a fee of several hundreds of thousands of cows (*was offered*) by [Śrī ?]sōma, the leader of the **Sōgis,** son of **Jayasōma,** grandson of **Prabhāgra(?)vardhana,** dancer at victory, born in Mālava stock, as famous as the royal stock of the Ikshvākus,

Ll. 12-14 (*king [Śrī ?] sōma*), who was experiencing (*i.e.*, having), on account of the extent of his excellent qualities, genuine human qualities in no way different from (*i.e.* inferior to) (*those of*) Manu,

Ll. 9-12 who had formed a continuous (*i.e.*, standing) resolution to follow the footsteps of the ancient royal sages in connection with the full protection of his subjects, the (*construction of*) white (*i.e.*, splendid) assembly halls and rest-houses, (*the digging of*) wells and tanks, (*the erection of*) temples, (*the grant of*) gifts at sacrifices, and (*the telling of*) truth, and who had thus left no room for sin,

Ll. 8-9 (*and*) who had given space (*i.e.*, building sites or lands) to the temples (literally, establishments) of Brahmā, Indra, Prajāpati, the great sages and Vishṇu.

Ll. 16-18 The (*stone*) *yūpa* pillar (*was erected at the end of the sacrificial session*) in the great tank, which is a landmark of Dharma,[5] which is (*as it were*) a censure (*i.e.*, a rival) of Pushkara (*lake*) and the bank of which is full of *yūpas* of holy trees against which bulls with full youthful vigour scratch their horns.

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[1] The letters in the brackets are supplied from the text of the inscription A.

[2] These letters are conjecturaly supplied. See introduction, p. 262.

[3] The word *iva* in the original is inapplicable in this rendering. For the meaning of this expression, see introduction, p. 261.

[4] The other meaning of this clause suggested by the *double entendre* is as follows :—' having sacrificed (**i.e.** offered) to Brāhmaṇas (as pure as) Agnivaiśvānara a stream of wealth as it were, on the sacrificial ground magical as it were (as it led to the fulfilment of) the stream of all desires.

[5] The tank may have been excavated by king [Śrī ?]sōma.

Inscription C

A Fragmentary Inscription of Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma

Not far from the *yūpa* which bears the above inscriptions, there are two other pillars at Nāndsā, situated only within a distance of about a quarter of a furlong from it, in the same lake. According to the information supplied by Mr. A. K. Vyas, M.A., Superintendent, Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, one of these pillars, which is uninscribed, is undamaged : but the other which was inscribed, was broken into several fragments by a stroke of lightning some years ago. One of these broken pieces has been preserved in the *kōṭāḍī* (store room) of the village and the inscription, which is being edited here for the first time, is inscribed upon it. It is unfortunate that other inscribed fragments of the pillar should not have been found. I am editing here the fragmentary record that is available, because even in its present condition it is historically important.

The inscription consists of seven lines of very uneven length. It does not seem very probable that there were any letters to the left of the present first five lines. It would then follow that they were shorter in length than the subsequent lines. How far each line extended to the right cannot be ascertained or inferred. Nor do we know whether the inscription began with *yasya*, which is the opening word of its present first line. It did extend further than the seventh line, for we can clearly see the medial *mātrā* signs of the letters of the eighth line.

The engraving of the record is careful, and its letters show the same **palæographical peculiarities** as those in inscriptions A and B above. It would therefore appear to be not far removed in time from them. Its extant portions contain no date, but we may place it in **the 3rd century A. D.**

The **language** is **Sanskrit,** but there is occasional influence of Prakrit, as in the forms *sēnāpatisya* and *Sōgisya* in l. 8. The record was probably in prose ; the word *yasya* in the first line and *gralōkāḥ* in the second could, however, well have been the beginning and concluding words of a line of verse.

The first two lines were probably a eulogy of **Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma,** as they state that 'all the worlds were filled by his fame'. The 3rd line reads : *sva-dēśē Kōṭitī*[*rthē*], which would show that the fief of Bhaṭṭisōma was in the vicinity of Kōṭitīrtha. The passage probably refers to some of his benefactions at that holy place. There are several Kōṭitīrthas in India in places like Banaras, Mathurā, Kurukshētra and Ujjayinī, each of which boasts of one. Which one is intended here is difficult to say. The fourth line [*pā*]*rśvē Śalmali-vṛikshaḥ* refers to a *śalmali* tree in the vicinity of something. Why this tree is mentioned here we do not know. It was not one of the trees out of which a *yūpa* could be made. The fifth line is *tāpas-āśrama-va*[*na*] ; it probably refers to a forest given as an *āśrama* to ascetics. The sixth line probably refers to something done by Bhaṭṭisōma for the increase of his family and *gōtra,* and refers to his sons and grandsons. The last line describes Bhaṭṭisōma as a Mahāsēnāpati. In contemporary Maukhari, Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku records,[1] this title seems to denote a feudal chief of considerable importance, ruling over a fairly big district. The same probably was the case with Bhaṭṭisōma.

Bhaṭṭisōma is further described here as a Sōgi. We have seen above that the records of the Mālava chief [Śrī ?]sōma on the *yūpa* in the tank describe him as a leader of the Sōgis. We have already discussed the significance of this term. It would appear that the Sōgis were a sub-clan of the Mālavas and that some of their generals had acquired the leadership of the whole state.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 47 ; Vol. VIII, p. 94 ; and Vol. XIX, p. 1.

Can we identify Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma of this fragmentary record with [Śrī?] sōma, the hero of the inscriptions A and B of the Nāndsā *yūpa* ? The question is difficult to answer with certainty, but the probability is that the two personages are identical. It is true that the title *Mahāsēnāpati* is not given to [Śrī ?]sōma in inscriptions A and B. The records however make it clear that he was a distinguished general, who had a number of victories to his credit, and there is nothing improbable in the Mālavas having formally conferred that title upon [Śrī ?]sōma in recognition of his great services to the republic. A Yaudhēya record, no doubt about two centuries later in date, shows that the titles *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsēnāpati* were conferred upon the highest dignitary of that republic, who was elected to the post.[1] [Śrī ?]-sōma may have got this honour later than 226 A. D., when the Nāndsā *yūpa* records were inscribed. That the fragmentary inscription we are dealing with here was issued late in the life of Sēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma is made clear by its referring in l. 6 to his sons and grand-sons as well established in life. In favour of the identity of Bhaṭṭisōma with [Śrī ?]sōma, it may be further pointed out (i) that the palaeography of the three records is of the same period (ii) that both [Śrī ?]sōma and Bhaṭṭisōma are described as the leader of the Sōgis and that (iii) Śrīsōma is hardly different from Bhaṭṭisōma, both Śrī and Bhaṭṭi being honorific prefixes. Inscriptions A and B refer to [Śrī ?]sōma's benefactions in favour of gods and sages ; the fifth line of the present record, which refers to a forest *āśrama* of ascetics, probably ment ons a similar donation of Bhaṭṭisōma. This may also lend additional weight to the view that Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma is identical with [Śrī ?]sōma.

TEXT[2]

INSCRIPTION C

1 यस्य

2 [सम]प्रलोका: [।] त-

3 स्वदेशे[3] कोटीती[र्थं]

4 [पा][4]श्वें शल्मलिवृक्ष: [।]

5 तापस (सा) श्रमव[ने][5]

6 कु[6]लगोत्रविवर्द्धनार्थां (र्थं)[7] पुत्रपौत्रप्रतिष्ठित-

7 महासेनापतिस्य (पते:) भट्टिसोमस्य सोगिस्य (सोगे:) म-

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[1] Fleet, *C. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 252.

[2] From ink-impression.

[3] The letter *sva* looks like *mē*.

[4] The letter *pā* was probably at the end of the previous line.

[5] The restoration of *nē* is conjectural.

[6] The turning of the curve for the medial *mātrā u* to the right is a peculiarity shared by this inscription with inscriptions A and B. Compare *kūpa* in A, l. 4 and B, l. 10.

[7] Letters *nārthāṁ* are carelessly engraved and *tha* is rather faint.

No. 44—DOMMARA-NANDYALA PLATES OF PUNYAKUMARA ; 10TH YEAR

(*1 Plate*)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

During my tour in the Jammalamadugu taluk of the Cuddapah District in the year 1940-41, while I was engaged in copying some stone inscriptions in the village **Dommara-Nandyāla**, some villagers brought the set of copper plates under review to me.[1] They said that several years ago one of their kinsmen, while ploughing a field struck against a sealed earthen pot which contained these plates preserved in paddy-husk.[2] It is remarkable that to this day the plates are quite well-preserved. The owner of the plates was sorely disappointed when he learnt that the strange record which he thought preserved the secrets of some hidden treasure was merely a document referring to some gift-lands. As the plates were useless to him he readily consented to make a gift of them to the Government Epigraphist's office where they are now preserved. I edit the inscription on the plates with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of **three** rectangular copper-plates, each measuring 7″ by 2¾″ and strung on to a circular copper ring of about 2″ in diameter and made of copper wire ⅜″ thick with its ends soldered into a circular **seal** which depicts on its flat surface, in high relief, a rampant lion with a prominent mane and raised left paw. The rims of the plates are slightly raised so as to protect the writing they bear. The plates along with the ring and the seal weigh 70½ *tolas*. For their neat execution with regard to the inscription as well as the seal, these plates show a marked contrast to the Mālēpāḍu plates.[3]

The initial *ā* is used only once in *Ātrēya* in l. 17. The initial vowel *i* occurs in *Iruga-śarmā*? in l. 15. The forms of *k* and *r*, though narrow and elongated, have developed complete loops and may be favourably compared with their forms in the Kendūr and the Vakkalēri plates of Kīrttivarman II[4]. The slight contrast that these forms bear to their earlier forms with loops still incomplete as in the Jejūri plates of Vinayāditya[5] and their shorter, rounder and therefore more developed forms as in the Ēḍēru plates of Vijayāditya II[6], may be noted. The letter *b* which occurs twice in l.8 is noteworthy for, it shows the open form which, as will be alluded to in the sequel, gives an indication of the period to which the charter may be assigned. In the Mālēpāḍu record itself there are both the closed as well as the open forms of this letter— the *b* in *bādhā* being of the open type and that in the superscript of *abbhir*°, of the closed type, both occurring in l.23 of the text.[7] The letter *ḷ* is used thrice in the inscription, once in the expression Chōḷa-Mahārāja[8] (l. 7), and twice in the words Chōḷa and Kēraḷa (l. 8). The final form of *t* and *n* may be noted in lines 1 and 12 respectively. They are, as usual, cut in a diminutive form.

As regards **orthography**, the doubling of consonants either before or after a *rēpha*, usual in records of this period, is not observed. Such minor grammatical discrepancies as (i) the wrong

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[1] C. P. No. 35 of 1940-41.

[2] As instances of copper plates preserved in this manner in ancient times, the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu and the Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya may be cited ; *above*, Vol. VIII, pp. 233 and 235.

[3] Above, Vol. XI. plate opp. pp. 338, 344 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. IX, p. 204 ; above, Vol. V, p. 200.

[5] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 64. plate.

[6] Above, Vol. V, p. 120.

[7] Above, Vol. XI, plate opp. p. 345, l.23.

[8] The Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra as well as the stone inscriptions of this period belonging to this dynasty invariably use the form Chōḷa.

use of the *visarga*, as for example, in *nāmaḥ* for *nāmā* (l.5), *paurṇamāsyāḥ* for *paurṇamāsyāṁ* (l.11), *dattaḥ* for *dattaṁ* (ll. 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 22); (ii) the omission of the *visarga* as in *kāriṇa* for *kāriṇaḥ* (l. 4), *pāraga* for *pāragaḥ* (l. 8) and *krimi* for *krimiḥ* (l. 23); (iii) wrong *sandhi* as in *adhipati tasya* for *adhipatis=tasya* (l.8), *Puṇyakumāra nāma* for *Puṇyakumārō nāma* (l.12), etc.; (iv) the use of *d* for *t* in *ādma* (l. 4), the aspirate *dhi* for the unaspirate in *vidhitaṁ* (l. 13), the unaspirate *t* for the aspirate in *vishṭāyāṁ* (l. 23), and a few other errors which have been duly corrected in the body of the text itself may be noted. Except for the invocatory verse at the beginning and the imprecatory verse at the end, the one in the *Āryā-gīti* and the other in the *Anushṭubh* metres, the entire record is in **Sanskrit prose**. The text contains no signs of punctuation anywhere in its body.

Coming to the contents of the record it may be remarked at the outset that the text of these plates is almost identical with that of the Mālēpāḍu plates, but for a few variations here and there. The opening verse is in praise of Śiva in his form as Lakuṭapāṇi.[1] Nandivarman, described here in terms similar to those used in the Mālēpāḍu plates, had three sons named Siṁhavishṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanañjayavarman, of whom the youngest and the last, *viz.*, Dhanañjayavarman, had a son named Mahēndravarman who acquired or obtained the title *Chōla-Mahārāja*, was well versed in grammar and other sciences, was the lord of the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa (countries), and possessed many titles such as *Muditaśilākshara*, *Navarāma*, etc. His son was Guṇamudita whose brother was the glorious Puṇyakumāra who bore the epithets *Pōrmukharāma*, *Mārdavachitta*, *Madanavilāsa*, etc., and was the lord of the Hiraṇyarāshṭra. The **object** of the inscription is the grant by Puṇyakumāra in the 10th year (of his reign), while he was camping at Pudorūr, of lands in the villages Nandigāma and Pasiṁḍikuṟu to five Brāhmaṇas. The inscription closes with the usual imprecatory verse and mentions towards the end Koṭṭikuṇṭarāja as the writer of the charter. This chief, it may be observed, figures in the Mālēpāḍu plates as the *ājñapti*.[2] The record is **not**

[1]Reference to Śiva as Lakuṭapāṇi in this record is of considerable interest. It has been shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that Lakulī, the last incarnation of god Mahēśvara, could be placed in the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. and that the worship of Śiva in the form of Lakuḷīśa or Lakuṭapāṇi was prevalent not only in Central India but also in regions as far south as Mysore and as far east as Orissa (*An. Rep. Arch. Sur. of India*, 1906-07, pp. 179 ff. and *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 151 ff.). The earliest inscriptional reference hitherto known for the Lakuḷīśa-pāśupata cult in South India is furnished by the Chikballāpur plates of the Ganga king Jayatēja of A.D. 810 (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1914, p. 29 and para. 60). That this cult flourished in the Telugu as well as the Tamil countries further south also is vouched for by references to teachers or pontiffs of this school in inscriptions (above, Vol. XXII, p. 162; *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1908, p. 75; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 18; *A. R.* No. 100 of 1906). But none of these references, it may be noted, takes us to a date prior to the 9th century A.D. It will thus be seen that the record under review and the Mālēpāḍu plates (see f.n. 6 on p. 274) give *the earliest epigraphic reference so far known* to the worship of Śiva in the form of Lakuṭapāṇi or Lakulīśa in South India. It may not be out of place to quote here a verse which gives the characteristics of the image of Lakuḷīśa from *Viśvakarmāvatāravāstuśāstra*, a Ms. in the Dekkan College Library, cited by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Na(La)kulīśaṁ ūrdhvamēḍhraṁ
padmāsana-susaṁsthitaṁ |
dakshiṇē mātalingaṁ cha
vāmē daṇḍaṁ prakīrttitaṁ ||

Dr. Bhandarkar has also cited several images answering to this description, but all these sculptures are confined to Central India; and, so far as I know, no image of Lakuḷīśa or Lakutapāṇi has come to light in South India.

[2] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 339 and 345; the chief's name which was read as Koṭṭikuḷdarāja can be clearly read as Koṭṭikuṇṭarāja as in the record under review. The name Koṭṭikuṇṭa sounds very much like a place name and it is possible that the chief derived his name from the region over which he wielded authority or the place he hailed from; but I am unable at present to identify any place in the region which conforms to this name.

dated. As in the case of the Mālēpāḍu plates, the date of this inscription can only be approximately fixed, mainly on palaeographical considerations.

In his learned article on the Mālēpāḍu plates[1] my father, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri has assigned that charter, on palaeographical and other considerations, to about the end of the 8th century A.D. While discussing the palaeography of the plates under review it has been shown that the forms of the letters in this record compare well with the forms of those of the Kendūr and the Vakkalēri plates of Kīrttivarman II. The open form of *b* to which attention has already been drawn calls for some remarks. The short vertical stroke inside the closed form of the letter found in records as early as Śaka 500 onwards[2] is perhaps a precursor of the loop with which the open form of this letter begins. This stroke which persists in the Kendūr plates referred to above is already seen to assume the rudimentary loop noticeable in the Vakkalēri plates.[3] But it must be borne in mind that all these forms are only transitional stages from the closed form found for this letter in earlier records leading to its open form as it occurs in the inscription under review. It is true that this letter retains its closed form in a dated copper-plate grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III (A.D. 804) which has been the basis for Dr. Fleet's theory that the later cursive form of this letter which can be traced back to the time of Amōghavarsha I cannot however be carried back to an earlier date than A.D. 804.[4] If this were really so, the present record will have to be assigned to a date posterior to A.D. 804, a date somewhat later than that assigned for the Mālēpāḍu plates. Now, except for this single letter *b*, all other test letters and especially *kh*, *l* and *j* still retain their earlier forms in this as well as in the Mālēpāḍu plates ; and it may be observed that in their execution both these records show a more archaic type of writing than that found in the Rāshṭrakūṭa record cited above.[5] Their palaeography may be favourably compared with that of the Kendūr and Vakkalēri plates of Kīrttivarman II and they may be, therefore, assigned roughly to the same date *viz.*, the middle of the 8th century A.D. It will be seen in the sequel and from the synchronistic table appended hereto that this date fits in very well with the contents of the record. As for the cursive form of *b* that we have in the record under review, we have indeed a case here answering that cited by Dr. Bühler of 'the occurrence of numerous cursive forms together with very archaic ones, both in the Aśōka edicts and also in later inscriptions'[6]. The charter being dated in the 10th regnal year of Puṇyakumāra, the initial year of the king might be fixed at c. 740 A.D. Assigning arbitrarily a reign of 15 years for his brother Guṇamudita who preceded him and a reign of 25 years, as usual, to Mahēndravarman and again a period of 15 years to each one of the three brothers Siṁhavishṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanañjayavarman—for it is said of them that they enjoyed the fortunes of the kingdom (*i.e.*, ruled) in succession—and 25 years to Nandivarman, we get for the initial year of this king the year c. 630. The Pallava and the Chāḷukya contemporaries who were reigning at this period were Narasiṁhavarman I and Pulakēśin II. The names of Nandivarman's successors Siṁhavishṇu, Mahēndravarman and Guṇamudita at once bring to our mind the names of Narasiṁhavishṇu, Mahēndravarman and Paramēśvaravarman I (Guṇabhājana) of the **Pallava** family.

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 337 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate opp. p. 58.

[3] Above, Vol. V, p. 202, ll. 15, 16, 17, 18, 52, 55, etc., on plates opp. p. 202.

[4] Above, Vol. III, p. 163.

[5] Compare plates on p. 126, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII App. 30, Sect. 14.

TELUGU CHOLAS

Nandivarman
c.630-655 A.D.

Simhavishṇu
c. 655-670 A.D.

Sundarananda
c.670-685 A.D.

Dhanañjaya
c. 685-700 A.D.

Mahēndravarman
c.700-725 A.D.

Guṇamudita
c.725-740 A.D.

Puṇyakumāra
c.740 ; c.745 ;[1] c.750 A.D.[2]

PALLAVAS

Simhavishṇu
c.575-600 A.D.

Mahēndravarman I
c.600-630 A.D.

Narasimhavarman I
(Narasimhavishṇu)
c.630-668 A.D.

Mahēndravarman II
c.668-670 A.D.

Paramēśvaravarman I
Guṇabhājana
c.670-690 A.D.

Narasimhavarman II
c.690-715 A.D.

Paramēśvaravarman II
c.715-731 A.D.[3]

Nandivarman II

[From *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.*]

CHALUKYAS

Pulakēśin II
609-642 A.D.

Vikramāditya I
655-680 A.D.

Vinayāditya
680-696 A.D.

Vijayāditya
696-733 A.D.

Vikramāditya II
734-747 A.D.

Kīrttivarman II
747 A.D., 757 A.D.

[From Dr. Fleet's Tables.]

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[1] Mālēpāḍu plates, 5th year.

[2] Dommara-Nandyāla plates, 10th year.

[3] See f. n. 4, page 272.

The similarity of names and titles assumed by the three generations of these Chōḷa kings to those of the Pallava monarchs of this period only shows, as has been pointed out by Mr. Krishna Sastri, 'an undefined relationship' between members of these two dynasties. If it meant any relationship of a political nature, the omission of its mention in the records of either the one or the other dynasty is very unusual. If, on the other hand, it implied any matrimonial relationship between these two families, all the records hitherto known of both these families are silent about it. It may be recalled that it was Chōḷa Mahēndravarman that acquired the title of Chōḷa-Mahārāja. The possible reason for his apparent bid for independence is perhaps to be sought for in the great political upheaval that occurred at this period on account of the wars between the Pallavas and the Chāḷukyas. Or more probably it may be that Mahēndravarman obtained or was bestowed with (*pari-prāpta*) this title by the then suzerain power which wielded authority over the tract held by the Chōḷa kings. Which could this power be ? By their proximity and their great strength the Pallavas must have undoubtedly made their influence felt over these Telugu-Chōḷa kings. The assumption of names or titles similar to those of the Pallava monarchs by these kings already alluded to makes this inference obvious. It is likely that the powerful king Paramēśvaravarman I conferred this title of Chōḷa-Mahārāja on Mahēndravarman whose predecessors were mere *nṛipatis*. Instances of subject or subordinate chiefs raised to a higher status or allowed to retain their royal prerogatives and privileges by the suzerain power are not wanting in the history of the South Indian ruling families. The Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhavavarman (II) specifically state that the Pallava kings, Siṁhavarman and his son Skandavarman installed the Gaṅga kings Āyyavarman and his son Mādhava Mahādhirāja respectively,[1] allowing the latter to retain his royal titles. Śivamāra II, a later king of the same dynasty who is also said to have been crowned by his Rāshṭrakūṭa and Pallava suzerains bears all the paramount titles characteristic of his family.[2] The Bāṇas though figuring as a subordinate power, are invariably characterised by their titles Mahābali Bāṇarāja or Bāṇādhirāja.[3]

Of Guṇamudita, the elder son of Mahēndravarman, nothing is known. It was during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman II that the power of the Pallavas was completely eclipsed by the Chāḷukyan onslaught under Vijayāditya, his son Vikramāditya II[4] and the latter's son Kīrttivarman II. The reign of Puṇyakumāra, the brother of Guṇamudita, probably coincided with the fall of the Pallava power ; and with the conquering power of the Chāḷukyas situated far away to wield any effective authority over the conquered territory, he probably found it conducive to rule as an independent king. He now calls himself 'lord of the Hiraṇyarāshṭra'. His authority over this territory while issuing the Mālēpāḍu charter five years prior to this grant was implied as he is then said to have addressed the subjects of his territory along with those of Hiraṇyarāshṭra.

It is evident that the territorial division of Hiraṇyarāshṭra must have included in it parts at least of the present Jammalamaḍugu and the Proddutūru taluks inasmuch as the villages Nandigāma, Pasiṁḍikuṟu and Pudorūru mentioned in the record can all be identified as shown in the sequel, with villages bearing more or less similar names in these two taluks, though, it must be admitted, there is no definite statement in the record that the villages wherein the gift lands lay

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[1] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 335.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 60, p. 47.

[3] Above, Vol. V, p. 50 ; *ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 224, etc.

[4] An inscription of the Western Chāḷukya king Vijayāditya copied recently at Uḷchal in the Kurnool District by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, is dated in his 35th regnal year and refers to an expedition undertaken by Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, son of Vijayāditya, against Pallava Paramēśvaravarman (II). This obviously is Vikramāditya's first attack on Kāñchī. His two subsequent expeditions against his hereditary foes are those mentioned in the Vakkalēri plates of his son Kīrttivarman (above, Vol. V, pp. 200 f.).

were situated in this territory; of the three villages, the first and the last are situated on the northern bank of the river Pennār while the second, identified with the village Paiḍēla, is on the southern bank of the Kundēru, a tributary of the Pennār. It is strikingly singular that neither of these rivers is mentioned in the record. The only other inscription which mentions Hiraṇyarāshṭra is, as far as I know, the Mālēpāḍu plates which state that the village Biripāṟu wherein the gift lands were situated, lay in Hiraṇyarāshṭra and was on the southern bank of Suprayōgā.[1] Basing his conclusions on the probable identity of this village with Billupāḍu situated about 4 miles to the south of Pennār in the Atmakur taluk of the Nellore District, the late Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu surmised that this territorial division must have included in it the northern and the western parts of the present Nellore District.[2] Mr. M. S. Sarma has pointed out that the river Suprayōgā identified with Pennār must have formed a natural boundary between the Muṇḍarāshṭra on the north and the Hiraṇyarāshṭra on the south, as the villages Uruvupalle and Biripāṟu, the one situated in the former and the other in the latter of these territorial divisions, lay on the river's northern and the southern banks respectively.[3] But if the identification of the villages mentioned in the record under review is correct, it clearly points out that Hiraṇyarāshṭra extended even to the north of the river, in fact more in this direction than towards its south. In his 'Notes on the Ancient Political Geography of South India', while attempting to fix the boundaries of Muṇḍarāshṭra, my colleague Mr. M. Venkataramayya, M.A., has identified the river Suprayōgā

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 339. An inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III (A.D. 939-968) from Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah District has been cited as furnishing yet another reference to this province (*J. O. R.*, Vol., XII, p. 363). The inscription is in Kannaḍa and the relevant portion construed as referring to this territory reads as follows :—

1. 15 int-ī dharmavan-ārā-
16 [nu]m honna māḍi Muḷuki
17 nāḍanāḷdu mahārājyaṁ
18 geyvaru ī dharmavanu kam-
19 ḍisade naḍasidaḍe, etc.

(*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 69.)

On examining the impression of the epigraph, the words *honna māḍi* are unmistakably clear. As it is, the reading presents some syntactical difficulties which, however, can be got over by considering the words *ī dharmavanu* repeated in l.18 as redundant, and taking the expression *honna māḍi* to mean 'having made fruitful(?)'. But the usage of this phrase in this sense seems to be very rare. If *honna māḍi* is to be considered a mistake for *Honnavāḍi*, we have certainly a territorial division of this name in this tract which could no doubt have formed part of the ancient Hiraṇyarāshṭra inasmuch as Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah *taluk* is not far removed from that part of the Jammalamadugu taluk which we now definitely know formed part at least of this territorial division. But the evidence afforded by this record for establishing the identity sought between Hiraṇyarāshṭra and Honnavāḍi, taking the latter as a vernacular rendering of the former, is unsatisfactory not only on account of the uncertainty of the interpretation of the readings, as we have already observed, in the epigraph but also for the great disparity in date between the two records.

[2] *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1935-36, p. 56.

[3] *Journal of the Madras University*, 1940, p. 140.

The main reason adduced by Mr. Sarma for identifying Suprayōgā with Pennār seems to be that Muṇḍarāshṭra of which the former forms the southern boundary corresponded with the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District and Pennār being the only prominent river flowing through this tract, it (Suprayōgā) could, 'without any hesitation, be safely identified with the Pennār'. The evidence cited from the various *Purāṇas* in support of this identification presents certain difficulties in our accepting it. All the rivers according to these *Purāṇas* are said to have originated from the Sahyādri. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao kindly drew my attention to the fact that the river Pennār takes its origin not in the Sahyādri which is usually identified with the Western *Ghats*, *but in* the small hill-range round the Nandi-hills in the Kolar District of the Mysore plateau. These hills are no doubt far removed and isolated from the Western Ghats and could hardly be considered as part of these Ghats though perhaps, in the days when these *Purāṇas* were composed, they were included in the Sahyādri or possibly the composers of the *Purāṇas* inadvertantly made a mis-statement in saying that this river, *viz.*, Suprayōgā, along with the other well-known rivers, took its origin in the Sahyādri.

with Pennār and the villages Uruvupalle, Keṇḍukura, Karupura and Koṇḍamuruvuḍu of the Uruvupalli plates[1] with villages of similar names like Ulavapalle, Gollakaṇḍukūru, etc., evidently on the phonetic similarity of names.[2] While the identification of the river Suprayōgā with Pennār may be accepted for reasons pointed out by Mr. Venkataramayya, it is doubtful if the identity of the villages could be upheld—unless we consider the river to have changed its course—for the mere fact that the modern Ulavapalle identified with the Uruvupalli of the plates lies to the south of the river whereas the inscription definitely mentions the river as the southern boundary of the village or in other words, the village was located on the northern bank of the river. It is not unlikely that Muṇḍarāshṭra extended on the southern side of the Pennār also. For, if the identification made by Mr. Venkataramayya of the village Pikira situated in Muṇḍarāshṭra with the village Pigilam in the Venkatagiri Division of the Nellore District be accepted, it would be obvious that this territorial division extended far to the south of the river Pennār. And this surmise is strengthened if Takkulam, a village referred to as situated in Māndaināḍu—probably a mistake for Muṇḍaināḍu—in an inscription at Chīkavōlu, a hamlet of Erraguṇṭapālem in the Rāpūr taluk, could be identified with the village Chīkavōlu itself[3] which also lies to the south of the river Pennār. It is thus obvious that the river Suprayōgā identified with Pennār runs through the territories of Hiraṇyarāshṭra and Muṇḍarāshṭra whose boundaries however cannot yet be conclusively fixed with the material now available.

Of the **place-names** occurring in the grant, the villages Nandigāma and Pasiṁḍikuṟu wherein the gift lands were situated may be identified with Dommara-Nandyāla, the find-spot of the plates and Paiḍēla (Paiḍi being a corruption of Pasiṁḍi) situated about 15 miles to the north of Proddaṭūru, and Puḍoṟūr wherein Puṇyakumāra is stated to have encamped is, in all probability, identical with Proddaṭūru itself.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[5][|*] Svasti śrīmat [|*] Jayati dhṛita-chandrarēkhād(khaṁ)-vipul-āmala-tārakā-śu-

2 bha[ṁ] lōkē [|*] gaganam=iva suprasannaṁ vapur=apratimaṁ Lakuṭapāṇēḥ [|*][6] Dinakara-ku-

3 la-Mandarāchala-Mandāra-pādapasya Kavī(vē)ratanayā-vēl-ōlagha(laṅgha)na-praśa-

4 mana-pramukh-ādy-anēka(k-ā)tiśaya-kāriṇa[ḥ] trairājya-sthitim=ādma(tma)-

5 vat[7]-kṛitavataḥ Karikālasy=ānvayē Nandivarma-nāmaḥ(mā) nṛipatir=abhavat=tasya traya[s*=] sū-

6 navaḥ Siṁhavishṇu[s*]=Sundaranandō Dha[na*]ñjayavarm-ēti[8][|*] tēshāmma(m=ā)nupūrv=ānubhūta-rājya-

7 śri[yāṁ] kanīyasō Dhanañjayavarmaṇaḥ putraḥ pariprāpta-Chōḷa-Mahārāja-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50.

[2] *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XII, p. 361.

[3] *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, Vol. III, p. 1216, R. 8.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

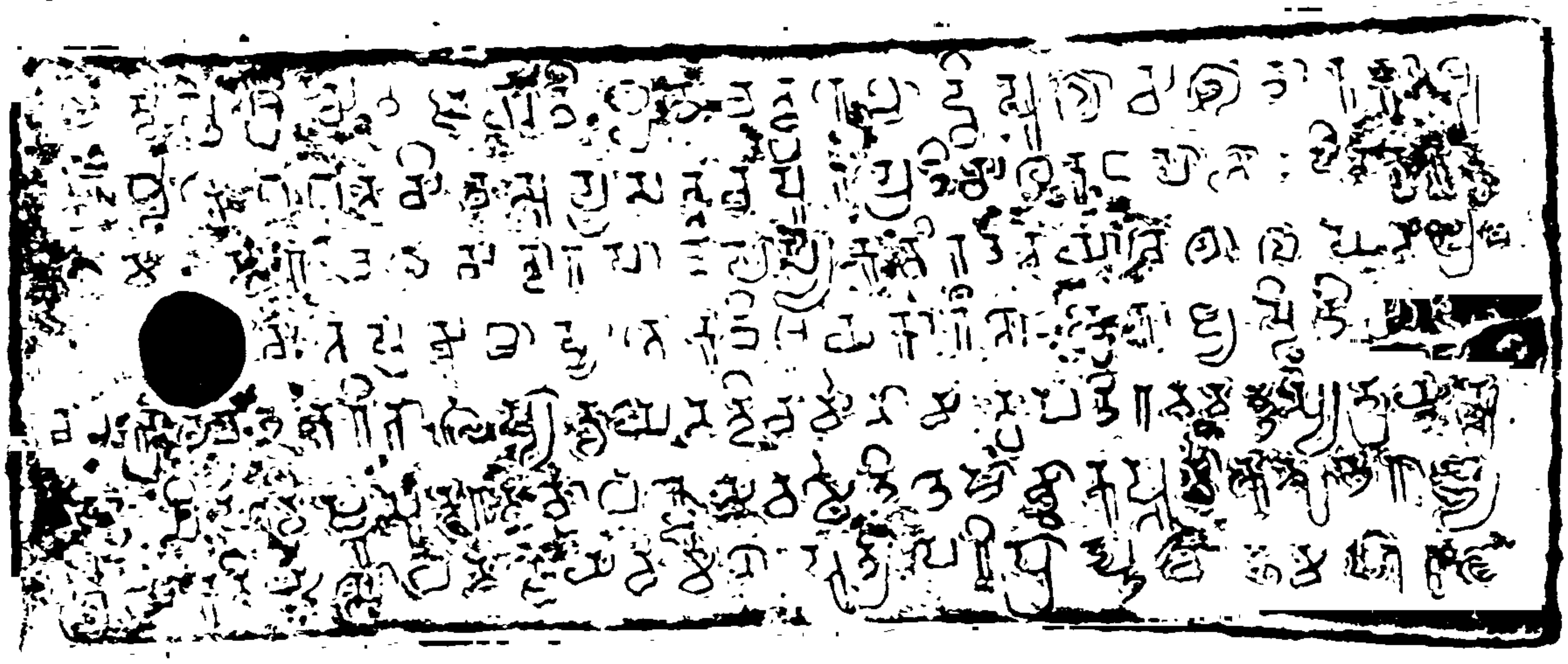
[6] This verse is identically the same in the Mālēpāḍu plates also, and portions of it in that (Mālēpāḍu) record which could not be made out precisely then due to the corroded state of the plates, can now be emended or restored in the light of the readings afforded by the record under review. But even then the verse is defective and with the emendations suggested in the body of the text itself it may be translated as follows :—

> 'May the bright and matchless form of Lakutapāṇi (Śiva), adorned with the crescent-moon and auspicious on account of the wide, spotless pupils (of its eyes), comparable to the sky (which is similarly) crescent-adorned, expansive, spotless, starry, bright and matchless, be victorious in this world'

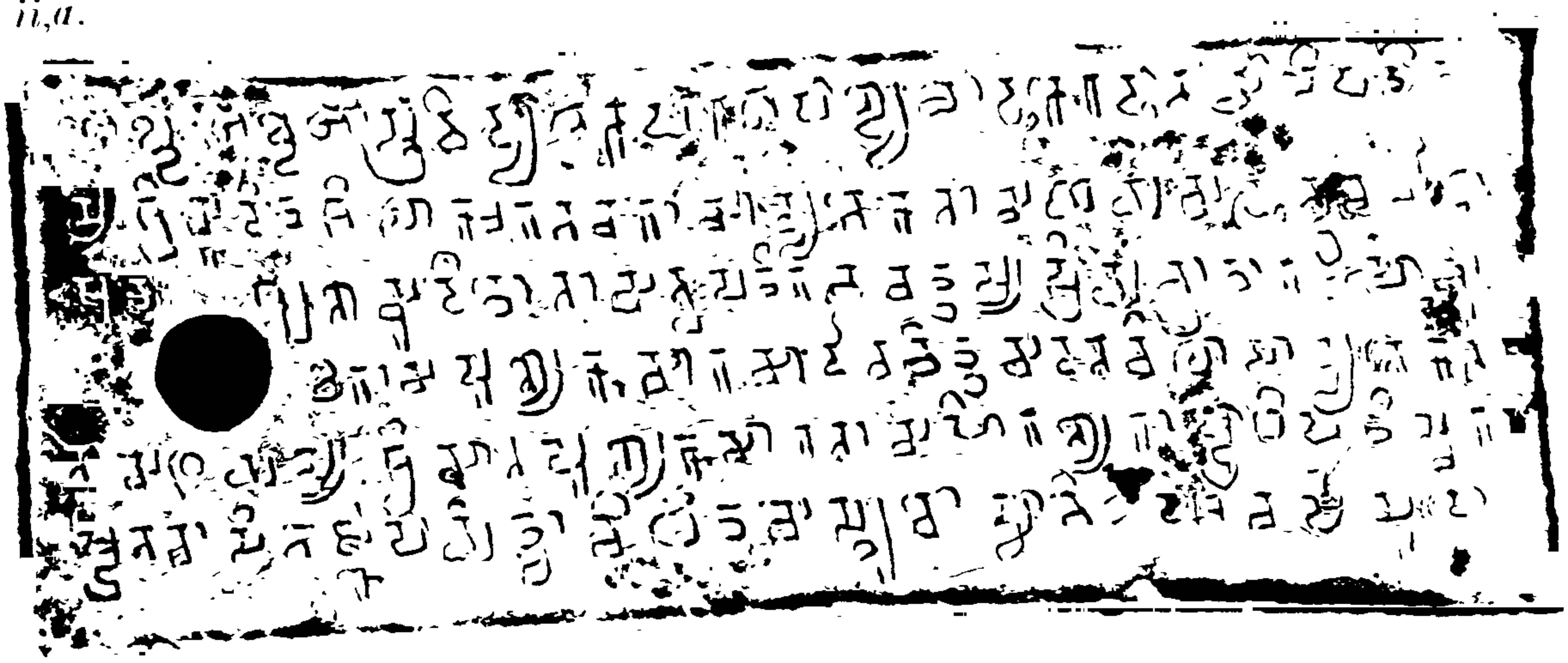
[7] The Mālēpāḍu plates correctly read *ātmasāt-*

[8] Read *Dhanañjayavarmā ch=ēti.*

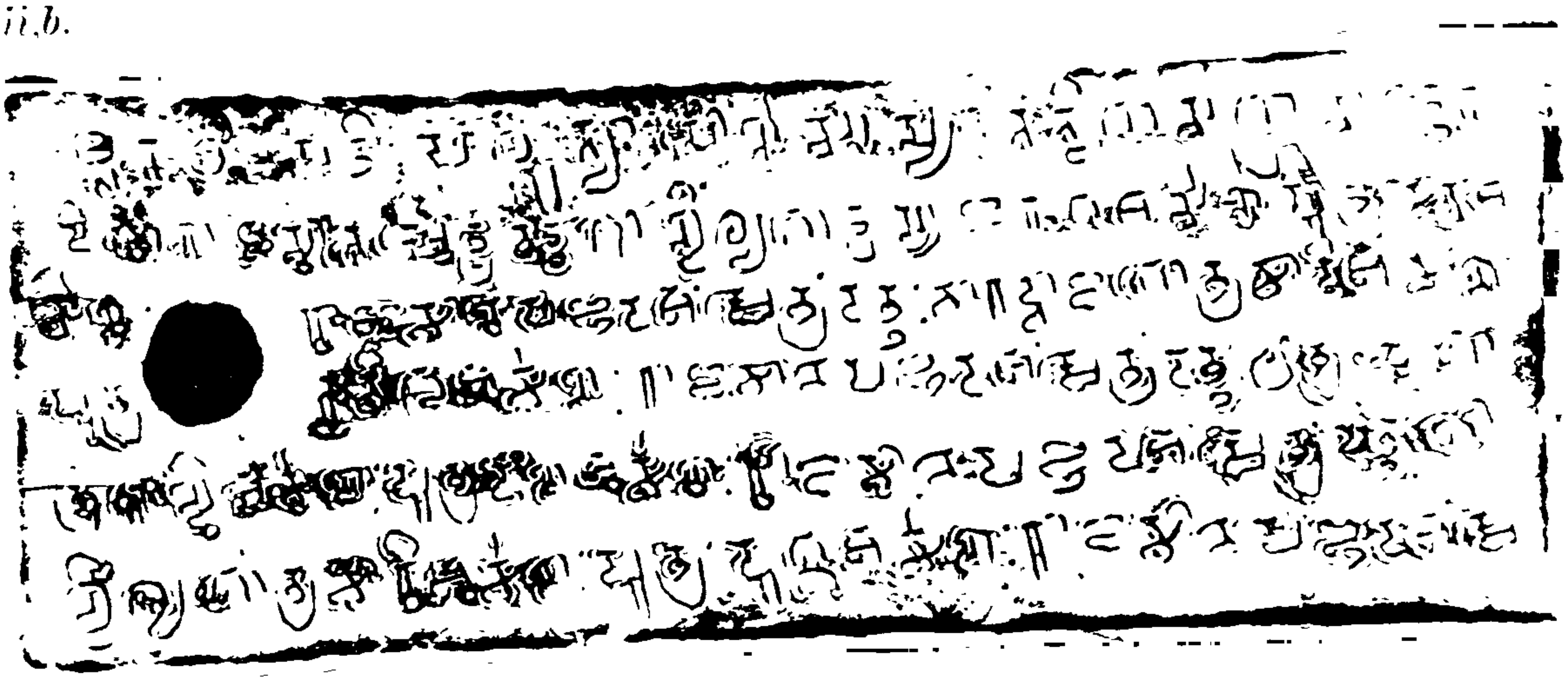
i.



ii,a.



ii,b.

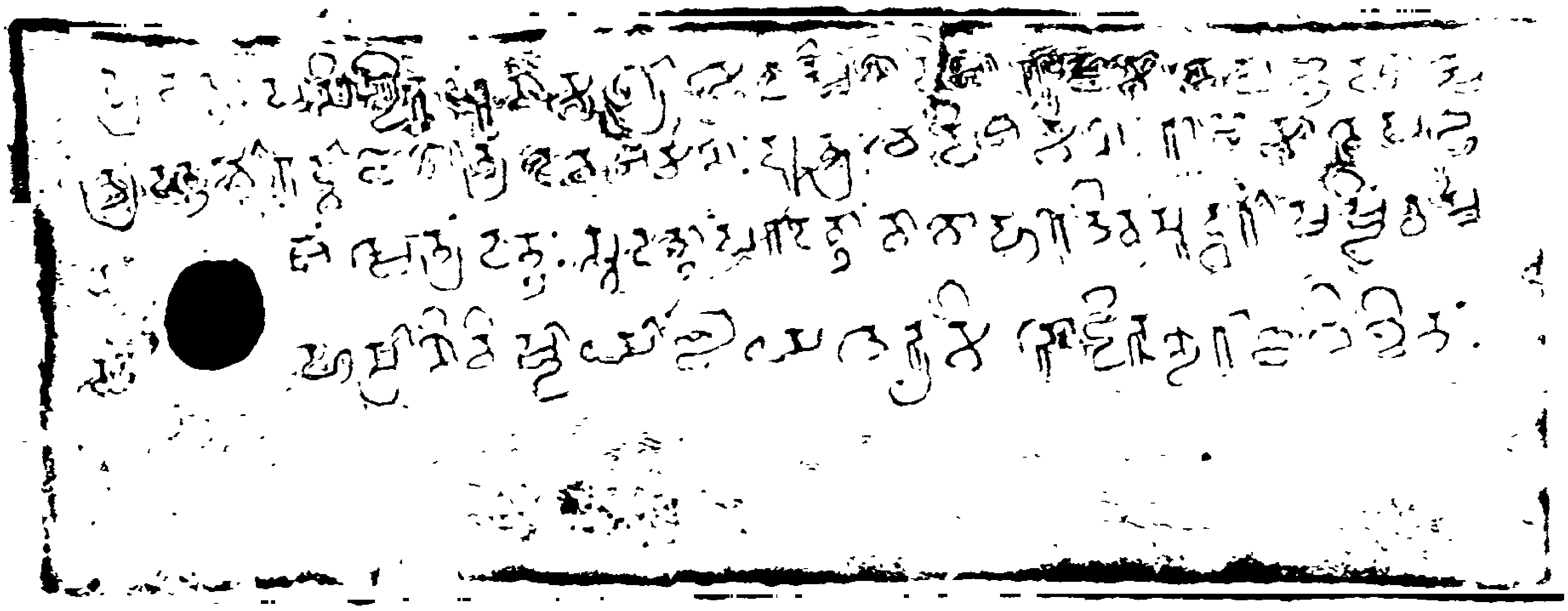


SCALE: NINE-TENTHS.

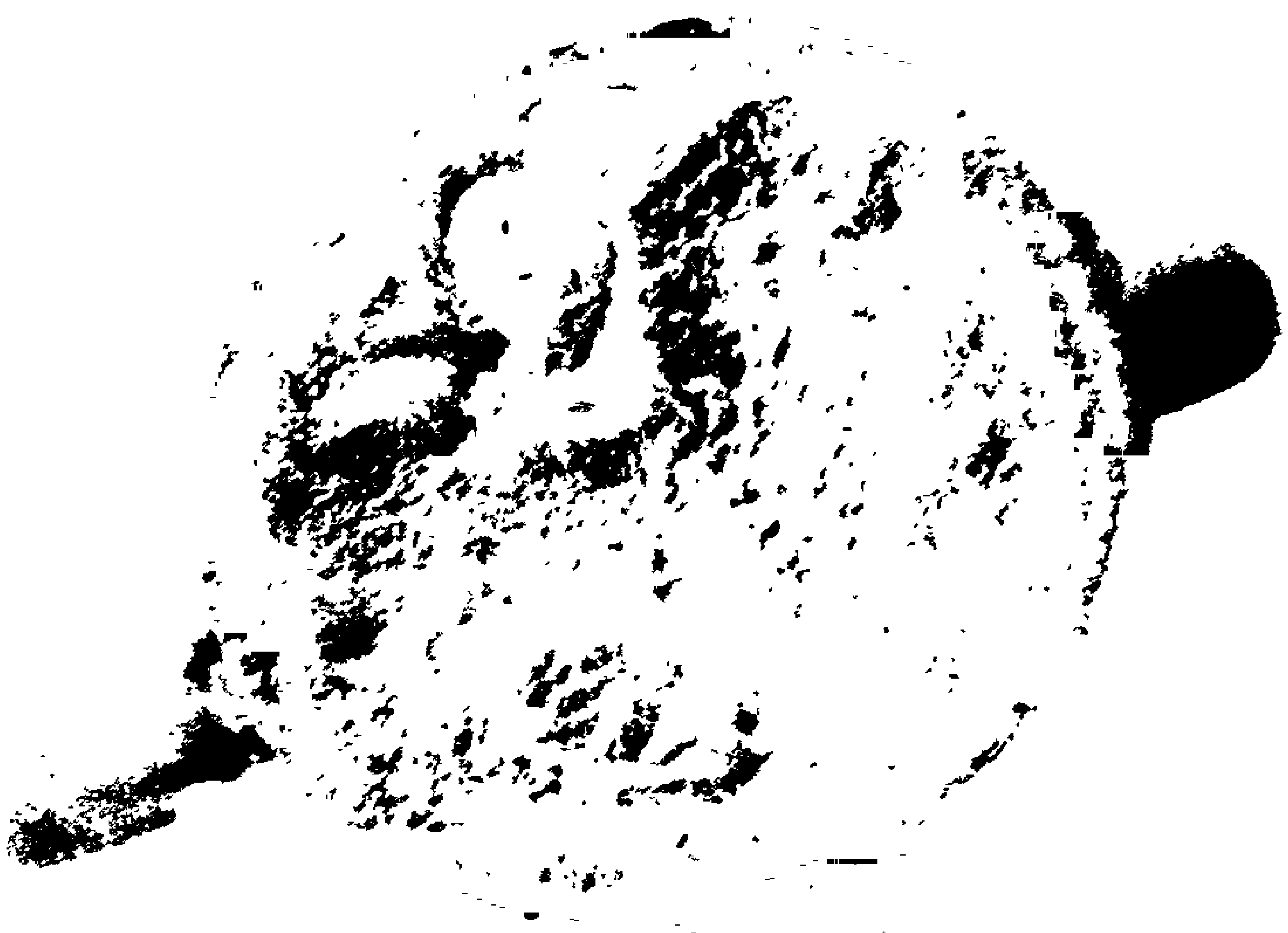
B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36—495'49.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii.



Seal



From a photograph

Second Plate : First Side

8 śabdaḥ śabdaśāstra-vidy-ānēka-pāraga[ḥ*] Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-Kēraḷānām=ā(m=a)dhipati ta(s=ta)-

9 sya śrī-Muditaśilākshara Navarām-ādy-anēka-nāmadhēya[sya*] Mahēndravarmaṇaḥ

10 putraḥ Guṇamuditō nāma nṛipatir=abhavat=tasya pṛiyabhrātāraḥ[1] Pōrmu-

11 kharāma-Puṇyakumāra-Mārdavachitta-Madanavilās-ādy=anēka-nā-

12 nā[2]madhēyasya[3] srīmān Puṇyakumāra(rō) nāma Hiraṇyarāshṭr-ādhipati[ḥ*] sva-rā-

13 shṭra-na(ni)vāsinō jñāpayitvā[4] vidhi(di)tam=astu vō=smābhiḥ[5] daśa[mē*] varshē Pudo-

Second Plate : Second Side

14 ṛūr-adhivasati(dbhi)ḥ Phalguṇyām paurṇamāsyāḥ(syām) Nandigāma-grāmē[5] uttara-

15 diśā(śi) rājamānē[na*] kshētraṁ dattaṁ [|*] Gauṇḍilya(Kauṇḍinya ?)-gōtrasya Iruga-śarmaṇa[6]-putra-Dēvaśa-

16 rmaṇaḥ[5] rājamānē[na*] pañchadaśaṁ kshētraṁ dattaḥ(ttaṁ) [|*] Bhāradvāja-gōtra-Mādiśarmaṇaḥ-[7]

17 putra-Kavilaśarmaṇaḥ[5] rājamānē[na*] pañchadaśaṁ kshētraṁ dattaḥ(ttaṁ) [|*] Ātra(trē)ya-gō-

18 tra-Koṇḍiśarmaṇa[7]-putra-Dōṇaśarmaṇaḥ[5] rājamānē[na*] pañchadaśaṁ kshētraṁ dattaḥ(ttaṁ) [|*] Gau-

19 ṇḍilya(Kauṇḍinya ?)-gōtra-Māriśarmaṇaḥ[7]-putraḥ[8]-Duggaśarmaṇaḥ[5] rājamānē[na*] pañcha-daśaṁ kshē-

Third Plate

20 tra[ṁ*] dattaḥ(ttaṁ) [|*] Pasiṁḍikuṛu-nāma-grāmē dakshiṇadiśā(śi) rājamānē[na*] pañcha-daśaṁ kshē-

21 traṁ dattaḥ(ttaṁ) [|*] Bhāradvāja-gōtra- Dēvaśarmaṇaḥ[8]-putraḥ[9]-Vēdiśarmaṇaḥ rājamānē[na*] pañcha-

22 daśaṁ kshētraṁ dattaḥ(ttaṁ) [|*] Sva-dattām paradattām vā vo(yō) harēti(ta) vasuddha-(ndha)rāṁ[|*] shashṭiṁ varsha-

23 sahasrāṇi vishṭā(ṭhā)yāṁ jāyatē kṛimi[ḥ *] Koṭṭikuṇṭarāja-likhitaḥ(taṁ) [|*]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-2.—A verse in praise of Lakuṭapāṇi (see f.n. 6, p. 274).

ll. 2-5.—In the lineage of Karikāla (*who was like*) the Mandāra tree on (*the hill*) Mandarāchala which was the solar race, who was famed for many astounding deeds like the stopping of the overflow of the river Kāvērī (the daughter of Kavēra), etc., who made the *Trairājyasthiti* as his own, was born a king named Nandivarman.

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[1] Read *priyabhrātā*

[2] The syllable *nā* is repeated unnecessarily here.

[3] Read *nāmadhēyaḥ*

[4] Read *nivāsina ājñāpayati*

[5] The *sandhi* has not been observed here.

[6] The syllable *ṇa* is redundant.

[7] The syllable *ṇaḥ* or *ṇa* is redundant.

[8] The *visarga* is redundant.

ll. 5-9.—His three sons were Siṁhavishṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanañjayavarman who enjoyed in succession the fortune of (*their*) kingdom ; of them the last (*was*) Dhanañjayavarman whose son (*was*) Mahēndravarman who had acquired the title of Chōḷa-Mahārāja, who was well-versed in grammar and other sciences, who was the overlord of the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa (*countries*), and who bore the titles Muditaśilākshara, Navarāma and many others.

ll. 10-13.—His son was king Guṇamudita whose dear brother was Puṇyakumāra who had several names such as Pōrmukharāma, Puṇyakumāra, Mārdavachitta, Madanavilāsa, etc., and who was the lord of the Hiraṇyarāshṭra. (*He, Puṇyakumāra*) orders the inhabitants of his territory.

ll. 13-14.—'Be it known to you that we, in the 10th year (*of our reign*), while camping at Pudoṟūr, in the month of Phālguṇa, on the day of Paurṇamāsī, endowed land by the royal measure in and to the north of the village Nandigāma.

ll. 15-22.—To Dēvaśarman, son of Irugaśarman, of the Gauṇḍilya(Kauṇḍinya ?) *gōtra*, 50 (*units*) by royal measure.

To Kavilaśarman, son of Mādiśarman, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, 50 (*units*) by royal measure.

To Dōṇaśarman, son of Koṇḍiśarman, of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, 50 (*units*) by royal measure.

To Duggaśarman, son of Māriśarman of Gauṇḍilya(Kauṇḍinya ?) *gōtra*, 50 (*units*) by royal measure. And in and to the south of the village Pasiṁḍikuṟu, 50 units by the royal measure to Vēdiśarman, son of Dēvaśarman, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.'

ll. 22-23.—Imprecatory verse. (*This is*) written by Koṭṭikuṇṭarāja.

No. 45—KONI INSCRIPTION OF KALACHURI PRITHVIDEVA II ; K. E. 900

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

This inscription is edited here from an excellent ink impression which I owe to the kindness of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription was discovered at **Koni**, a small village on the left bank of the Ārpā, about 12 miles south by east of Bilaspur, the chief town of the Bilaspur District in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. The circumstances of its discovery are stated in the following note kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra.

" Early in November 1945, I received information, almost simultaneously from the following three gentlemen, Pt. L. P. Pandeya, Raigarh, Mr. P. L. Gupta, Bilaspur, respectively Honorary Secretary and Joint Honorary Secretary of the Mahakosala Historical Society, and Mr. G. L. Kumar, Executive Engineer, Public Works Department, Bilaspur, to the effect that a stone slab bearing a finely engraved longish inscription had then been dug up at an ancient site, not far from the village of Koni, about 12 miles from Bilaspur. Subsequently I visited the place on the 8th January, 1946, in company with Mr. G. L. Kumar, Mr. K. L. Agnihotri, President of the Mahakosala Historical Society, and Dr. B. P. Mishra, Principal, S. B. R. Arts College, Bilaspur. Up to the village of Ḍarrī on the left bank of the river Ārpā, 7¾ miles from Bilaspur in the easterly direction, we drove in a truck. Further on, to reach the site, we walked about 5 miles, almost following the river downstream, passing the villages of Lāwar and Koni on the way. The site with a black granite Śiva *liṅga* prominently standing in the centre, then recently exposed, lies about ½ mile west of Koni. At that point the river takes a graceful bend towards the south, thus providing an excellent site for a sanctuary. The one that stood there in the 12th century was a Śiva temple, as indicated by the surviving *liṅga*. The temple is referred to in the inscription by the special designation of the type, *Śivapañchāyatana*. The site consists of a small mound strewn over with

brickbats. The protruding bricks had attracted the attention of some villagers who started digging there and laid bare the *liṅga*, the inscribed slab and a number of sculptures. Among the latter I saw two images, one of Vishṇu and the other of Sūrya, and a couple of lintels each with a figurine of Gaṇēśa in the centre and some carvings on either side."

The inscription is incised on a stone measuring 3′ 5″ broad and 1′ 10″ high. It consists of 28 lines, each of which is 3′ 3·2″ long except the last one which measures only 1·2″ long. The record is in a good state of preservation except in the last three lines where a few *aksharas* here and there are now damaged. Most of these *aksharas* can, however, be restored conjecturally from the context as well as from the traces left behind.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. The record is well written and engraved, but in both writing and engraving a few mistakes have remained unnoticed.[1] The average size of letters is ·4″. As shown below, the present inscription was incised only twenty years after the Sarkhō plates were issued by Ratnadēva II in K. 880, but its characters in some cases show considerable development over those of the latter record.[2] As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the form of the initial *i* consisting of two curves, one below the other, which are still unconnected; the upper one is as in the Sarkhō plates, but the lower one is shaped differently, see *iha*, l. 12 and *idam=*, l. 24; initial *ē* has a form similar to that of *p* with this difference that its vertical stroke on the right is not lengthened below the base, see *ētat=*, l. 23; medial *u* is, in some cases, indicated by a curve attached to the middle of the vertical and turned downwards, see *sahasradyutir=*, l. 26; medial *ē* and *ō* are generally indicated by *pṛishṭhamātrās*, but in the case of *ai* and *au* one of the *mātrās* appears on the top; in such *aksharas* as *ku*, *kṛi* and *kra*, *k* has an unlooped form, see *a-kuṇṭha=*, l. 2; *a-sakṛit-*, l. 2; and *krīḍā-*, l. 25; subscript *g* of the conjunct *gg* appears almost like *n*, see *=ggāmbhīryam*, l. 16; *ṅ* is still without its dot, see *-ōttuṅga-raṅgat-*, l. 2; the conjunct *ṇṇ* is indistinguishable from *ll*, see *vinirṇṇaya-*, l. 17; subscript *th* is placed horizontally exactly like subscript *chh*, see *kar-ōdara-sthaṁ*, l. 3; *dh* has developed a horn on the left which now clearly distinguishes it from *v*, but it is still without the horizontal stroke at the top and the two vertical strokes of *dhā* are still joined by a bar in the middle, see *dharmma-mūrttiḥ*, l. 6 and *sudhā-sṛishṭiḥ*, l. 10; *v* and *b* are written alike in all cases not excepting even the form *babhūva*; the left limb of the palatal *ś* has now assumed the modern Nāgarī form, see *Śivāya*, l. 1. The *avagraha* is used to denote the elision of *a* in *karttā='tha*, l. 19 and *manyē='mushmin=*, l. 23. The vertical dash is used at the end of several lines to denote an incomplete word.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except *Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya* in the beginning and the mention of the date and the ruling king at the end, the record is metrically composed throughout. There are, in all, 38 verses, all of which are numbered. The record is composed in a verbose style full of hyperbolical expressions, well-known from the records of later periods. The poet shows considerable command over the language, though here and there one comes across a grammatical solecism or a metrical irregularity. See, *e.g.*, *adhirōpyata* in l. 21 for *adhyarōpyata*. *Lakhamā* in l. 15 should be *Lakhmā* to suit the *Mālinī* metre of the verse. As regards **orthography,** the consonant following *r* is reduplicated in many cases, see, *e.g.*, *karṇṇa-*, l. 2; the dental *s* is occasionally used for the palatal *ś* as in *sikhara-*, l. 2; *y* is used for *j* in *paurusha-yushāṁ*, l. 15; *n* is used for *ñ* in *pañchāyatanam*, and for *anusvāra* in *vidhvansa-* both in l. 23. As stated before, *v* is used for *b* throughout. Finally, in *niḥkaṇṭaka*, ll. 18 and 19, the *visarga* takes the place of *sh*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Pṛithvīdēva II** who belonged to the Ratanpur branch of the **Kalachuri** dynasty. The **object** of it is to record the construction of a five-shrined

[1] Some mistakes were corrected subsequently, see, *e.g.*, the *anusvāra* on the second *nā* in *durjanānām*, l. 6, has been cancelled and the word *daṁda* which was at first omitted was incised subsequently in ll. 19-20.

[2] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 f. See especially the forms of *i*, *dh* and *ś*.

[temple of Śiva by **Purushōttama,** a minister plenipotentiary (*Sarvādhikārin*) of Pṛithvīdēva's father and predecessor, Ratnadēva II, and the grant of some land in honour of the gods installed in the temple and to a Brāmhaṇa named Vāsudēva.

The record is **dated** in the year 900 (expressed in decimal figures only) of an unspecified era without any further details such as month, fortnight, *tithi* and week-day. The date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era which was current in that period in Chhattisgarh. It falls in the reign of Pṛithvīdēva II whose known dates range from K. 890[1] to K. 915.[2] Verse 35 mention a solar eclipse, on the occasion of which Pṛithvīdēva II granted a village to the minister Purushōttama. No year is mentioned in connection with this eclipse, but supposing that it occurred in the same year in which the present record was put up, we get some data for verification. I have shown elsewhere[3] that the epoch which satisfactorily explains all later dates of the Kalachuri era is A. D. 247-48 and that the Kalachuri year began on the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika. According to this epoch the year 900 mentioned in the present inscription will have to be taken as current: for there was a solar eclipse in the current Kalachuri year 900 (corresponding to A.D. 1147-48), which occurred on the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha *amāvāsyā*[4] (20th April A.D. 1148), while in the expired Kalachuri year 900 (A.D. 1148-49) there was no solar eclipse at all. The date may therefore be said to be regular.[5] This is one of the few later dates of the Kalachuri era, mentioning a current year.

After four *maṅgala ślōkas* in praise of Śiva, his *vāhana* (the bull Nandī), the goddess of speech and Gaṇapati, the author states in one verse the importance of having a poetical record of one's achievements. He then proceeds to state the pedigree of the ruling king Pṛithvīdēva II from his great-grandfather Pṛithvīdēva I who is called the lord of Tummāna.[6] The description of this king as also of his son Jājalladēva I and grandson Ratnadēva II is mainly conventional. The only historical event referred to is the defeat which a king of Kaliṅga suffered for the first time at the hands of Ratnadēva II. The reference is evidently to the defeat which that Kalachuri king inflicted on the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and which is mentioned in several records of his descendants.[7]

With verse 14 begins the genealogy of Purushōttama who erected the temple of Śiva recorded in the present inscription. His ancestor Sōḍhadēva belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family which served the Kalachuri princes for several generations. Sōḍhadēva was appointed Minister by Pṛithvīdēva I (v. 15). His son was Nimbadēva. He and his wife Lakhamā (Lakshmī) are glorified in three verses (vv. 16-18). Their son was Purushōttama who was appointed to the post of *Sarvādhikārin* (Minister Plenipotentiary) by Ratnadēva II. He is eulogised in as many as eight verses. We are told that all kings having been subdued by the policy or prowess of this minister, the king Ratnadēva II was able to rule without any trouble.

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[1] This date is furnished by the Daikoni plates still unpublished, of which a set of ink impressions has been kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist.

[2] This date occurs in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Brahmadēva. See Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, 2nd ed., p. 127.

[3] See my article 'Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era', above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

[4] Another solar eclipse had occurred just before the commencement of that Kalachuri year, on the *amāvāsyā* of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika (26th October A.D. 1147).

[5] The original epoch of the Kalachuri era was A.D. 248-49 which suits early dates of the era found in Gujarāt and Northern Mahārāshṭra as shown by me elsewhere (*A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1 f.). That epoch does not suit later dates of the era and would not at all suit the date of the present inscription; for according to that epoch the solar eclipse should have occurred in A.D. 1148-49 if the year 900 was current and in A.D. 1149-50 if it was expired. But in neither of these years was there any solar eclipse.

[6] Tummāna was the earlier capital of the Kalachuris in Dakshiṇa Kōsala. That Pṛithvīdēva I was ruling at Tummāna is known from line 28 of his Amoda plates, above, Vol. XIX, p. 80.

[7] See, *e.g.*, the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II, dated V. 1207, above, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.; the Mallār stone inscription of Jājalladēva II, dated K. 919, above, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.; the Pendrabandh plates of Pratapamalla, above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff., etc.

Verse 26 mentions the exploits of Purushōttama. He conquered the Khimmiṇḍi Maṇḍala, made the Talahāri Maṇḍala attractive, punished Daṇḍapura, subjugated Khijjiṅga, killed Haravōhu and threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti. It may be noted that some of these countries are also mentioned in a fragmentary verse eulogising the Kalachuri king Jājalladēva I, which occurs in his Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 866.[1] Jājalladēva is said to have received annual tributes from the rulers of Dakshiṇa Kōsala, Āndhra, Khimiḍi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa. It will be noticed that Khimiḍi, Talahāri and Daṇḍapura are common to the two lists of countries. It may therefore be conjectured that Purushōttama took a prominent part in the expeditions of Jājalladēva I against the rulers of these three countries. The present inscription no doubt states that Purushōttama was made *Sarvādhikārin* by Ratnadēva II, but that does not necessarily imply that he first came into prominence during that king's reign. He may have held the office of a minister under Jājalladēva I also, and may have distinguished himself during that king's wars. Of these three countries Talahāri Maṇḍala was probably the name of the southern portion of the Bilāspur *tahsīl* and the adjoining portion of the Jāñjgir *tahsīl*. Jājalladēva's conquest of Talahāri is mentioned in some other records of the period.[2] Khimmiṇḍi or Khimidi may be the modern Kimedi Zamindari in the Ganjam District. Jājalladēva I's expedition against this country which probably owned the suzerainty of the Eastern Gaṅgas may have provoked Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga into launching his invasion of the Kalachuri kingdom during the reign of Jājalladēva's son and successor Ratnadēva II. Nothing is known about the expedition against Daṇḍakapura. That it was different from Daṇḍabhukti is clear from the separate mention of the latter in v. 26.

The remaining three events mentioned in v. 26 may have occurred during the reign of Ratnadēva II. The first two of these, *viz.*, the subjugation of Khijjiṅga and the slaying of Haravōhu, are not known from any other source, but the third one, *viz.*, the intimidation of the lord of Daṇḍabhukti, may have happened during the expedition against the Gauḍa king which Ratnadēva II launched probably soon after inflicting a crushing defeat on Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. This expedition is mentioned in several records[3] of Vallabharāja who was a feudatory of both Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvīdeva II. Vallabharāja is said to have fought valiantly in the presence of his lord (Ratnadēva II) and captured many elephants in the enemy's city. This invasion of the Gauḍa kingdom is probably referred to also in the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin. From v. 133 of Canto IV of that *kāvya* we learn that Madanapāla drove back to the Kālindī (which flowed near his capital) the vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side.[4] The invader who is not named in Sandhyākaranandin's *kāvya* was probably Ratnadēva II. Like Vallabharāja, Purushōttama also seems to have distinguished himself in this expedition in the course of which he intimidated the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti (modern Midnapur District of Bengal).

Purushōttama was probably an old man when the present inscription was put up. Verse 27 states that he had four sons, Madhusūdana, Lakshmīdhara, Yaśōdhara and Gaṅgādhara, all of whom turned out to be very able statesmen. The eldest of them Madhusūdana is said to have attained great renown. He may have been appointed a minister, though not *Sarvādhikarin*,[5] by Pṛithvīdēva II. Nothing is known about the other three sons of Purushōttama.

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[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 36.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāladēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff.

[3] See, *e.g.*, the Akaltarā stone inscription (Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, 2nd ed., p. 121).

[4] See *History of Bengal*, pub. by Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 170.

[5] Pṛithvīdēva II's *Sarvādhikārin* seems to have been his *Māṇḍalika* Brahmadēva whom he specially called from the Talahāri Maṇḍala and made his chief minister as stated in a Ratanpur inscription dated K. 915.

Verse 29 states that, being convinced that human life is transitory and full of sorrows and that wealth is very unsteady, Purushōttama became intent on acquiring religious merit. He raised several groves, erected many *maṭhas* and *maṇḍapas* (temples) and excavated a deep tank at Ratnapura. He also built the five-shrined temple of Śiva where the present inscription was put up, and laid out a pleasure-garden near it. From v. 35 we learn that Pṛithvīdēva (II) donated the village Salōnī to Purushōttama on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Verse 37 eulogises Kāśala, the poet who composed the present *praśasti*. He is said to have been proficient in various arts and sciences including those of medicine and elephants. He had also mastered the *āgamas* of the Buddha and others. The description is interesting as it clearly indicates that though Buddhism which was once flourishing in that part of Chhattisgarh ceased to have any followers there, its religious and philosophical works continued to be studied in Dakshiṇa Kōsala down to the 12th century A.D. It may be noted that the earlier Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva dated K. 866 also mentions a Śaiva ascetic named Rudraśiva as proficient in the works of Diṅnāga and others.[1]

The last verse (38) records two gifts, one of four plough-measures of land made to the god installed in the temple and the other of two plough-measures made to the Brāhmaṇa Vāsudēva who was evidently a priest of the temple.

As for the localities mentioned in the present *praśasti*, Tummāna still retains its old name in the form Tumān and lies about 45 miles north of Ratanpur, in the Bilaspur District.[2] Khimmiṇḍi may be identical with modern Kimeḍi Zamindari in the Ganjam District. Talahāri seems to have comprised the country round Mallār in the Bilāspur and Jāṅjgir *tahsīls*. Its ancient name seems to have been Taraḍaṁśakabhukti mentioned in an old copper-plate grant[3] of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna, found near Mallār. Khijjiṅga[4] and Daṇḍapura cannot be identified. Daṇḍabhukti is mentioned in several old records and probably comprised parts of the Midnapur District.[5] Finally, Salōnī, the village granted to Purushōttama, may be identical with Saraoni which lies only about a mile and a half south by west of Koni where the present record was discovered.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 27, 29, and 34 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 9, 11, 36, and 37 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 3—5, 7, 14, 21—23, 26 and 28 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 6 and 32 *Mandākrāntā* ; v. 15 *Hariṇī* ; vv. 16 and 18 *Mālinī* ; vv. 24, 25, 30 and 38 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 31, 33 and 35 *Āryā*.]

1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ पादन्यासनमत्क्षितिप्रविलसद्दोःकाण्डचण्डभ्रमिभ्रान्तप्रान्तनगाभिघातविदधद्दिक्पालपर्य्याकुलं(लम्) । खट्वाङ्गोत्कटकोटिघृष्टिविचटद्व(ब्र)ह्माण्डमुद्‌डा(ड्डा)मरं पायात्ताण्डवडम्ब(म्ब)रं पुरभिदो देवस्य वः सर्व्वदा ॥१॥ व(ब्र)ह्मा-

2 ण्डं चण्डरोमप्रततिभिरसकृत्क्लेशयं(यन्) निष्ठुराभिर्न्निर्घाताकुण्ठकण्ठस्वनजनितककुप्कुम्भिकर्ण्णज्वरार्त्तिः । अत्यन्तोतु(त्तु)ङ्गरङ्गत्खुरसि(शि)खरपरिक्षुन्न(ण्ण)भोगीन्द्रभोगः स्थेयाद्ध्वस्तारिपुश्री[6]स्त्रिभुवननमितो गृष्टिरिष्टाप्तये वः ॥२॥ यस्याः

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[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 36.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LIII, pp. 267 f.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 120.

[4] [Khijjiṅga is apparently the same as modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj, Orissa.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 154 f.

[6] Perhaps the intended reading was ध्वस्तारिपुःश्री-, but the compound should correctly be ध्वस्तारिपुरश्री- according to Pāṇini, V, 4, 74. This would not however suit the metre.

3 प्रसादमधिगम्य करोदरस्थं भूतं च भावि च भवच्च मनन्ति सन्तः । तां वाचमच्युतपदोदयहेतुभूतां
वन्दामहे त्रिभुवनव्यवहारहेतुम् ॥३॥ नृत्यावताररभसोच्छलदच्छदानपानप्रमत्तमधुपव्रजगुञ्जितेन ।
यो विघ्नवृन्दमुरु तर्ज्जय-

4 तीव देवो द्वैमातुरः स भवतां हितमातनोतु ॥४॥ कुर्व्वन्तु कीर्त्तनशतानि रणाङ्गणेषु
मभ्नन्तु वैरिनिकरं धनमुत्सृजन्तु । कालान्तरे तदखिलं प्रव(ब)लान्धकारनृत्योपमं कवि-
जनैरनिव(ब)द्ध्यमानम् ॥५॥ तुंमानेशः कलचुरिकुले निर्म्म-

5 लप्रौढकीर्त्तिर्व्विश्वं शश्वत्सुकृतशरण(णं) स्थापयं(यन्) दण्डनीत्या । पूर्व्वं गर्व्वोत्तरनरपतिध्वान्त-
विध्वन्स[1]भास्वान् पृथ्वीदेवो नृपतिरभवद्भूषणं भूतधात्र्याः ॥६॥ पुत्रः पवित्रमहसः समभूदमुष्य
श्रीमानमानुषगुणः प्रगुणस्वभावः । जा-

6 जल्लदेव इति विश्वविसारितेजा राजा प्रजाहितमतिः खलु धर्म्ममूर्त्तिः ॥७॥ गर्व्वः सर्व्वमहीभुजां
प्रणयिनां दारिद्रचिन्ताज्वरस्त्रासार्त्तिः स(श)रणागतस्य वसतिः सा दुर्ज्जनाना[2]मपि ।
यस्मिन्सर्व्वजनोपकारिणि यशःसम्भारविस्तारि-

7 णि प्रोद्यद्वैरिकरी[न्द्र]दारिणि महीं पाति क्वचिन्नाभवत् ॥८॥ उद्यत्कालिङ्गभङ्गप्रथमगुरुरतिप्रौढ-
कीर्त्तिप्रतानः षट्त्रिंशच्छस्त्रविद्यास्वधिकपरिचयः प्रौढदोर्द्दण्डदर्पः । प्रोद्यद्भूपालरक्षःक्षयकरण-
महासिद्धमन्त्रो धरित्र्यां राजा श्री-

8 [3]रत्नदेवस्त्रिभुवनविदितस्तस्य सूनुर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव ॥९॥ स्तोतव्यः समरोत्सवैकरसिकः श्रीरत्नदेव[:*]
स किं सर्व्वत्रैव सदैव सैन्यनिवहैः साकन्तथैकाकिना । सारंभं परिभर्त्सयन्निव
मुहुर्युद्धाय व(ब)द्धादरो भूपानामुपरि स्फुरत्यविरतं[3]

9 यस्योग्रयोगारवः ॥१०॥ यस्मिन्निःसीमभीमाद्भुतमहसि दिशां चक्रमाक्रंतुकामे ढक्कानिर्घोषघोरप्रति-
रवरसितैः सर्व्वतः पर्व्वतेन्द्राः । नुद्वेलद्भू[4]रिसेनानिवहगुरुधराधारणव्यग्रतार्त्तित्रासान्मुक्तप्रचण्डध्वनि-
भिरिव दिशामीश्वरा-

10 नाह्वयन्ति ॥११॥ भानुः सानुमतस्तटादिव सुधासृष्टिः समुद्रादिव प्रद्युम्नः(म्नः) पुरुषोत्तमादिव हरिः
श्रीनन्दगोपादिव । स्कन्दश्चन्द्रशिरोमणेरिव महीपालादितो जातवान्पृथ्वीदेव इति क्षितीश्वर-
शिरोनेपत्य(थ्य)रत्नाङ्कुरः ॥१२॥ संग्रामे क-

11 ति नो जिता भुजभृतः प्रीता न के सज्जनाः केषां द्वारि न वन्दिनां मदमुखा व(ब)-
द्धा महादन्तिनः । सम्प्राप्ताः शरणं रणे कति न वा संरक्षिता[:*] क्ष्माभुजः
पृथ्वीदेवमहीभुजो विजयिनः के के न रम्या गुणाः ॥१३॥ एषामशेषगुणगौरवभारभाजां
भूमीभु-

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[1] Read **विध्वंस.**

[2] The redundant *anusvāra* on this *akshara* has been cancelled.

[3] The vertical dash here in the original is superfluous.

[4] Read **उद्वेलद्-**.

12 जां क्रमसमागतपात्र[1]भावः । आसीद्द्विजातिकुलभूषणरत्नकल्पः कल्पद्रुमः प्रणयिनां किल सोढदेवः ॥१४॥ य इह महिमागारः पारं जगाम गुणांवु(बु)धेर्जगदपि सदा यस्योद्दा-मैर्यशोभिरशोभि च । स इह नृपतिः पृथ्वीदेवः प्रकाशित-

13 विक्रमः क्रमजमकरोत्पात्रं चित्रप्रभूतगुणं च यम् ॥१५॥ निजतनुजितकामः सर्व्वविद्याधिरामः सुजनमुकुटदाम श्रीयशोदिव्यधाम । नृपसदसि ललामः सज्जनानामवामः समभवदथ पुत्रो निव(ब)देवः[2]स्तदीयः ॥१६॥ यो वासः प्रियभा-

14 षितस्य सदनं धर्म्मस्य विस्रा(श्रा)मभूः कारुण्यस्य निवेशनं सुमनसां प्रज्ञगुण[3]स्याश्रमः । आधारो विनयस्य मन्दिरमुरु स्थैर्यस्य वेश्म श्रियः कान्तेरायतनं धृतेरपि सदः कीर्त्तेरनन्यालयः ॥१७॥ रतिरिव सु(शु)भमूर्त्यारुन्धती सच्चरित्रैर्न्निजभवनवि-

15 भूतेर्द्दोहदं धर्म्मवु(बु)द्धिः । अभवदथ समस्तस्ले(श्रे)यसामेकपात्र(त्रं) निजतनुरिव लखमा[4] नाम पत्नी तदीया ॥१८॥ तस्यासीमदमक्षमादिकगुणग्रामैकविश्रामभूर्भूदेवान्वयमण्डनो नयवि-दामाद्योनवद्यक्रमः । प्रत्युद्यद्गुरुचारुपौरुषयु(जु)षां प्रज्ञावतामुत्तमः

16 पुत्रोभूत्पुरुषोत्तमो भुवि दधन्नाम स्वकं सार्थकम् ॥१९॥ यो जग्राह समुन्नतिं सुरगिरेर्गा-म्भीर्यमम्भोधितस्त्यागित्वं रवि[न*]न्दनाद्दिनपतेस्तीव्रप्रवाहं महः । ' पंचास्यादुरुविक्रमं शुचि यशोरासिं(शिं) दशास्यान्तकात्पाण्डित्यं च गिरांपते रतिपतेः सौन्द-

17 र्यमूर्ज्जस्वलम् ॥२०॥ कल्पद्रुम श्रममपास्य सुखी भव त्वं हे रोहण व्रणभयं विगतं तवापि । सा कामधेनुरपि गच्छतु वत्समद्य दीर्घायुरस्तु भुवने पुरुषोत्तमोसौ ॥२१॥ यो मन्त्रसंशयविनिर्ण्णयसाधुवु(बु)द्धिः शक्तित्रयप्रणयत(न)प्रगुणस्वभावः । षाड्गुण्यपुण्यम-

18 हिमाव्यपनीतगर्व्वः सर्व्वोपधाभिरभिलक्षितसाधुशीलः ॥२२॥ तं वीक्ष(क्ष्य) कोशलपतिर्न्नृपरत्नदेवः सर्व्वैरमात्यगुणरासि(शि)रभ्युपेतं(तम्) । सर्व्वाधिकारपदमद्वयमस्य दत्वा(त्त्वा) निःकण्टकं[5] भुवि चकार चिराय राज्यम् ॥२३॥ सर्व्वाधिकारितां नीतो यदि नाम स भूभुजा । चा-

19 [तु]द्ध[वि]क[6] इत्येष तथापि भुवि विश्रुतः ॥२४॥ तस्य मन्त्रेण शस्त्रेण निर्ज्जिते राजमण्डले निःकण्टक[7]मिला(लां) चक्रे चक्रे राज्यं स भूपतिः ॥२५॥ खिम्मिण्डिमण्डलहरस्तलहारि[8] हारि कर्त्ताऽथ दण्डपुरदण्डनचण्डवा(बा)हुः । खिज्जिङ्गभङ्गचतुरो हरवोहहन्ता यो दं-

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[1] What appears like an *anusvāra* on *tra*, is a defect in the impression.

[2] The *visarga* is superflous.

[3] Read प्रज्ञागुण-

[4] The metre requires this name to be लखमा, or its Sanskrit form लक्ष्मीः.

[5] Read निष्कण्टकं.

[6] Read चातुर्द्धरिक.

[7] Read निष्कण्टका-.

[8] The correct reading may be मण्डलहरस्तलहारि.



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Reg. No. 3077 E 36-475'49.

SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

20 ड[1]भुक्तिपतितर्ज्जनदुर्ज्जयश्रीः ॥२६॥ तत्पुत्रो मधुसूदनस्तदनुजो जातश्च लक्ष्मीधरो धन्यात्मा च यशोधरो धृतगुणो गङ्गाधरश्चापरः । साक्षादेव हि जङ्गमा इव चतुर्व्वर्ग्गा महीमण्डले चत्वारस्तनया इमे नयविदस्तस्याभवन्धीभृतः ॥२७॥ तेषास(म)-

21 शेषगुणरासि(शि)रसीमधामा सीमा न यस्य विनयस्य विनोदभूमिः । ख्यातिं जगाम महतीं मधुसूदनोसौ येनाधि(ध्य)रोप्यत पिता धुरि पुत्रिणां सः ॥२८॥ मानुष्यं करिकर्ण्णतालचपलं तिःसख्य[2]दुःखास्पदं(दम्) । लक्ष्मीं च क्षणभङ्गसङ्गविरसामेकान्तमालो-

22 [क्य] च नानाशास्त्रपुराणवेदसतताभ्यासैः समुन्मार्ज्जितं तस्य श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य समभूद्धर्म्मैकनिष्ठं मनः ॥२९॥ यस्यानेकविधाराममठमण्डपकीर्त्तनैः । समन्तान्मण्डिता धात्री घि(वि)-तनोत्यद्भुतश्रियम् ॥३०॥ गम्भीरं व(ब)हुसत्वं(त्त्वं) निर्म्मलमतिशोभ-

23 [नं] ज[नैः] सेव्यं(व्यम्) । हृदयमिव स्वकमकरो[द्*] रत्नपुरे सागंरं[3] यश्च ॥३१॥ एतत्तेन त्रिभुवनतम[4]स्तोमविध्वन्स[5]हेतोः शम्भोः पन्चा(ञ्चा)यतनमनघं कारितं चारुरूपं(पम्) । मन्येऽमुष्मिन्विहितवसतिर्दिव्यपूजोपहारैः कैलासस्य स्मरति न मनाक्सोपि विश्वै[क]ना-

24 थः ॥३२॥ इदमपि पंचायतनं कमलादपि तस्य कारितं तेन [।*] यच्चक्रे निजरूपैरवनितले द्वारकाद्वैतम् ॥३३॥ क्रीडन्मंजुमधुव्रतं प्रविलसत्प्रोत्पु(त्फु)ल्लवल्लीशतं नानापुष्पफलोदितं प्रमुदितानन्तद्विजोत्कूजितं(तम्) । तेनैवात्र विचित्रपादपलता-

25 सन्तानरुद्धाम्व(म्ब)रं चक्रे विक्रमशालिना मुरजितः क्रीडावनं शोभनम् ॥३४॥ राहुमुखस्थे भानौ पृथ्वीदेवेन शासनीकृत्य [।*] एष सलो[नी][6] ग्रामः पुरुषो[त्त]मधीभृते दत्तः ॥३५॥ यावज्जाग[र्त्ति] मृत्युंजयसि(शि)खरसरिन्निःक(निष्क)लंकः [शशां]कः । श्रीमानूत्रैः[7]

26 सहस्रद्युतिर[पि] जगतीं यावदेतां पुनीते । यावद्धत्ते फणाग्रैः स्थिरतरमवनीमंडलं मण्डलीशो भूचक्रे श्रीमदे[तत्त्रिभुवन]म[हि]तं कीर्त्तनं तावदा[स्ताम्] ॥३६॥ निस्ना(ष्णा)तः शस्त्रविद्या-स्वधिगतविविधा[न]ल्पसि(शि)ल्पप्रक[र्षो] हस्त्यायुर्व्वेदवेत्ता सक-

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[1] The word दंड, which was omitted at first, was added subsequently, दं being written at the end of line 19 and ड in the beginning of line 20.

[2] Read निःसंख्य-.

[3] Read सागरं.

[4] The *visarga* after तम is dropped according to the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII. 3. 36.

[5] Read विध्वंस.

[6] The third *akshara* of the village-name, which is damaged, is conjecturally restored.

[7] Read श्रीमानुस्त्रैः .

27 लकविकलांभोजिनीराजहन्सः[1] । ज्ञाता रत्नत्रयस्य प्रथिततरमतिः श्रैघनाद्यागमौघे श्रीमानेता(न्तां)
प्रशस्ति(स्तिं) समकृत सु[कृती] काशलः [पे]शलात्मा ॥३७॥ मेदिनीहलचत्वारि देवेभ्यो-
[थ प्र]दत्तवान् । हलद्वयं द्वि[जायासौ] [वासु]देवाय धीमतेः[2] ॥
28 ३८॥ सम्वत्[3] ९०० श्रीपृथ्वीदेवराज्ये ॥

TRANSLATION

Om ! Obeisance to Śiva !

(Verse 1).—May the terrific and violent *tāṇḍava* of the god Śiva always protect you !— (the *tāṇḍava*) which bewildered the guardians of the quarters by the dashings of his shining arms against the mountains on the borders as he whirled them violently, while the earth sank under his steps,[4] and in which the *brahmāṇḍa* was pierced by the sharp points of his *khaṭvāṅga* while struck against it !

(V. 2).—May the Bull[5] of Śiva grant you the attainment of your desired object ! — (he) who frequently torments the *brahmāṇḍa* by the hard and dreadful rows of hair (*on his body*), who, by the noise of his thunder-like unchecked bellowing, causes intense pain to the ears of elephants (*stationed*) in the different quarters ; who, by the edge of his very high-jumping hoofs, bruises the hoods of the lord of serpents ; who destroys the splendour of enemies' cities ; and who is adored by the three worlds !

(V. 3).—We bow to that Speech who makes the practical life in the three worlds possible ; who causes the attainment of the imperishable goal ; and by attaining whose favour, good people regard the past, present and future as (*placed*) on the palm of their hand.

(V. 4).—May that god, the son of two mothers[6] (*i.e.*, Gaṇēśa) increase your welfare ! —(*the god*) who threatens, as it were, a large multitude of obstacles by the humming of bees intoxicated by the drinking of the limpid rutting juice as it gushes forth with force at the commencement of his dance !

(V. 5).—(*People*) may construct hundreds of temples, perform glorious deeds on battle-fields, exterminate a host of enemies and give in charity (*plenty of*) wealth ; but all that would, in course of time, be like dancing in pitchy darkness[7] in case it is not recorded by poets.

(V. 6).—Formerly there was, in the family of the **Kalachuris**, a king (*named*) **Pṛithvīdēva** (I), the lord of Tummāna, of spotless and abundant fame, who by his administration of justice, made the whole world always seek refuge in righteous deeds ; who was the sun to the darkness in the form of arrogant kings, and an ornament of the earth.

(V. 7).—From him of holy lustre was (*born*) an illustrious son, namely, the king **Jājalladēva** (I), who was possessed of superhuman virtues and an excellent nature, whose prowess spread in the (*whole*) world (*and*) who, being intent on the welfare of his subjects, was indeed an incarnation of righteousness.[8]

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[1] Read राजहंसः.

[2] The *visarga* is superfluous.

[3] Read संवत्.

[4] For a similar idea, see the Bilhāri stone inscription of the rulers of Chēdi, above, Vol. I, p. 254.

[5] Generally the word *grishṭi* is feminine and signifies a cow that has had only one calf. When masculine, the word means a boat. Here it is used in the sense of Śiva's bull.

[6] Gaṇēśa is so called because he was brought up by two goddesses Durgā and Chāmuṇḍā.

[7] *i.e.*, it would remain hidden from the people.

[8] The meaning may also be that he was an incarnation of Yudhishṭhira, the eldest Pāṇḍava prince, who was well-known for his righteous conduct.

(V. 8).—While he, who conferred obligations on all people, spread the mass of his fame and destroyed advancing lordly elephants of his enemies, was ruling the earth, there were nowhere (*to be seen*) the arrogance of any kings, the fever-like anxiety, due to poverty, of supplicants, the affliction, due to terror, of the person who sought protection and also the habitation of wicked persons.

(V. 9).—To him was (*born*) a son (*named*) **Ratnadēva(II)**, the king well-known in the three worlds, who was the first to teach humiliation to the flourishing lord of Kaliṅga ; who had an extremely developed and spreading fame ; who had full knowledge of thirty-six sciences of weapons and the pride of fully developed arms ; (*and*) who was the great magical incantation for the destruction of evil spirits, namely the rising kings on (*this*) earth.

(V. 10).—Does that illustrious Ratnadēva (II) need to be praised—(*he*) whose sole delight at all places and times was in the festivity of battle whether he was followed by a host of armies or was alone, and the great noise of whose dreadful marches incessantly hovers over (*other*) kings, proudly rebuking them as it were and challenging them to fight again and again !

(V. 11).—When he, possessed of boundless, dreadful and mysterious prowess was about to invade the circle of quarters, the highest mountains all round, with the resounding and dreadful reverberations of the sound of his war-drums, were, as it were, calling out to the lords of regions, uttering terrific cries, being apprehensive as regards the support of the earth burdened with his large marching hosts.

(V. 12).—From that king was born (*a son*) named **Pṛithvīdēva(II)**, the off-shoot of gems in the head-dress of the lords of the earth,[1] even as the sun rises from the slope of a mountain, as the moon was produced from the ocean, as Pradyumna was born from Purushōttama, Hari from the illustrious cowherd Nanda, and Skanda from the moon-crested (Śiva).

(V. 13).—How many warriors did he not vanquish ? What good people did he not please ? At the doors of what panegyrists did he not keep lordly rutting elephants tied ? How many princes did he not protect when they sought refuge on the battle-field ? What excellences of the victorious Pṛithvīdēva (II) are not attractive ?

(V. 14).—There was **Sōḍhadēva** like a jewel adorning a family of Brāhmaṇas, who received the hereditary ministership of these kings that bore the burden of all good qualities (*and*) who was verily a wish-fulfilling tree to supplicants.

(V. 15).—Who being an abode of greatness crossed the ocean of excellences, whose great fame adorned the world and whom, possessed of many and marvellous qualities, that (*famous*) king Pṛithvīdēva (I) made his hereditary minister.

(V. 16).—His son was **Nimbadēva** who in his personal form surpassed the god of love, who looked attractive with all (*kinds of*) learning (*and*) who was a wreath on the crown of good people, the heavenly abode of wealth and fame, an ornament of the royal assembly and a friend of good persons.

(V. 17).—Who was the dwelling place of pleasing speech, the abode of religious merit, the resting place of compassion, the resort of good people, the hermitage of wisdom, the support of modesty, a large shrine of steadiness, the residence of wealth, the dwelling of beauty, the house of contentment and the sole receptacle of glory.

(V. 18).—He had a wife named Lakhamā who was, as it were, his own body, the sole receptacle of all virtues, who resembled Rati in lovely form and Arundhatī in righteous deeds and who, being religious-minded, was the desired object of the prosperity of her house.

[1] This suggests that his feet were bowed to by the heads of these kings.

(V. 19).—He had a son (*named*) **Purushōttama** who bore his name significantly[1], who was the sole resting place of a multitude of excellences such as boundless self-control and forgiveness, the ornament of the family of earthly gods (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas), the foremost among statesmen, the performer of blameless deeds and the first among wise persons possessed of great and attractive prowess.

(V. 20).—Who adopted exaltation from the celestial mountain (*Mēru*), serenity from the ocean, munificence from (*Karṇa*) the son of the sun, vigorous lustre from the sun, great prowess from the lion, bright mass of fame from (*Rāma*) the exterminator of Rāvaṇa, learning from Bṛihaspati and a strong and beautiful form from the god of love.

(V. 21).—O Wish-fulfilling Tree! be happy, getting rid of all exhaustion; O Mēru, you also are now free from the fear of being wounded;[2] that celestial Cow also may now repair to her calf! May that Purushōttama be long-lived in (*this*) world!

(Vv. 22-23).—Having seen him whose intellect was adept in deciding doubtful matters of royal policy, who had an excellent nature on account of his use of the three royal powers, who was free from pride because of the great religious merit accruing to him by the use of the six measures, whose good character was tested by all kinds of tests[3] and who was endowed with the multitude of ministerial qualities, Ratnadēva (II), the lord of Kōsala, gave him the unique post of *Sarvādhikārin* and ruled without any trouble for a long time.

(V. 24).—Though he was elevated to the position of *sarvādhikārin*, he became famous on the earth as one who bore the burden of the four (*purushārthas*[4]).

(V. 25).—The multitude of princes being vanquished by his policy as well as by his weapon, the king freed the earth from all troublesome persons and (*himself*) ruled without any trouble.

(V. 26).—He (*i.e.*, Purushōttama) captured the Khimmiṇḍi *maṇḍala* and made the Talahāri (*maṇḍala*) attractive. He had a fierce arm in subduing Daṇḍapura and was clever in overcoming Khijjiṅga. He killed Haravōhu (*and*) his valour was invincible in threatening the lord of Daṇḍabhukti.

(V. 27).—His son was Madhusūdana: (*then*) was born his younger brother Lakshmīdhara and the blessed Yaśōdhara and another meritorious one named Gaṅgādhara. That wise (Purushōttama) had these four sons well-versed in statecraft, who were, as it were, the four objects of human life incarnate,[4] moving about on the orb of this earth.

(V. 28).—Among them this Madhusūdana, who has a multitude of all noble qualities, infinite prowess and modesty and who is an abode of humour, has attained great fame whereby his father has been placed in the forefront of all fathers of sons.

(V. 29).—Having realized that human life is unsteady like the flapping of the elephant's ears and is subject to innumerable sorrows, and that wealth, being momentary, is extremely disagreeable when enjoyed, the mind of that illustrious Purushōttama which had become purified by the constant study of the various Śāstras, Purāṇas and Vēdas, became solely intent on the acquisition of religious merit.

(V. 30).[5]—Having been adorned all round by various kinds of groves and meritorious works of monasteries and temples erected by him, the earth has attained marvellous splendour.

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[1] *i.e.*, he was the best of men.

[2] The wounds of Mēru are caused by the gifts of gold from the slopes of the mountain.

[3] For the various *upadhās* or tests of honesty, see Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastri), p. 16.

[4] These are *dharma* (religious merit), *artha* (wealth), *kāma* (enjoyment of pleasures) and *mōksha* (liberation).

[5] This and the following verse are relative clauses.

(V. 31).—He made a lake at Ratnapura which is deep, contains many creatures, is clear, extremely beautiful and fit to be used by all people (*and thus*) resembles his heart (which is serene, very courageous, pure, very fine and fit to be resorted to by all people).

(V. 32).—This faultless and beautiful five-shrined[1] temple of Śambhu has been erected by him with a view to dispel the mass of darkness (*i.e.*, ignorance) of the three worlds. Having made his abode here, even (*Śiva*), the sole lord of the whole universe, does not, I fancy, think at all of Kailāsa on account of the excellent[2] offerings of worship (*here*).

(V. 33).—This five-shrined temple also of him (*i.e.*..Śambhu) has been raised by him from water —(*the temple*) which, by its forms, makes itself identical with Dvārakā on the earth.[3]

(V. 34).—He himself, shining with valour, has raised this pleasure garden of the conqueror of Muru[4] (*Śiva*), in which beautiful bees disport themselves, which has hundreds of beautiful blossoming creepers, which contains various flowers and fruits, which resounds with the warbling of innumerable joyful birds and which has covered the space in the sky with rows of strange trees and creepers.

(V. 35).—While the sun was in the mouth of Rāhu,[5] Pṛithvīdēva (II) granted by a charter this village Salōnī to the wise Purushōttama.

(V. 36).—As long as the moon with its stain washed by the river flowing from the head of Śiva is wakeful as long as the resplendent sun sanctifies the world with its rays, as long as the lord of serpents supports very firmly the orb of the earth on the top of his hoods—even so long may this glorious temple honoured in the three worlds last on this circle of the earth !

(V. 37).—The illustrious, clever and compassionate Kāśala who is skilled in the sciences of arms, who has attained proficiency in numerous and varied arts, who is conversant with the science of elephants and that of medicine, who is a swan (*sporting*) among lotus-plants which are the entire poetic arts, who knows the three *ratnas* [6] and whose intellect is well-known in (*expounding*) the multitude of the *āgamas* of Śrīghana (*the Buddha*) and others, has composed this *praśasti.*

(V. 38).—He (*Purushōttama*) gave four plough-measures of land to gods and two plough-measures (*of land*) to the learned Brāhmaṇa Vāsudēva.

The year **900,** in the reign of the illustrious **Pṛithvīdēva.**

No. 46—BARDULA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA : YEAR 9

(*1 Plate*)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

These copper plates were found buried underground some years back at **Bārdūlā,** a village in the Sarangarh State, Central Provinces. They were traced and sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India by Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Secretary, Mahakosala Historical Society, Raigarh. As a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I had an opportunity of studying them critically. I am grateful to Mr. Pandeya for his kind permission to edit them here.

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[1] The temple is called *pañchāyatana*, because the main structure was surrounded by four small shrines dedicated to Durgā, Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī, etc. ; cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 130. For another such temple of a slightly earlier period see the Rewah stone inscription of Vapullaka, *Haihayas of Tripurī*, etc., p. 131.

[2] Lit. celestial.

[3] This verse is rather obscure. Perhaps the temple was surrounded by water on all sides and therefore resembled the city of Dvārakā.

[4] According to the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, Muru or Mura was killed not by Śiva, but by Kṛishṇa.

[5] *i.e.*, at the time of a solar eclipse.

[6] As the author speaks in this verse of his knowledge of the Buddhist *āgamas*, the three *ratnas* may be the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

The set consists of **three copper plates** of which the first and the third are inscribed on one side, and the second on both the sides. The letters are deeply engraved and show through on the back of the first and the third plates. All the plates are of equal dimensions, measuring 9" in length, 6" in breadth and about ·1" in thickness. The second plate is slightly thicker than the other two. The rims of the plates are not raised; still the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. A small rectangular piece is cut off from the right corner at the bottom of the third plate without affecting the writing in any way. The plates are held together by a copper **ring** which passes through a hole, ·6" in diameter, bored in the middle of the proper right side of each plate at a margin of about 1·5". The ends of the ring which is about ·4" in thickness and 4·5" in diameter are soldered below a circular **seal,** 3·2" in diameter. The surface of the seal, which is deeply countersunk, is divided into three parts. The upper part bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull (Nandin) with a *triśūla* in front and a *pūrṇa-kumbha* behind. Below this is engraved the legend (identical with that on the seal of the Mallar plates[1]) in two lines, consisting of a verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre, which is separated from the upper device by two horizontal parallel lines. Below the legend is depicted a large full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves. The execution of the plates and of the seal resembles that of the Mallar plates.[1] The whole set inclusive of the ring and the seal weighs 261 *tolas.* The ring and the seal taken together weigh 120 *tolas.*

The charter contains 30 lines, there being eight lines on each of the first three inscribed surfaces and six on the fourth one. The letters are neatly and boldly engraved and their average size is ½". The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those on the Rajim[2] and Baloda[3] plates of Tīvaradēva and the Mallar and Lodhia[4] plates of Mahāśivagupta. No doubt a few letters seem to evince a tendency for elongation, *e.g.*, the form of the letter *tha* in the Baloda plates (ll. 23, 29, 30, 35) is roundish; while the same is somewhat elongated in the present plates (ll. 7, 9, 14, 21, 24). But if we examine the Lodhia plates we find that the same roundish form of the letter is consistently retained (ll. 8, 12, 14, 15, etc.). It may be noted in this connection that the Baloda plates are dated in the 9th regnal year of Tīvaradēva and the Lodhia plates were issued in the 57th regnal year of his grand-nephew Mahāśivagupta. This will show that the two records were removed from each other by about a century. Still the scripts of the epigraphs do not show appreciable difference. From this we may conclude that what appeared as a tendency for elongation in the above particular case is not a general sign of development in the script, but only an individual trait of the scribe. The letter *śrī* is invariably written as *śrii* or *śriī* (श्रि or श्री) in all the four records under reference. The palaeographical peculiarities pointed out in connection with the other plates of the series, such as the length of the medial *ī* being denoted by a dot inside the circle at the top of the letter, etc., are common to these plates also.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. The composition is in prose excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end. There are a few instances of faulty spelling, some of which may be noted here. The short form of the medial *i* is written for the long one, and *vice versa*; as in *kshitiśa* l. 1, *piḍā* l. 10, *prithivi* l. 14. Likewise *b* is written for *v* and *vice versa*; as in *-briddhayē* l. 16, *vastabyam* l. 19 and *vahubhi* l. 27. The final *n* is changed to *anusvāra*; as in *Brāhmaṇāṁ* and *supradhānāṁ* l. 6 and *-purushāṁ* l. 8. The *anusvāra* is consistently changed to *ṅ* before a sibilant; as in *vaṅśa* l. 4, *anyāṅścha* l. 8. Among the **orthographical**

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Plate XLV.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, between pp. 104-105.

[4] Under publication by Pt. L. P. Pandeya in this journal.

peculiarities may be noted the occasional doubling of the consonant before or after *r* ; as in *pittrōr*= l. 16, *śauryya* l. 3, *sarvva* l. 8, *varjjitaḥ* l. 10.

The inscription purports to record the gift of a village named **Vaṭapadraka** situated in the Kōśīra-Nandapura *vishaya* to several Brāhmaṇas by the illustrious **Mahāśivaguptarāja,** son of Harshadēva, of the lunar lineage, an ardent worshipper of Mahēśvara, for his own merit and that of his parents. The gift was made on the **12th day of the bright half of the month of Kārttika in the 9th year** of his increasingly victorious reign. The grant village was to be divided into thirteen shares, twelve of which were full and one was half. The full shares were to be enjoyed by Brāhmaṇas, whose names are specifically mentioned and who it seems had settled in the region of Chhātranāṭā.[1] The half share was to be allotted to a Brāhmaṇa of unimpeachable character (*a-vigraha-charitāya*). The royal order communicating this grant was addressed to the residents of the village, including the chief members amongst them (*sa-pradhānān prativāsinaḥ*), as also to the royal officials, *Samāhartṛi, Sannidhātṛi* and others including the *Karaṇas.*

This Mahāśivagupta belonged to the earlier line of rulers known as the Pāṇḍava or Sōmavaṁśī kings of South Kōsala and is identical with his namesake, who bore the distinctive epithet **Bālārjuna** as known from stone inscriptions discovered at Sirpur.[2] He had a distinguished career and was credited with an unusually long reign of about sixty years as indicated by the Lodhiā plates.[3] About half a dozen stone inscriptions and three copper plate documents assignable to his reign have so far been discovered. Of these records only two are dated, namely the Lodhia plates and the present ones and the dates are in regnal years. But unfortunately these dates are not verifiable for want of sufficient details. So we have to fix his date by approximation only on consideration of palaeography and other circumstantial evidence

The latest attempt in this direction has been made by Principal V. V. Mirashi, in his 'Note on the Date of the Sōmavaṁśī Kings '[4]. I generally agree with his views and place Mahāśivagupta in the first and second quarters of the 7th century A.D. In view of the high regnal year accorded to him by the Lodhiā plates, *viz.*, 57th year, it is likely that his reign extended still further into the third quarter of the century.

The following places are mentioned in the charter. The grant village **Vaṭapadraka** may be identified with modern Baṭapadaka, a small village about four miles from Bardūlā, the provenance of the present plates.[5] The territorial division (*vishaya*) **Kōśīra Nandapura,** wherein the grant village was situated, appears to be identical with Nandapura *bhōga* mentioned in the Pīpardūlā plates of the Śarabhapura ruler, Mahārāja Narēndra.[6] The headquarters of this Nandapura *vishaya*, which is qualified by the epithet Kōśīra (probably meaning scrubby from *kuśara*) to distinguish it from its other namesakes, may be identified with the site of the two adjoining villages, Nandapur big and small, in the Bilaspur District, not far from Sakti on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. This site is reported to contain some ancient vestiges and herein was discovered a silver coin of Prasannamātra of the Śarabhapura family some years ago.[7] There is a reference in l. 11 to a tract named Chhātranāṭā wherein the donees, it appears, had settled down (*Chhātra nāṭā-sīma-nivishṭa*). This name is similar to some of the Dravidian names denoting territory, such as Puunāṭa and Karnāta. I am unable to identify this region.

[1] This passage may also be interpreted so as to mean that only the first person mentioned among the donees, *viz.*, Nārāyaṇōpādhyāya was a settler in the region called Chhātranāṭā.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

[3] See below, pp. 319-325.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff.

[5] I am indebted to Pt. L. P. Pandeya for this suggestion.

[6] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144.

[7] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 144-45.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 श्रोम् ॥[2] स्वस्त्यशेषक्षिति(ती)शविद्याभ्यासविशेषासावितमहनीयविनयस-

2 म्पत्सं(त्स)म्पादितसकलविजिगीषुगुणो गुणवः(व)त्समाश्रयप्रकृष्टत-

3 रशौर्य्यप्रज्ञाप्रभावसम्भावितमहाभ्युदयः कार्ति(र्त्ति)केय इव कृत्तिवा-

4 ससो [रा]ज्ञ[:*] [शि](श्री)हर्षदेवस्य सूनुः सोमवङ्श[3]सम्भव[:*] परममाहेश्वरो मा-

5 तापितृपादानुध्यातः शृी(श्री)महाशिवगुप्तराजः कुशली ॥[4] कोशीरनन्द-

6 पुरविषयीयवटपद्रके ब्राह्मणां(णान्) सम्पूज्य सप्रधानां(नान्) प्रतिवासिनो

7 यथाकालाध्यासिनस्समाहर्त्तृसन्निधातृप्रमुखानधिकारिणस्स-

8 करणानन्याङ्श्च(न्यांश्चा)स्मत्पादोपजीविनः(न)स्सर्व्वराजपुरुषां(षान्) समाज्ञा-

Second Plate ; First Side

9 पयति [।*] विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामस्सनिधिः सोपनिधिः

10 सदशापराधः सर्व्वकरसमेतः सर्व्वपि(पी)डावर्ज्जितः प्रतिषिद्ध-

11 चाट[5]भटप्रवेशः च्छा(शश्छा)त्रनाटासीमनी(नि)वी(वि)ष्टच्छान्दोगच्छात्र[6]नारायणो-

12 पाध्याय । त्रैलोक्यहन्सो(हंसो)पाध्याय । विद्याधरहङ्सो(हंसो)पाध्याय । परम-

13 हङ्सो(हंसो)पाध्याय । नक्षत्ररूप । सलोणविद्याधर । विदग्धासुर । पृ-

14 थिवि(वी)रूप । दुर्गकलश । पोदवराह । तालरूप । मध्याह्नरूपेभ्यो द्वा-

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read वंश.

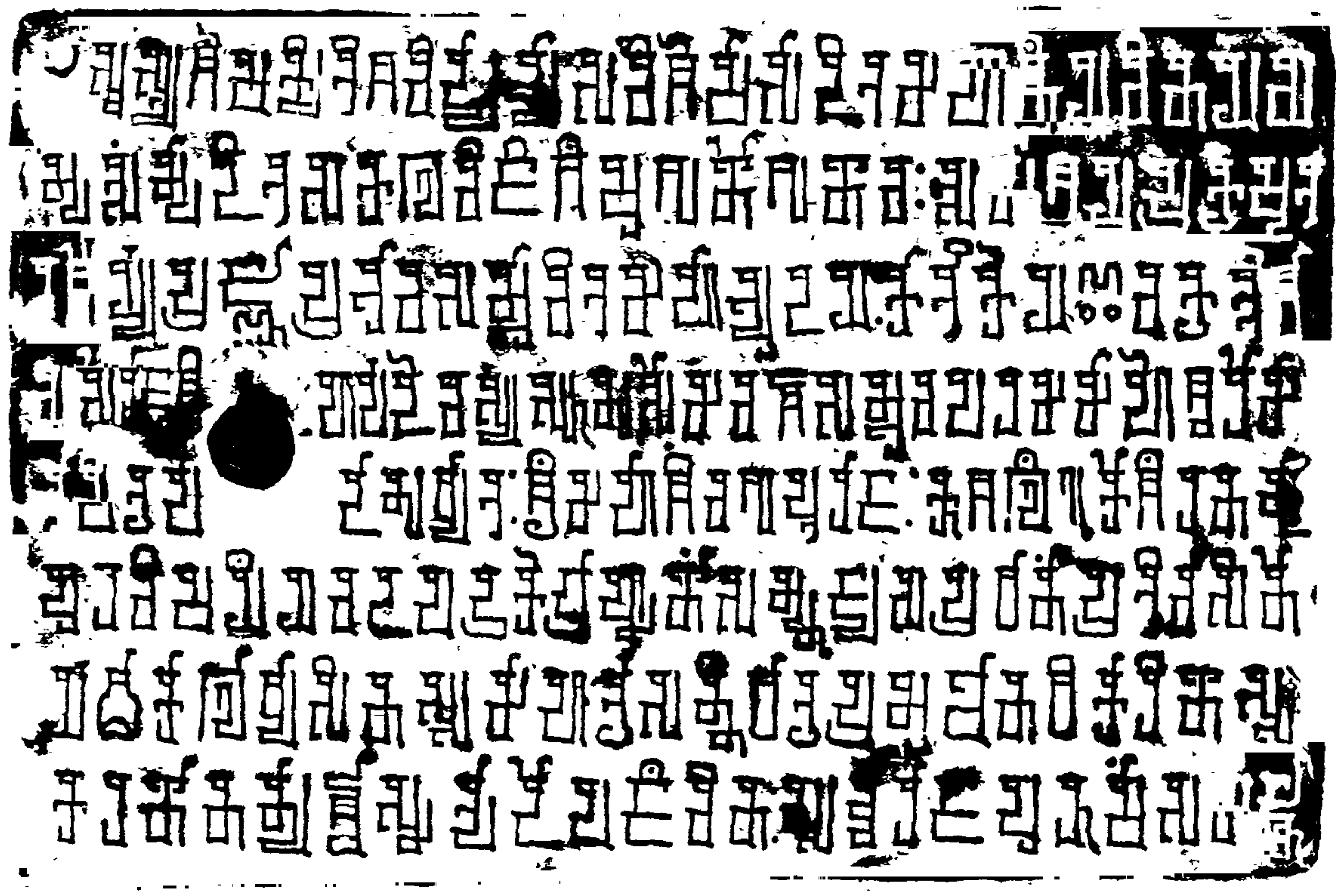
[4] The *dandas* are superfluous.

[5] The word *chāṭa* has been usually translated as 'irregular troops'. But etymology would, I think, help us in arriving at a better and more correct meaning of the term. *Chāṭa*, according to lexicographers, means 'a rouge, cheat, swindler', etc. This, however, cannot be applied with any propriety to the military or police force, constituting the 'irregular section'. The word *chhātra* is substituted for *chāṭa* in some earlier inscriptions in a similar context. For instance, the Rithpur plates of Queen Prabhāvati-Guptā has the term *abhaṭa-chhātra-prāvēśyaa* (*J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. XX, p, 59, text l. 18). After addressing the *bhaṭas* and *chhātras* among the royal officers, the Chammak copper plate record of the same king introduces the phrase *a-bhaṭa-chchhātra-prāvēśyaḥ* (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 55, ll. 22 and 26). Thus we may be justified in equating *chāṭa* with *chhātra*. The word *chhātra* seems to have been originally derived from the root *chhad*=conceal, hide. It would hence mean 'one who is concealed or disguised', in other words 'a member of the secret service'. If *chāṭa* is a variant of *chhātra*, it would also mean the same. For a different view expressed by Prof. Vogel, see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 134.

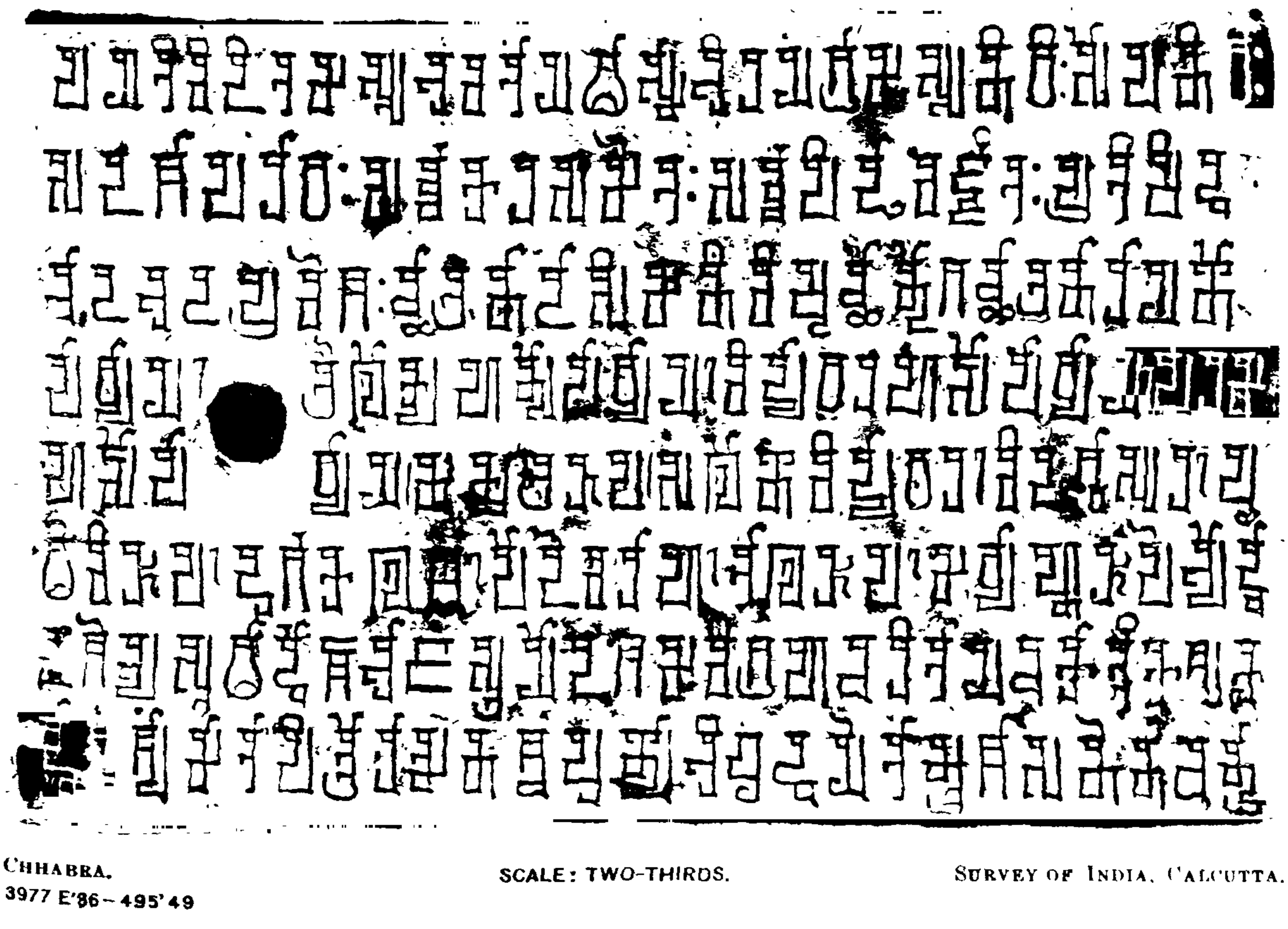
[6] The word *chhātra* seems to have been substituted here for the usual expression *sabrahmachārin*.

BARDULA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA: YEAR 9.

i.



ii,a.

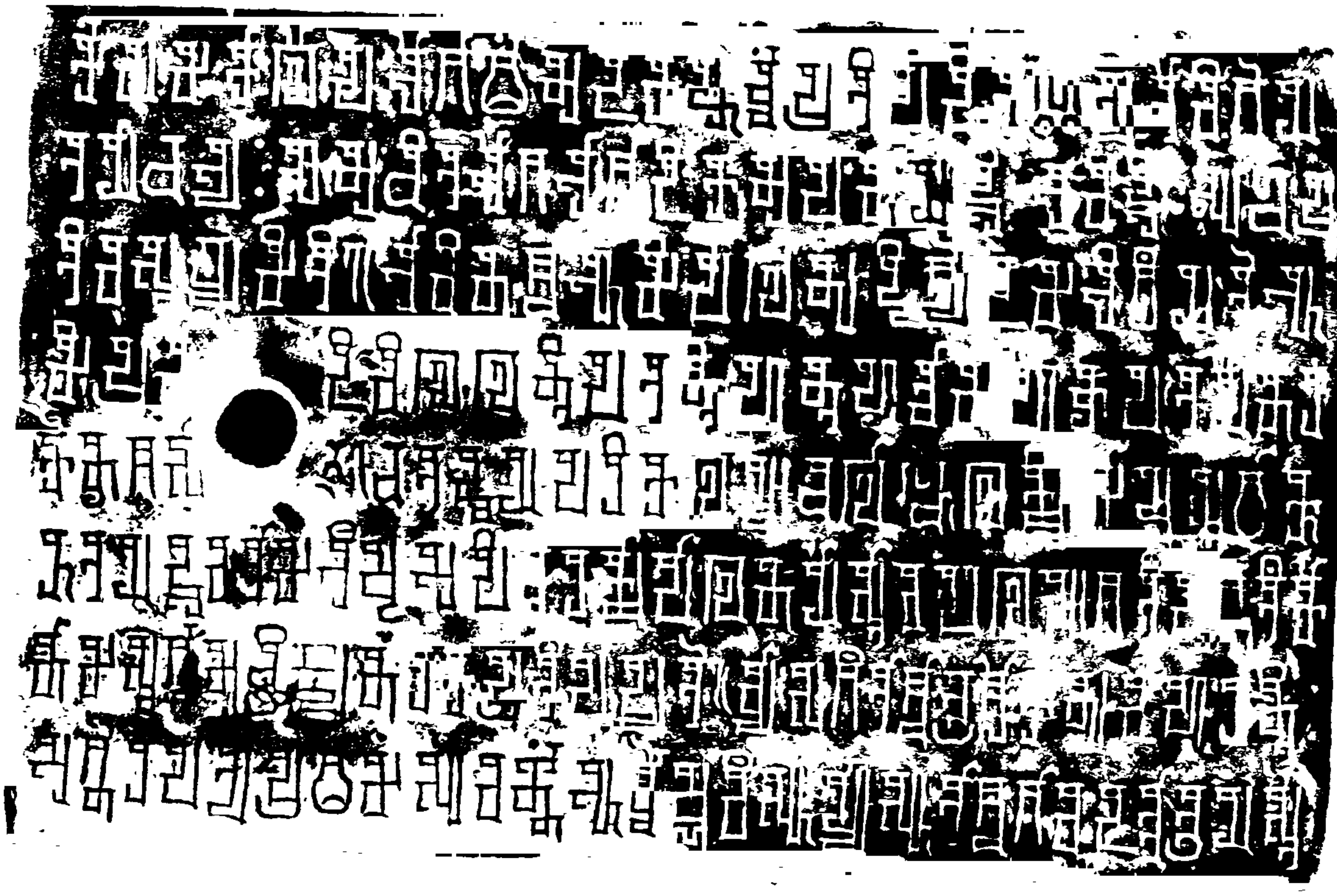


B. CH. CHHABRA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36—495'49

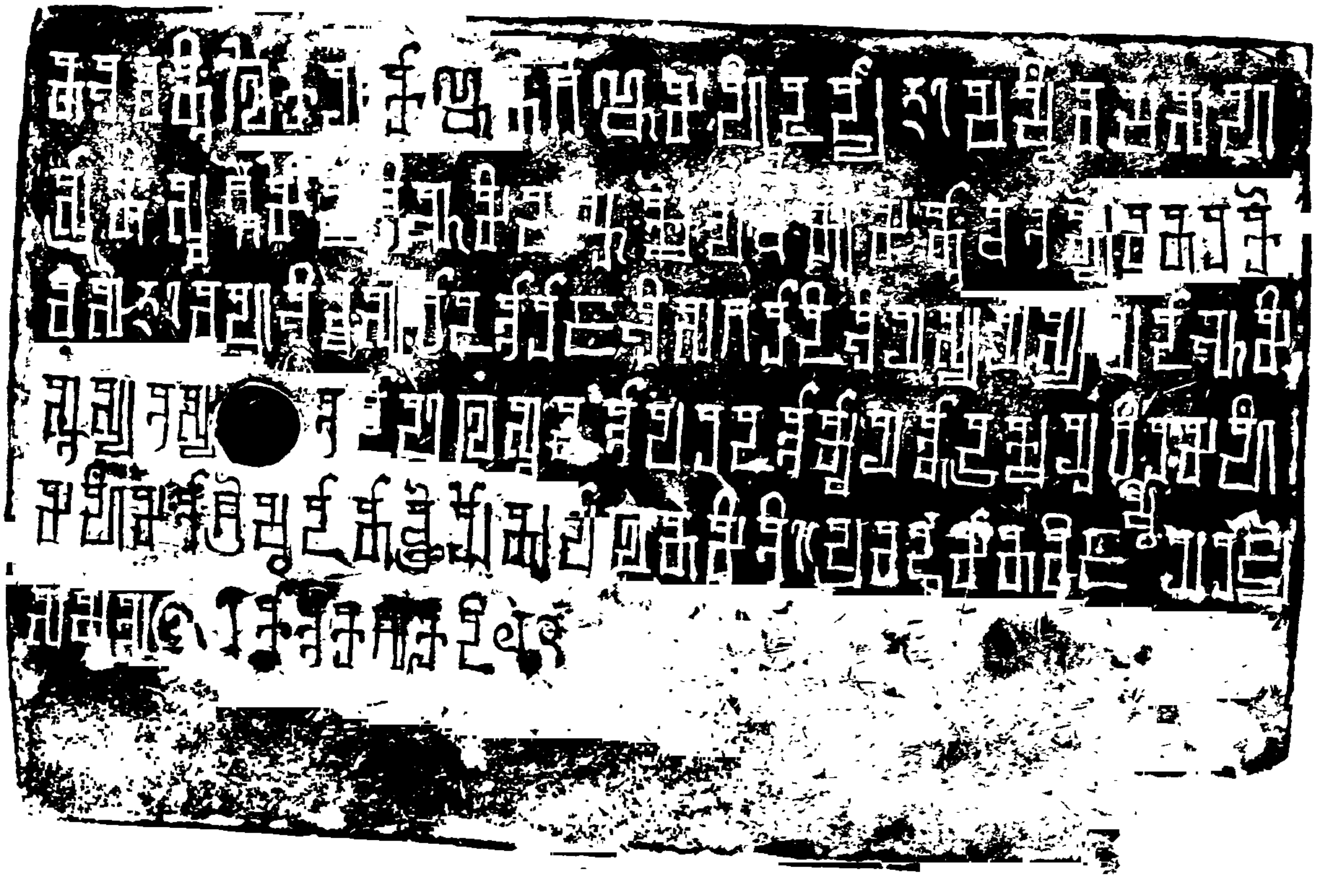
SCALE: TWO-THIRDS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii.b.



iii.



15 दशो (श) भ्यस्तथार्द्धाङ्श (र्द्धांश) भाजस्त्र (जे त्र) योदशमविग्रहचरिताय[1] च कार्त्तिकशुक्ल-

16 द्वादश्यां मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिबृ (वृ) द्धये ताम्ब्र (म्र) शासनेनाचन्द्रा-

Second Plate ; Second Side

17 र्कसमकालोपभोगार्यं (र्थं) मुदकपूर्व्वं प्रतिपादित इत्यतो विधेय-

18 तया एभ्यः समुचितं भोगभागादिकमुपनयद्भिः भ (द्भिर्भ) वद्भिः सुखं प्र-

19 तिवस्तब्य (व्य) मिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुद्दिश्येदमभिधीयते [।*] भू-

20 मिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हृत्वा महीं नृपतयो नर-

21 के नृशङ्सात् (शंसाः) । एतद्व (द्द्व) यं परिकलय्य चलाञ्च लक्ष्मीमायुस्तथा कु-

22 रुत यद्भवतामभि (भी) ष्टं (ष्टम्) [॥१॥*] अपि च [।*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावत्फलं सुगतिदुर्ग्गती [।*] को

23 नाम स्वर्ग्गमुच्छिज्य (द्य) नरकं प्रतिपद्यते ॥[२॥*] व्याससगीता (तां) श्चात्र श्लोकानु-
दाहरन्तिः (न्ति) [।*]

24 अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्वै (र्व्वै) ष्णवी सूर्य्यसू (सु) ताश्च गावः [।*] दत्तास्त्र[2]यस्ते

Third Plate

25 न भवन्ति लोका य[:*] काञ्चनं गाञ्च मही[च[3]](ञ्च) दद्यात् [॥३॥*]
षष्टी (ष्टिं) वर्षसह-

26 स्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आक्षेप्ता (प्ता) चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके

27 वसेत् ।[।४॥*] व (ब) हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[:।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-

28 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) [॥५॥*] स्वदत्ता (त्तां) परदत्ताम्वा (त्तां वा) यत्नाद्रक्ष
युधिष्ठि[3]र [।*] मही (हीं)

29 मही(हि)मता (तां) श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति[4] ॥ प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य-

30 सम्व (संव) त्स[रं*] ९ । कार्त्तिकशुक्ल दि १० २ [॥*]

The Seal

1 राज्ञ[:*] श्रीहर्षगुप्तस्य सूनो[:] सद्गुणशालिन[:] [।*]

2 शासनं शिवगुप्तस्य [स्थि]तमा [भु]व[न]स्थिते[:][॥*]

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[1] This passage is faulty in expression and requires reconstruction. The word *bhāga* occurs in l. 18. The term *ardhāṁśabhāj* occurring in l. 15 indicates that the village was divided into thirteen shares, twelve of which were full and one half. While the names of the recipients of the twelve full shares are mentioned, the name of the thirteenth who was to receive the half share is not specified. The selection was to be made latter, the condition for selection being laid down that his character should be above suspicion.

[2] Read दत्तास्त्रयस्.

[3] This *akshara* is written below the line.

[4] Read पालनम् [॥६॥*] इति.

No. 47—TIRUVORRIYUR INSCRIPTION OF CHATURANANA PANDITA : 20th year of Krishna III.

(*1 Plate*)

V. RAGHAVAN, MADRAS

The inscription[1] edited here is well-known and has tempted every writer to refer to it for the interesting account it gives of the romantic career of a distinguished Chōḷa general. A sad interest attaches to this contribution, owing to the unexpected passing away of Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar of the Epigraphy Office, Madras, who, during the study of it for editing, brought it to me for correction and interpretation of the Sanskrit portion. For enabling me to edit it in these pages, I must thank the Government Epigraphist for the permission given by him, and the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for the facility he gave for consulting the impressions and transcripts of this and the related inscriptions.

The inscription is engraved on a stone slab built into the floor between the first two pillars in the inner *prākāra* on the southern side of the entrance to the *garbhagriha* of the main shrine of Ādhipurīśvara at **Tiruvoṟṟiyūr** near Madras. The lower part of the stone has evidently been cut off and consequently some of the lines towards the close of the inscription have been lost. An examination of it on the spot now shows that, since the time when it was copied by the Department in 1912, further obliteration of some letters, especially towards the end, has been caused.

The inscription, which is engraved in an ornamental style, is in two parts, **Sanskrit** and **Tamil,** the former being in **Grantha** characters. In the Sanskrit part, the following **orthographical** peculiarities may be noticed. The *avagraha* is omitted (l.6) ; in two places where the *visarga* coalesces with a following *s*, only one *s* is written (ll. 4,8) ; in some cases, a consonant following a *rēpha* is duplicated (ll.7,8,9,11). In writing the name of the place, *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* the peculiar Tamil sound *ṟ* is written in Tamil character (l. 11). The marking off of the halves and ends of verses is irregular ; the halves are not marked at all, and, except in one case, the ends are shown by a single *daṇḍa*. In one instance, even the third quarter of a verse is so marked off.

In the Tamil part, the chief feature is the writing of Sanskrit words and sounds in the text in Grantha characters, *śrī, dēva, bha, bali, dhū* and *dēvāra*. Long medial *ē* is always written only with the sign of the short medial. Some of the expressions in the Tamil part are literary.

The **palaeography** of the inscription does not call for any remarks.

The **object** of the inscription is to record a gift of one hundred gold *Nishkas,* bearing an interest of three *Māshas* per *Nishka* per annum, to the assembly of Narasiṁhamaṅgala, by Vaḷabha Chaturānana for conducting a special service on the day of Dhanishṭhā, the star of his nativity, to Lord Śiva at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.

The inscription is **dated** in the 20th year of Kaṉṉaradēva, the conqueror of *Kachchi* (Kāñchī) and *Tañjai* (Tanjore), i.e., the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III who came to the throne in A.D. 939.[2] It therefore belongs to the year A.D. 959, which is ten years after the battle of Takkōlam to which our inscription has a vital reference. It is stated here that the subject of the account herein who was the beloved general of Rājāditya could not, unfortunately, be present on the battle field of Takkōlam.

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[1] No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 164-165.

Our inscription gives in broad outlines the full career of this general of Rājāditya. The first verse of the inscription describes the nativity of the general; and it is therefore unfortunate that parts of the first half of this verse are lost. From what has been left it is clear that the general was called Vaḷabha and he was the son of Rājaśēkhara, the chief of Vallabharāshṭra. This Rājaśēkhara, it is also clear, stood in some relation, as a subordinate or general to the lord of Kēraḷa (*Kēraḷānām nāthasya* . . . .). Vaḷabha became a scholar even as a boy, was valorous and was seized with an enthusiasm to go forth and be of service to the world. It was the time when the Chōḷa king, Parāntaka I, had married a Kēraḷa princess and this intimate alliance had led a number of Kēraḷa warriors to seek the Chōḷa country for service under the Chōḷa king and his son.[1] Vaḷabha, as one of these, reached the Chōḷa country and became greatly attached to Rājāditya, who, though the inscription calls him *Rājan*, was at this time, a Viceroy under his father Parāntaka I. Vaḷabha rose to the position of a general under Rājāditya, but when the latter was attacked by the Rāshṭrakūṭas at Takkōlam, Vaḷabha was not by his side. He would have desired to lay down his life for his master or with him, but fate willed otherwise, and he was stricken with deep grief for his absence and failure to die with his master which were unworthy of himself, his family and his master. He therefore renounced worldly life and went to the Ganges. Having bathed in the celestial river, he wandered back to the south and reached Tiruvoṟṟiyūr which was famous for its religious and spiritual associations. There he entered a cave called after Nirañjanaguru, the head of affairs at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. He attained spiritual enlightenment there[2] and emerged as a *siddha*. Gradually the cave rose to importance and was converted into a regular *maṭha*. Assuming the spiritual name Chaturānana Paṇḍita, the ex-general Vaḷabha began to administer this *maṭha*, as also the affairs of the temple. Thus did position and authority, which he had once renounced, come back to him, he succeeded to the important place previously held by Nirañjanaguru as the head of affairs at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, and it is as the head of his own *maṭha*, that our general, now Chaturānana Paṇḍita, made an endowment which was the occasion for setting up this inscription.

The Tamil part of the inscription which follows mentions the 20th year of (the reign of) Kannaradēva, the victor over Kāñchī and Tanjore, and says that Tiruvoṟṟiyūr was in the division called Pulaṟ-kōṭṭam;[3] and adds that, for the purpose of the conduct of worship on every Aviṭṭam, his natal constellation, Chaturānana Paṇḍita Bhaṭāra of the *maṭha*, gave to the Lord an endowment. The actual mention of the gift is lost and the major part of the epigraph in the Tamil portion is taken up by an enumeration of the details of articles and persons required for the service.

It is possible to reconstruct the full civil name of Chaturānana Paṇḍita from a close interpretation of the first verse. The verse calls him Vaḷabha and son of the chief of Vallabharāshṭra; therefore Vaḷabha seems to be only a form of Vallabha, which is the name taken after his *Rāshṭra*. His father is called Rājaśēkhara which means also, by *double entendre*, Śiva (the moon-crested god); and Vaḷabha is said to have been born to Rājaśēkhara, even as Guha to Rājaśēkhara, i. e., Śiva. The completion of the rhetoric here requires that Vaḷabha also had a personal name meaning Guha or Subrahmaṇya, and that was, in all probability, Kumāra.

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[1] See *An. Rep. of the A.S.I.*, 1905-6, p. 181. Venkayya says that several of the Tirunāmanallūr inscriptions mention natives of Malabar among the servants of Rājāditya, and gives in the footnote the names of six such Malayāḷis. See also, *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 386, verse 8; and K. A. N. Sastri : *Colas*, I, pp. 162-3. According to Venkayya (*loc. cit.* p. 182) Rājāditya's mother Kōkkiḷāṇaḍigaḷ was the Kēraḷa princess married by Parāntaka I (see also *A. R. on S. I. E.* 1912, p. 56), but according to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri (*Colas*, I, p. 162), it was Ariñjaya's mother who was a Kēraḷa princess.

[2] That is, in the cave. The word used in the text is *gahva* which means 'a depth', 'an inaccessible place' See *Vāchaspatya* and Apte. It has thus been taken in the sense of cave.

[3] The village of Puḷal or Poḷal is about seven miles to the west of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the Chingleput District.

The suggestion Kumāra is based on the identification, which I am disposed to make, of this general of Rājāditya, with Vellaṅ-Kumāra or Vellaṅ-Kumāran, a Kērala general of Rājāditya who figures in two inscriptions[1] of the Śiva temple at the village of Grāmam in the Tirukkōyilūr taluk of the South Arcot District. The date of one of these corresponds to A.D. 943 and it has been edited by Venkayya.[2] From this inscription, we learn that this Kēraḷa general was called Vellaṅ-Kumāraṉ, that he hailed from Puttūr or Navāgrahāra, more fully Nandikkaraipputtūr, in Malai-nāḍu, that he was an eminent Malayāḷi (*Uttamaḥ Kēraḷānāṁ*), that he was the grand-general of Rājāditya (*avichalita-chamūnāyaka* and *Perumpaḍai-nāyakar*) and that he built the Śiva temple at Mauḷigrāma or Tirumuḍiyūr on the banks of the Pennār.[3] Earlier, in A.D. 935-6, the same Vellaṅ-Kumāra had made a gift of sheep for a lamp in the same temple, as can be seen from the other inscription in the same place,[4] and there he is described as the *Mūla-bhṛitya* of Rājāditya[5] which may mean that he was the general of the permanent and personal forces of that prince.

Now, we can see that both Vaḷabha of our inscription and Vellaṅ-Kumāra of the two Grāmam inscriptions are described as very intimate generals of Rājāditya.[6] Secondly both are described as natives of Kēraḷa. In our record, he is described as the son of the chief of the Vallabharāshṭra in Kēraḷa, i.e. Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu in Malaināḍu ; and in the Grāmam inscriptions, he is said to have hailed from the village of Nandikkaraipputtūr in Malai-nāḍu, i.e. Kēraḷa. From an inscription of the 18th year of Rājarāja I,[7] at Nandikkarai we learn that Nandikkarai was taken as belonging to Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu. Thirdly, he is called Vaḷabha in our inscription after his *Rāshṭra* and I think, Vellan in the name of Vellaṅ-Kumāraṉ of the Grāmam inscriptions, is only a form of Vallabhan.[8] Fourthly, as I have already pointed out, the rhetorical implications of the first Sanskrit verse of our inscription require the assumption of a word meaning Subrahmaṇya or Guha as part of the

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[1] Nos. 735 and 739 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] *An. Rep. of the A.S.I.* 1905-6, pp. 171 ff.

[3] *An. Rep. of the A. S. I.* 1905-6, p. 182.

मौलिः पुत्तूरजन्मा कलिबलजयिनामुत्तमः केरलानाम्
राजादित्यस्य साक्षादविचलितचमूनायको माधुरान्तेः ।
मौलिग्रामेऽधिपेण्णातटधरणिशिलामन्दिरं मन्दराभं
माहादेवं महाश्रीः स्थिरतरमकरोदत्र वेल्लंकुमारः ॥
नदीस्थलीकृतनिरतेः शिवास्पदं शिलास्थलीमभिरतये पुरद्विषः ।
निजामिमां धियमिव सुप्रतिष्ठितां कुमार इत्यकृत नवाग्रहारजः ॥

[4] No. 739 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[5] [In the other record at the place (No. 735 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) edited by Mr. V. Venkayya, he is called the *Mūla-bhṛitya* of the Chōḷas (*śōḻargaḷ mūla-bhṛityar*).—Ed.]

[6] The expression in our record *Prakaṭa-tara-guru-snēha-sāmanta-bhāvam* compares with the *Avichalita-chamūnāyaka*, *Mūlabhṛitya* and *Perumpaḍaināyaka* of the Grāmam inscriptions.

[7] *Trav. Arch. Ser. Vol. I.*, pp. 291-2.

[8] Vaḷḷuva is a well-known Tamil form of Vallabha ; that in Malayalam, Vallabha becomes *Vella* can be seen from the old list of Sanskrit Malayalam equivalents in personal names published in the *journal of the Travancore University Oriental Mss. Library,* IV. iii. Oct. '48, p. 45, Mss. Notices and Studies, verse 15.

general's name ; and it may well be Kumāra. Fifthly, and this is only of cumulative value, the Grāmam inscriptions are in a locality over which Rājāditya was Viceroy, and it is natural that his general of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription was also in the same place.[1]

Unfortunately, the inscriptions afford no clue to know his caste ; in one of the Grāmam inscriptions, his native place is called *Navāgrahāra* ; we do not know if we can put too much meaning into the word *Agrahāra* and suggest that he was a Brāhmaṇa. But the general impression left by a consideration of his life and career is clearly in favour of taking him to be of high caste.

The descriptions of the positions occupied by the general, which have been noted above, show him to have been an intimate guard of the king and a general of his chief forces. The last we hear of him as a Chōḷa commander in the Tirumuṇaippāḍināḍu is in 943 A.D. ;[2] next, he figures at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr as a *Maṭhapati,* in the eighteenth year of king Kṛishṇa III, i.e., in A.D. 957.[3] From his second record at the latter place, i.e., the present inscription, dated in A.D. 959, we learn that his absence from the scene at Takkōlam led him to renounce worldly life. Where he was between the years 943 and 949, the date of the battle of Takkōlam, what his pre-occupation was and why he could not be by his master's side on the occasion of the fatal engagement are more than what we can say or suggest at present. But one thing is certain, viz., the alleged treachery of Chaturānana Paṇḍita and his turning a spy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, etc.,[4] is, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says, " a most baseless conjecture."[5] The misunderstanding was inspired not only externally by Fleet's wrong translation of the passage in the Āṭakūr inscription but also internally by the wrong import attached to the word *Vallabha* occurring in the first verse of our inscription. *Vallabha* refers to the general's father as the chief of Vallabha Rāshṭra *i.e.,* Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu, (- - -*Vallabha-samāhvaya-rāshṭra-nāthāt*) in Keraḷa, and not to the Vallabha Rāshṭrakūṭa.[6]

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[1] That this identification had also suggested itself to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri may be seen from his remarks " One wonders if this man (Chaturānana Paṇḍita) was the same as the Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya who built the Śiva temple at Grāmam . . . . . " (*Colas,* Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 496, f.n. 71).

In his short account of Chaturānana Paṇḍita (*Colas,* Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 496), Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri says that this general ' came to be closely associated with king Rājāditya as his *guru,* friend and *sāmanta.*' The expression in the inscription *Prakaṭatara-guru-snēha-sāmanta-bhāvaṁ* means really that he became the general (*sāmanta*) of king Rājāditya by virtue of his great (*guru*) and very transparent (*prakatatara*) attachment (*snēha*) to the king. Prof. Sastri says also that ' *in spite of their proximity,* (italics mine) he did not have the pleasure of dying with his friend ', and in support of this is found his citation in the foot-note *sannidhānāt hamarana-sukhaṃ.* As has been pointed out while drawing attention to the peculiarities of the writing in this i nscription, an *avagraha* is omitted here, and the correct word is *asannidhānāt*—' owing to his absence (from the scene)'. If the negative *a* is not to be had there, the *sandhi* will not be प्राप्तो सन्निधानात् but will be प्राप्तस्सन्निधानात्. Further, a locative and not an ablative is needed for the sense ' in spite of '.

Further our inscription says that the general became a scholar even as a boy ; thus, though he became a military figure, he retained his scholarly and spiritual background, the full and eventual manifestation of which found a sufficient cause and occasion in the sad demise of his beloved master. That even as a general in Tirumuṇaippāḍināḍu, he was of a spiritual bent can be seen in some of the descriptive attributes and fancies in the Grāmam inscription referring to his construction of the Śiva temple. The first verse describes him as *Maulih* . . . . *Kalibala-jayināṁ*—' foremost of the victors over the strength of the Kali age ', and the second verse says that he erected for Śiva a temple, well established even as his own well-established mind.

Śilāsthalīṁ abhiratayē puradvishaḥ nijāṁ imām dhiyam iva supratishṭhitām (*akṛita*)

He was thus a *supratishṭhita-dhī* or more or less, in the language of the *Gītā, sthita-prajña.*

[2] No. 735 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] No. 177 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[4] See *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy,* 1913, pp. 93-4 ; also *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras, Vol. VI, pp. 229-235.

[5] *Colas,* Vol. I, p. 160, f.n.

[6] *Colas,* Vol. I, p. 444. The information in the summary of our inscription given here, "favourite of the Vallabha king " is also wrong ; not only wrong but contradictory to what Prof. Sastri had said earlier on p. 160, f.n.*

We are told in our inscription that the general, after his return from the Ganges, had his initiation from the cave of Nirañjana-guru, who was the head of affairs at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. From an inscription at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[1] dated in the 19th year of Vijayakampavarman, we learn that a Nirañjana-guru built the Śiva shrine at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr naming the shrine after himself as Nirañjanēśvaram. Nirañjana-guru is here stated as playing a prominent part in the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple. The date of this record is, however, not known, for neither the exact identity nor the date of the Pallava Vijayakampavarman is settled. That this Pallava king was connected with the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple is further evident from the name of another deity at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Kampīśvaram-uḍaiyār, mentioned in inscriptions.[2] Vijayakampa's period extended over twenty-six years, and he is taken by some scholars as a contemporary of both Nṛipatuṅga and Aparājita ;[3] this may, roughly speaking, place Kampa somewhere round about 875 A.D. Nirañjana-guru, who built the shrine at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in his 19th year, cannot be brought to a date later than 900 A.D. Anyway, he could not have been living at the time of the Chōḷa general's entry into the holy order. The Takkōlam battle was fought in A.D. 949 and the first inscription mentioning this general as head of a *maṭha* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr is dated A.D. 957. Even allowing the shortest time for his journey to the Ganges and return to the south, say two years, we cannot suppose that he could have been at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr earlier than A.D. 951. Probably he took a longer time to return to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr ; for one who had renounced life and had chosen the path of the passionless, there was no particular hurry and his hitting upon Tiruvoṟṟiyūr for stay and *sādhanā* could not have been according to any pre-meditated plan. I reconstruct the conditions under which he became a *siddha* differently from what they have appeared to be for others. The important word in the inscription, *gahva*, meaning *guhā*, should be properly understood. It may be by subsequent semantic shift, the word *guhai* in the Tamil Dictionary has come to acquire the general meaning ' abode of a recluse ;' such an abode may be a monastery, a cave or any secluded place ; a cave may be natural, excavated or artificially constructed ; but a *guhā* especially when it is used in Sanskrit does not necessarily mean a *maṭha*.[4] Now, in the times of Vijayakampavaraman, there was a great Śaiva at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr named Nirañjana-guru who was an important figure in the temple. His habitation, or more probably the place where he had his *sādhanā* originally, was a cave or cave-like dwelling which during his time and after became famous as the *Nirañjana-guhā*. When our general came to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, he was an obscure aspirant ; he saw a *guhā* there associated with a great *siddha* and which he therefore took to be highly efficacious for his own *sādhanā* also ; he entered it, performed *sādhanā* inside for a considerable time and then emerged one day as a *siddha*. The *guhā* then became doubly sacred with the association of two *siddhas*, and devotees began to esteem it all the more. The new *siddha*, who had now assumed the name of Chaturānana Paṇḍita, continued to inhabit the same *guhā*, which by the attention paid by the public gradually grew in importance and was built over into a regular *maṭha* by the time of the visit of the Mānyakhēṭa merchant in A.D. 957.[5] If we interpret

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[1] No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1913, p. 86.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 146.

[4] See *Colas*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 498, f.n. 72. Chaturānana Paṇḍita as the name points is a Śaivite recluse; according to the canonical works of the Pāśupata sects, one of the prescribed habitats of a Śaivite recluse is a *guhā* which is explained as a cave ; the mention of a cave is said in some texts to include man-forsaken buildings too, *śūnyāgara* ; but nowhere is a *sādhaka* referred to as resorting to an established *maṭha* for his *sādhanā*. See *Pāśupata Sūtras*, Tri. Skt. Series, CXLIII, p. 116, and *Gaṇakārikā*, Gaek. Or. Series, XV, pp. 16-17.

[5] *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1913, para. 17, page 94.

No. 371 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection too literally *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-uḷaiyār-kōyilil-maḍamuḍaiya Chaturānana Paṇḍitanum*—we may suppose that the *maṭha* was within the temple.[1]

If, as has been supposed by some scholars,[2] Chaturānana had received initiation directly at the hands of Nirañjana-guru himself, we may expect the text and the wording of the inscription to have been different. As the wording of the inscription is, it is *gahva* or *guhā* that is emphasised and it is from the *guhā* (*gahvād ya āpta-vrataḥ*) that Chaturānana is said to have obtained his spiritual re-birth. In spirit, therefore, he was a pupil and successor of Nirañjana, but not in person.[3]

Chaturānana then established a monastery at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr whose successive heads came to be called Chaturānana Paṇḍitas after the founder. The following Chaturānana-Paṇḍitas are mentioned at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in inscriptions belonging to different periods.

(1) Chaturānana-Paṇḍita I (Vaḷabha or Vellaṅkumāra); of the time of Parāntaka I, Rājāditya and Kaṇṇaradēva.	Civil life at Grāmam	A.D. 935-6[4] and 943[5]
	Spiritual career at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr	957[6] 959[7]
(2) Chaturānana-Paṇḍita (of the time of Rājēndra Chōḷa I)	Tiruvoṟṟiyūr	1043[8]
	A certain architect Ravi built the *Vimāna* under his aegis	unknown[9] date
(3) Chaturānana-Paṇḍita (of the time of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa).	Tiruvoṟṟiyūr	1077[10]
(4) Chaturānana-Paṇḍita, (contemporary of Vāgīśa Bhaṭṭa, a Sōma-Siddhāntin; of the time of Rājādhirāja II)		1171-1172[11]

[1] There is at present no trace of the Chaturānana-Paṇḍita *maṭha* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, either outside or inside the temple. The *maṭha*-like hall in the Sannidhi street very near the main *gōpura* of the temple having an image of Dakshiṇāmūrti, Śaṅkarāchārya, etc., is a very recent one, owing its origin to an Advaitic Sannyāsin, popularly known as Yōgīśvara, who was there some decades ago. This has nothing to do with the Chaturānana *maṭha*. There is also a local tradition in the place that to protect the purity of the priest, there used to be a cave passage between the priest's house on the northern main street to the east of the tank, and the temple, but such a passage, if it was there, must have been different from the *Nirañjana-Guhā*.

[2] T.N. Ramachandran : Vijayakampavarman, *JOR*, Madras, Vol. VI, pp. 224-235.

[3] Therefore, the whole argument of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran in his article that the Nirañjana-guru of Vijayakampa's time being the same as the Nirañjana-guru of our inscription, the date of Vijaya-Kampavarman would come to 907-33 A.D. seems to be wrong. It is unnecessary to assume too long a period for the Nirañjana of Kampa's inscription and the Chaturānana of Kaṇṇaradēva's inscription or to identify the latter with the Chaturānana of Rājēndra Chōḷa's time. Having proposed this last identification, Mr. Ramachandran differentiates the Chaturānanas of the two Rājēndra inscriptions, while the more natural assumption is to take these two as the same. It is acceptable to Mr. Ramachandran that the successors of the first Chaturānana-Paṇḍita were also called by the same name. See also above, Volume XXIII, p.145, f.n. 1.

[4] No. 739 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[5] No. 735 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[6] No. 177 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[7] No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[8] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1354 ; No. 104 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[9] No. 126 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[10] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1356.

[11] Nos. 403 of 1896, 371 of 1911 and 206 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

From the description of the Chaturānana-Paṇḍitas in these inscriptions, we understand that though when the first Chaturānana made an endowment, he entrusted it with the *Sabhā* of Narasiṁhamaṅgala, the Paṇḍita himself was also in charge of the affairs of the temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. The record of the Mānyakhēṭa merchant at this place refers to *Maṭhapati* Chaturānana as bearing the office of Dharma.[1] Nirañjana-guru is described in the insoription[2] of Vijayakampavarman as the lord of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr uḍaiya*) and in our own inscription as *Ādhigrāmapati.*[3] In similar terms, the inscription of Rājēndra Chōḷa[4] refers to Chaturānana as one in charge of the temple and the *maṭha* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr [*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-tirumayānamu(m)maḍam(um)-uḍaiya*]. It was at Chaturānana's instance that Ravi built the *Vimāna* (*Chaturānana-chōditēna*) of the Ādhipurīśvara shrine.[5] In the time of Kulōttuṅga I, the Paṇḍita is entrusted with the scrutiny of the temple accounts.[6] The Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja II is stated to have attended the temple festival at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr with Chaturānana by his side,[7] and in another inscription of the same king we find the Paṇḍita ordering the recording of some gift left unrecorded.[8] The position of authority held by Chaturānana is borne out by the Sanskrit portion of the inscription[8] of Rājādhirāja II in which Chaturānana who looks into the accounts is expressly called *Vārēśaḥ,*

वारेशश्चतुराननो मठपतिः स्थित्यर्थमालेखयत् ।

that is, head of the *Vāriyaṁ* which was an executive committee functioning under the *Sabhā.*[9]

Mr. T. N. Ramachandran says[10] that there was an order of *Sannyāsins* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr to which both Nirañjana and Chaturānana belonged. This is not likely. There was no succession of Nirañjana but only one Nirañjana of Kampavarman's time. Both Nirañjana and Chaturānana were Śaiva *gurus* and even as their names, which are different from the advaitic appellations ending in *Ātman*, *Ānanda*, etc., show, they had nothing to do with *Advaita.* That Śaṅkarāchārya visited the place and put down the *Vāmamārga* obtaining there is known from tradition ; what we actually know from the inscriptions is that so late as the time of Rājādhirāja II, one Vāgīśa Bhaṭṭa was there expounding *Sōma-Siddhānta,* quite in keeping with the Bhairava and Pāśupata traditions of the place. But this hardly means that other forms of worship and currents of thought did not join to build up the richness of the spiritual associations of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. The tradition of Śaṅkara brought *Advaita* and the worship of Dēvī on refined lines ;[11] the tradition of *Vyākaraṇadāna,* revelation of grammar, shows the probability of the *upāsanā* of *Śabdabrahman* attaining some importance at the shrine ; and above all, the hymns of the Śaiva Nāyanārs relating to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr show the growth, at the place, of the path of *Bhakti* to Śiva.

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[1] No. 177 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection : बिभ्राणे चतुरानने मठपतौ धर्म्यां धुरम् ।

[2] No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1354.

[5] Nos. 105 of 1892 and 126 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1356.

[7] No. 371 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[8] No. 206 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[9] *Colas*, Vol. II, Pt. i. pp. 281-5 on *Vāriyaṁ.*

[10] *J. O. R.*, Madras, Vol. VI, p. 231.

[11] There is an image of Śaṅkarāchārya in the Gaulīśvara shrine here.

Besides the *matha* of Chaturānana-Paṇḍita, there were others called after Rājēndra Chōḷa,[1] Tirujñānasaṁbandha,[2] Nandikēśvara,[3] Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa,[4] and Aṅgarāya[5] at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. The *Rājēndra-Chōḷa-maṭha* was evidently founded during the king's time. It was a *maṭha* for the *Māhēśvaras* and is referred to in inscriptions Nos. 127, 132 and 135 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. It was built by the wife of Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa of Merkalāpura in Āryadēśa, who became a resident of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. It is clear that this *maṭha* must have been founded after the expedition of the king to the Ganges, for Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa and his wife from Āryadēśa, along with scholars and Śivāchāryas like Sarvaśiva Paṇḍita of the Tanjore temple, must have been brought from the north by Rājēndra's generals on their return from the *Gaṅgā-vijaya*.

The *Nandikēśvara-maṭha*, reference to which is found in an inscription[6] of the third year of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla (c.1238 A.D.), can be identified at the village even now on the north-western corner outside the temple.[7]

We may now proceed to discuss the details of the gifts mentioned in the inscription.

It says that for the conduct of the worship of Śiva at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Chaturānana-Paṇḍita entrusted the endowment to the assembly of Narasiṁhamaṅgala (*Narasiṁhamaṅgala-sabhām=ākalpam=agrāhayat*). The express mention of a different name Narasiṁhamaṅgala in connection with the *Sabhā* shows that the *Sabhā* was not exactly at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. In the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscriptions[8] we find that the administrative affairs at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr were carried on by the *Sabhā* of the village of Maṇali, otherwise called Siṅga or Siṁhavishṇuchaturvēdimaṅgalam. In No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection of the time of Vijayakampa, though not styled as Siṁhavishṇuchaturvēdimaṅgalam, Maṇali figures as transacting through its *sabhā* important affairs at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. It is clear from the epigraphs that the administrative *Sabhā* for Tiruvoṟṟiyūr was not at that place itself, but at Maṇali or Siṁhavishṇuchaturvēdimaṅgalam which is only two or three miles from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.[9] It seems therefore very probable that the Narasiṁhamaṅgala of our record refers only to Maṇali. If this view is correct, Narasiṁhamaṅgala, which is the name in the earlier record, must be the proper name but which later came to be mentioned also as Siṁhavishṇuchaturvēdimaṅgalam. Siṁhavishṇu and Narasiṁha are not after all different names and the full name of king Siṁhavishṇu might have been Narasiṁhavishṇu.[10] In the introductory portion of the *Avantisundarīkathā*, the king is mentioned as Siṁhavishṇu and in the *Āryā* uttered as a blessing by the Gandharva in which there is a vague but relevant *ślēsha* implied, the name

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[1] Nos. 127, 132 and 135 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] No. 238 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. 15th year of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla (c. A.D. 1250: See *Madras Epigraphical Report* 1890, May, p. 2.)

[3] No. 239 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[4] *Madras Epigraphical Report* 1913, p. 86. Fifty Śaivas were fed here every day.

[5] No. 205 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection of the time of Harihara II of Vijayanagara.

[6] No. 239 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[7] In the *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-Purāṇam* (Canto 3, verse 8) we find that Nandikēśvara performed penance to see the dance of Śiva at Tiruvorriyūr on the banks of a *tīrtha* (tank) to the northwest of the temple. The neighbourhood of the place now shows that there must have been a tank and other structures here.

[8] Nos. 102, 112, 128, 142, 156, 211, 228 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[9] In fact, the expression *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-purattu-Maṇali* in inscriptions warrants our holding Maṇali as having been a part of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. We may in this connection compare Palaiyanūr and Tiruvālangāḍu (near Arkonam); though the former village is about a mile from the latter place, the temple at the latter place is said to be situated at Paḷaiyanūr (No. 459 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).

[10] See also *Memoirs, Arch. Survey of India*, No. 26; and *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 17.

Narasiṁha occurs. The Tamil part of the inscription, if it was intact, might have thrown some light on this problem.[1]

From this association with the Pallavas, we may take that the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple developed greatly in Pallava times and became a famous centre of Mahāvrata Śaivas. That the lives of one of the minor Śaiva Nāyanārs, Kaliya Nāyanār and of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, one of the Śaiva saints of the Pallava period, are associated with this temple would also show that the shrine had become famous in the Pallava times.

Our record says that Chaturānana arranged for a special service for the Śiva at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. The deity meant is evidently the primary one in the central shrine, referred to as Ādhipurīśvara which is but a translation of the Tamil name Oṟṟiyūr-Uḍaiyār. The Tamil name *oṟṟi* and its Sanskrit synonym *ādhi* mean 'mortgage'; what story in the local *purāṇa* gave this name to the deity is not known.[2] Nor is it known if it was the central deity that was renamed Nirañjanēśvarattu-Mahādēvar by Nirañjana-guru, for, the subshrines and deities at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr are numerous.[3]

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[1] The names Narasiṁhamaṅgala and Siṁhavishṇuchaturvēdimaṅgalam clearly show the association of the Pallavas with the shrine at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and with its adjacent village, Manali. In the 12th canto of the *Tiruvoṟṟiyūrp-Purāṇam,* we find an account of a Toṇḍaimāṉ of Kāñchī and what he did for the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple. The Toṇḍaimāṉ who was engaged in rounding up the chieftains Kuruṁbas, Kurunilamannar, who were harassing the people, had to encounter two of their chieftains, Bāṇa and Oṇa, in the northern direction, from where they were fighting with the help of Bhairava, the deity of their worship. Unable to stand against these, the Toṇḍaimāṉ sought the help of Vishṇu at Tirupati, which being of no avail against the Bhūta sent by Bhairava, he sought the aid of Śiva at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. With the help of the last mentioned, he could destroy the Kuruṁbas and in gratitude, Toṇḍaimāṉ erected a regular temple for the Śiva at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr with *vimāna, prākāra,* etc. What follows is interesting: the Toṇḍaimāṉ established 500 Śivaliṅgas and brought from the banks of the Ganges five hundred Brāhmaṇa *Mahāvratins.* For guarding the temple, he set up an image of a Vīramahākāḷī and in front of it a round stone (*vaṭṭappārai* in Tamil) having a *mantrachakra*; and this Kāḷī is evidently the one on the southern side of the central shrine now going by the name of Vaṭṭapaḷḷi-(a corruption of Vaṭṭappārai) Nācchiyār. The Toṇḍaimāṉ then consecrated here seven Kāḷīs and Bhairavas and *a figure of Śiva in the form of a teacher of the Mahāvratins.* The last is evidently the image referred to as Gauḍēśvara or Gauḷīśvara found behind the shrine of Tyāgarāja, to the west, in the southern *prākāra.* Therefore Gauḷīśvara or Gauḍēśvara, like the Uttarāpathēśvara at Tiruchcheṅkāṭṭāṅguḍi, refers perhaps to the bringing of the worship and the followers of *Mahāvrata* from the north. It may be pointed out in this connection that both this Gauḍēśvara image and the image of Bhairava or Kshētrapāla in the northern *prākāra* appear old and may belong to later Pallava times.

[2] The available *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-Purāṇam* not only does not contain any story to explain this name but says also that *Oṟṟi* in the name refers to the fact that floods subsided at this place. *Ādhi* in the name is taken as *Ādi* meaning 'primary'. In canto two (*Liṅgōtpatti-Sarga*) the *Purāṇa* says that the chief deity at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr is of the form of a painted plank (*chitraphalaka*), surrounded by Agni; the deity is hence called Phalakākāranātha. In a subsequent canto (eight) of the same *Purāṇa,* the story is told of how the serpent king Vāsuki became one with the deity, and from that arose another name of the deity, Paḍaṁ-pakka-nātha, the Lord with the serpent's hood attached to His form. A stray verse of Kamban also points to the main deity being of the form of Valmīka or anthill, for he refers to the Kāḷī there as the 'Goddess by the side of *maṉ* or earth (*valmīka*)', Maṭpakkanāchchiyār. Such Valmīka forms of deity are known in other shrines too like Tiruvārūr and the painted plank referred to in the *Purāṇa* means a plank placed in front of the Valmīka with some *chakra.* Instead of giving any detailed articles for the bathing (*abhishēka*) of the deity, our inscription simply mentions *Tirumeyppūchchu* or the oil essence of frankincense (*sāmpirāṇittailam*) which is the usual substance with which a periodical sprinkling in lieu of *abhishēka* is given for Valmīka-*mūrtis.* However, if Paḍaṁpakkanāyaka is the name of the main deity in the form of a Valmīka, there is a real difficulty in explaining the inscription 232 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection found at the basement of the Gauḷīśvara shrine which refers to Paḍaṁpakkanāyaka as a stone-image (*śilā-mayattirumēni*). Perhaps this latter refers to what is called *Ādhiliṅgam* which is said to be on the north of the Valmīka-*mūrti.* In a late work (c.1800 A.D.), called *Sarvadēvavilāsa,* containing descriptions of temples in Madras city and environs, this Gauḷīśvara is referred to as Tryaṁbakēśa; and the deity of the central shrine is called Valmīkanātha.

[3] We must suppose that what was originally an early Pallava structure was rebuilt by Nirañjana-guru towards the close of the Pallava period, and was again rebuilt by architect Ravi in Rājēndra-Chōḷa's time. From the numerous and informative inscribed stones in the temple, it would indeed be an interesting work to reconstruct the original plan and subsequent growth and modification of the structure of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple.

Some of the words in the inscription need explanation. By *Nishka* (l.11) we have to understand *Kalañju* and by *Māsha* (l.12) *Mañjāḍi* and this interpretation gives us the interest as three *Mañjāḍis* per *Kalañju* which was the rate obtaining at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr as stated in inscriptions of those times.

Of measures of capacity, the inscription mentions the *Kāḍi* and *Nāḻi* with reference to rice, ghee and sugar. The *Kāḍi*, the Tamil Lexicon suggests, is the Sanskrit *Khāri*, which is a measure of grain, etc., equal to sixteen *Drōṇas*, a *Drōṇa* being equal to one or four *Āḍhakas*. As eight *Āḍhakas* now make a measure, the *Kāḍi* may mean two or eight measures, but in view of the fact that the rice offering mentioned is meant for a round of four services in the day (*nālu-pōḻdaikku*), we may take *Kāḍi* as eight measures. The *Nāḻi* is mentioned by the Tamil Lexicon as a measure or one-fourth of a measure and here again, the former seems to suit our context.

Next to the rice offering mentioned as *Tiruvamirtu*, the inscription mentions another rice-offering called *Perumtiruvamirtu*, followed by a mention of ghee and sugar. The editor of the Tamil Lexicon thinks that the addition of *Perum* adds no significance, but I think *Perumtiruvamirtu* (l.16) or the grand rice-offering, for which ghee and sugar also are mentioned, is sweet rice offering called *Akkāravaḍiśal*, a variety of *Śakkaraippoṅgal*.

The *Tirumeyppūcchu* occurring in the inscription has already been explained as the oil essence of frankincense p. 300 f.n. 2.

Dēvāramāṇis (l.20) are reciters of the *Dēvāram* hymns. Māṇi is either a student or Brahmachārī (*Māṇavaka*, *Māṇākka*), and refers perhaps to the class of temple singers solely devoted to the recital of *Dēvāram* hymns,[1] at service time.

The expression *Pūśai kaṭṭuvāṉ* (l.21) may mean the person who arranges the things in order for the service, especially the assistant who brings the offerings from the temple kitchen.

I must now express my thanks to my friends who helped me in editing the inscription and preparing this article: Mr. M. Venkataramayya, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao and Mr. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar of the Epigraphy Officer, Madras.

TEXT

1 [श्री]: श्रीराजशेखर इति प्र[2][थि]त[ा][f]भ[धा]न[ात्]— — ◡ — ◡ ◡

2 ◡[3] नैर्भुवि केरळानाम्[।*] नाथस्य वल्लभसमाह्वयराष्ट्रनाथात्

3 [ख्या]तो गुणैस्समभवद्वळभो गुहाभः[4] । [१*] बाल्ये विद्यास्समस्त(स्ता)-

4 स्स्वयमधिगतवान् बाहुशाली विशालीभूतोर[5]स्थापितश्रीर्भुवन[हि]त-

5 [illegible]चोळदेशं समेत्य [।*] राजादित्यस्य राज्ञः प्रकटतरगुरुस्नेहसाम-

[1] Inscriptions show that recital of these hymns in the temples was known even in later Pallava times and had become a regular feature from the time of Parāntaka I. See *Colas*, II, i, p. 476.

[2] After *pra* the letters are mostly damaged; parts of *t*, *bh* and *n* alone are seen.

[3] These seven letters are totally destroyed.

[4] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[5] Read °रस्स्था°. [The omission of the *visarga* here is in accordance with the *vārttikā*: खर्परे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्यः—Ed.]

6 न्तभावं यः प्राप्तो[ऽ*]सन्निधानात्सहमरणसुखं संयुगे तेन ना-

7 प्ततः[1] ।[2] [२*] जात्यात्मान्वयतातभर्त्रसदृशं कर्म्मेदमित्याकुलो वैलक्ष्येण

8 विरागतामुपगत[3]स्नातस्त्रिमार्ग्गाम्भसि[।*] श्राधिग्रामपतेर्ग्निरञ्जनगुरो-

9 र्गंह्वाद्य श्राप्तव्रतस्तद्रक्षात्तमहाव्रतः पुनरधाल्लक्ष्मीमिवानुव्रताम् ॥[4] [३*]

10 नाम्ना श्रीचतुराननो मठधुरम् बिभ्रद्धनिष्ठाह्वये जन्मर्क्षे स महा-

11 बलिभ्रमकृते ओṟṟī(ṟṟi)[5]यूरस्थितेः [।*] शम्भोश्शुद्धसुवर्ण्ण[6]निष्कशतकन्नि-

12 ष्कत्रिमाषढि[7]कम् ।[8] प्रत्यब्दम्नर्सिहमंगलसभामाकल्पमग्राहयत्[9] ।[।४*]

13 **Kachchiyun-Taiñjaiyuṅ**-koṇḍa **śrī[10] Kaṉṉaradē[11]varkku yāṇḍu irupa-**

14 **d**=āvadu **Puḻaṟ-kōṭṭattu-tiruvoṟṟiyūr** maḍam-uḍaiya **Chaturāṉa[ṉa]paṇḍita** bha[12]ṭā[ra]-

15 r tām piṟanda aviṭṭaṉ[13]-tōṟum ba[14]li naḍappadaṟku[m] Dēvaṟkku tiruv-amird=ariśi nā-

16 lu pōḻdaikku ariśi oru kāḍikkum perun=tiruv-amirdiṉukku ariśi padiṉāṟu-nā-

17 ḻikkun-neyy-amirdu nāḻikkuñ-śarkkarai nāḻikkum vāḻaippaḻam padiṉā-

18 ṟiṉukkuṅ-kariy-amidiṟkuṅ-kāyattiṟkun-tayir-amidiṟkumm-aḍaikkāy[15]=amidu n[ā]-

19 ṟpadiṉukkun-tirumeypūchchukkun-dhū[16]pattiṟkun-nāṟupūviṟkumm[17]=āga eṉk[ā]-

20 [ḍi] nā[ḻ] muṉṉāḻiyun dēvāramāṇigaḷ mūvarkkun=tirumaḍaip-paḷḷi aṭṭuvār iru-

21 [vaṟ]kum viṟak=iḍuvār=iruva[r*]kkum pūśai=kaṭṭuvāṉ=oruvaṉu[kku]n tirumeḻikk=iḍuvār-iruva[r*]kku-

22 . . . . . [nā*]lvarkkun=tiruv=alak=iḍuvār mūvarkkum=āga [ne][18]

TRANSLATION

[Verse 1] Of the chief of the *Rāshtra*, called Vallabha, of the well-known name Rājaśēkhara (who was, ...[19] to the lord of the Kēraḷa, was born Vaḷabha, renowned through his excellences even as god Guha was born of the moon-crested Śiva.

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[1] One letter is redundant here. Read °*ptaḥ*.

[2] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[3] Read °तस्स्ना°

[4] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] '*ṟṟ*' non-Sanskritic sound written in Tamil.

[6] Needless duplication of *n*.

[7] Read °ढ्किकम्.

[8] Stroke unnecessary.

[9] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[10] *Śrī* written in Grantha.

[11] *dē* " "

[12] *bha* " "

[13] Read *aviṭṭam*.

[14] *ba* written in Grantha.

[15] Read *amidiṟkum=aḍaikkāy* : needless duplication of *m*.

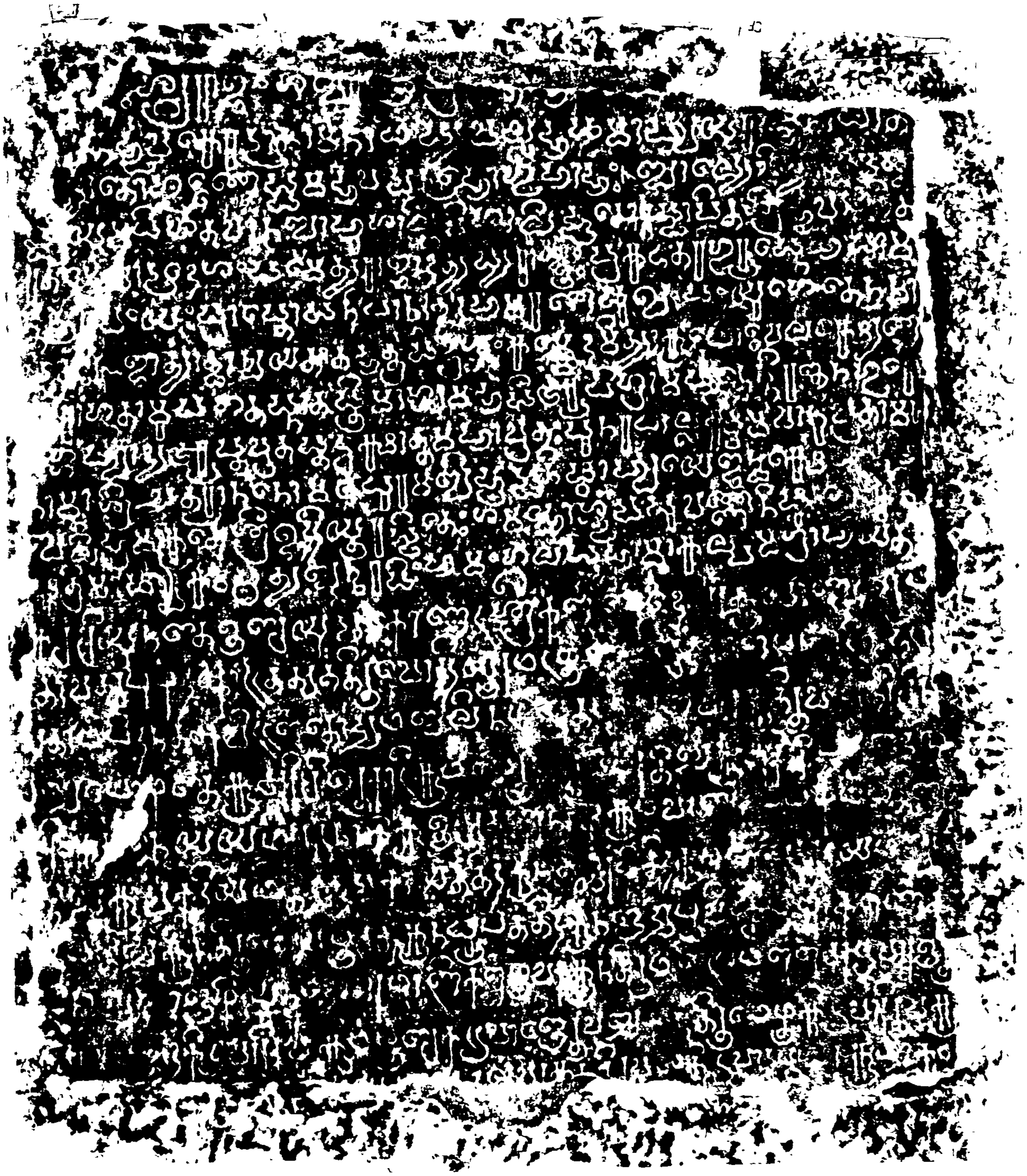
[16] *dhū* written in Grantha.

[17] needless duplication of *m* : read *pūviṟkum=āga*.

[18] This *ne* may be '*nel*, meaning paddy, to be given according to the measure to be specified in the further missing portion, to the above mentioned persons.

[19] A word *bhuvi* clear in this part of the verse is left untranslated, as it is not known with what other words it has to be taken.

TIRUVORRIYUR INSCRIPTION OF CHATURANANA PANDITA:
20TH YEAR OF KRISHNA III.



[V2.] Himself having acquired in his boyhood all the lores, the valorous (*Vaḷabha*), with the goddess of fortune established on his broad chest, devoting himself to the welfare of the world, came to the Chōḷa country, obtained the position of a general of king Rājāditya by virtue of his great and very transparent attachment (*to that king*), (*but*) could not, owing to his absence (*from the scene*), obtain the happiness of dying in battle along with the king.

[V3.] Perturbed (*in mind*) that this act (*absence and not dying with the king*) was unworthy of his class, his own self, family and master, he became, owing to indifference, bereft of all worldly attachment, bathed in the waters of the Ganges, had his initiation from (in) the cave of Nirañjana-guru, the head of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (Adhigrāma), and taking upon himself the sacred duty of maintaining that cave, he received back the goddess of fortune who was like one (*ever*) devoted to him.[1]

[V4.] Chaturānana by name[2] and bearing the burden of maintaining a monastery, he, for the purpose of continuation[3] of special worship to god Śiva at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr on the occasion of his natal constellation, the *Dhanishṭhā*, made the assembly of *Narasiṁhamaṅgala* receive till eternity a hundred pieces of pure gold with an interest of three *māshas* per *nishka* per year.

In the **twentieth** regnal year of **Śrī Kaṇṇaradēva** who captured **Kachchi** (Kāñchī) and **Tañjai** (Tanjore), **Chaturānana Paṇḍita Bhaṭārar** of the *Maṭha* at **Tiruvoṟṟiyūr** (*situated*) in the division called **Puḷar-kōṭṭam,** for the conduct of worship on every Aviṭṭam in which (*constellation*) he was born, (*provided for*) the Lord . . . .

for one *kāḍi* of rice for the (*ordinary*) rice offering,
four times (*in the day*),
for sixteen *nāḷis* of rice for the special rice-offering,
for one *nāḷi* of ghee,
for one *nāḷi* of sugar,
for sixteen plantain fruits,
for curry (vegetables), and asafoetida,
for curd,
forty areca-nuts (*and betel leaves*),
for *Tirumeyppūcchu*.
for frankincense,
and for fragrant flowers eight *kāḍis*,
and at three *nāḷis* ;
for three *Dēvāramāṇis*,
for two cooks in the temple kitchen,
for two fuel-assistants,
for one person to assist during the temple service,
for two persons who smear the ground (*clean*) with cow-dung,
for four . . . . (*and*)
for three persons who sweep with broomsticks . . . . . .

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[1] Having become head of a *maṭha*, position, power and pelf which he had once renounced, came back to him, as if they were wedded to him.

[2] *Dīkshā-nāman*, name after becoming a *siddha*.

[3] The expression in Sanskrit here is rather unusual — '*mahā-bali-bhrama*' ; there is no other reading possible : *bhrama* or revolving is taken by me as continuation or regular conduct (which is about the best meaning possible in the context). Compare *bali naḍappadarkku* in the Tamil part.

No. 48 –SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF KAKATIYA PRATAPARUDRA ; SAKA 1239

V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on the south wall of the *Chandana-maṇḍapa* in the Raṅganātha temple at **Śrīraṅgam** in the Trichinopoly District. It is badly damaged ; lines seventeen and eighteen containing the donative portion are irretrievably lost. However, it has been possible to rescue the remaining portion by carefully removing the *chunam* that has accumulated through ages, by periodical whitewashing of the temple. Moreover, the inscribed surface shows a tendency to exfoliate, as the granite selected is not of the hard variety. In spite of these defects, the portion now preserved is valuable, as it notices the part taken by the Kākatīya king Paratāparudradēva in the Second war of Pāṇḍya Succession[2] which convulsed the Tamil land in the fourteenth century, bringing in foreign aid in support of the opposing parties.

It may be stated at the outset, that a duplicate for a portion of this inscription, consisting of seven lines, is found in the Jambukēśvara temple at Tiruvāṇaikkāval,[3] close to Śrīraṅgam.

The **language**[4] of the present inscription is Telugu, but it is engraved in **Grantha,** a script better known in the locality. The **date** of the record is given as Śaka 1239, Piṅgaḷa, Chaitra, śu. 14, Monday, lunar eclipse, which corresponded to A.D. 1317, March 28, Monday.

As stated above, the portion containing the object of the grant is completely lost, but the last two lines indicate that some land or village was given as *sarvamānya*, evidently to the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. The introductory portion of the record states that while **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva-Mahārāya** was ruling from Oruṅgallu, **Dēvari-Nāyaka,** son of **Māchaya-Nāyaka** fitted out an expedition to the South against Pañcha-Pāṇḍya, defeated **Vīra-Pāṇḍya** along with **Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi Kulaśēkhara** at **Tiruvadikuṉḍram,** and that he finally installed **Sundara-Pāṇḍya**[5] at **Vīradhavaḷa.** This victorious event, Dēvari-Nāyaka celebrated by an endowment to the temple at Śrīraṅgam, as also to the one at Tiruvāṇaikkāval.[6]

The Muhammadan historians Wassaf and Amir Khusru point out that Malik-Kāfūr " was informed that the two Rais of Ma'bar, the eldest named Bīr-Pāṇḍya and the youngest Sundar-Pāṇḍya, who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions ".[7] Our inscription states that the Kākatīya general restored Sundara-Pāṇḍya to power after defeating Vīra-Pāṇḍya and the Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi. Further, an inscription from Poonamalle near Conjeevaram, in the Chingleput District, states that a Chēra king conquered Sundara-Pāṇḍya.[8] Evaluating these statements, it may be inferred that there was

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[1] No. 79 of 1938-39 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. During the recent renovation of the temple, a greater portion of this inscription is covered with cement plaster.

[2] For the first war of Pāṇḍya succession when the Chōḷa and the Singhalese kings espoused the cause of opposing parties, see above, Vol. XXI, pp. 186 ff.

[3] Published in *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, No. 430. This inscription is only a fragment. It is also engraved in *Grantha* script.

[4] In this connection it may be pointed out that the Arulāḷa-Perumaḷ temple inscription of this king (Pratāparudradēva) is in Sanskrit and Tamil (above, Vol. VII, pp. 128 ff). An inscription dated in Saka 1172 in which a merchant of Pandalāyani Kollam figures as donor is engraved in Tamil acknowledging the rule of the E. Gaṅga king Vīra Narasiṅgadēva at Viśākhapatnam (No. 98 of 1909). There is also another inscription of the king from Guṇḍalūr, the language of which is Telugu, the script being Tamil (No. 619 of 1907).

[5] But the statement made in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 487 that Sundara-Pāṇḍya was placed on the throne by Malik Kāfūr needs revision.

[6] See n. 3 above.

[7] Elliot and Dowson : *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 88.

[8] No. 34 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

rivalry between the two Pāṇḍya brothers and that Sundara-Pāṇḍyas ought the help of the Kākatīya king, while Vīra-Pāṇḍya resorted to Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi. The present epigraph therefore is important inasmuch as inscriptional reference to this hostility between the Pāṇḍya brothers has not so far been found. These Pāṇḍya princes are mentioned by the historian Wassaf as the legitimate and illegitimate sons of Kulaśēkhara, who by preferring the illegitimate Vīra-Pāṇḍya to succeed him drove Sundara-Pāṇḍya to turn a parricide and establish his claim with help from outside. From the date A.D. 1317 of the present record, it may be inferred that Malik Kāfūr's invasion of the south in 710 H. corresponding to A.D. 1310 was a general campaign for loot, and had no connection with the rivalry for power between the Pāṇḍya princes.

Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya mentioned in our inscription may be identified with the Pāṇḍya kings of the names who bore the title Jaṭāvarman and whose dates of accession were A.D. 1296 and 1303 respectively. From Wassaf's statement, their animosity seems to have arisen lately, probably before A.D. 1317, the date of our record. Vīra-Pāṇḍya's latest regnal year is 47[1] (46+1), corresponding to A.D. 1343, while that of Sundara-Pāṇḍya is 17,[2] carrying his reign to A.D. 1319, *i.e.* 2 years posterior to the date of our record. It will thus be evident that Vīra-Pāṇḍya ultimately gained his object as the rule of his rival was short.

We shall first take up for consideration the connection of the Pāṇḍyas who were the supreme power in the Tamil land[3] with the Travancore country, known as Malai-nāḍu,[4] Malai-maṇḍalam or Vēṇāḍ. The Pāṇḍya kings who were in power towards the close of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries were (1) Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1268-1310), (2) Vikrama-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1283-1296),[5] (3) Vīra-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1296-1343) and (4) Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1303-1319).[6]

Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara seems to have conquered Malai-nāḍu early in his reign, as some of the records found in the Tirunelveli District give him the titles 'the conqueror of Malai-nāḍu,[7] Śēraṉaiveṟṟa,[8] Kollam-Koṇḍa',[9] etc. A Sanskrit inscription from Tirunelvēli[10] mentions that he

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[1] *Pudukkottai Inscr.*, No. 440.

[2] *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 214.

[3] According to Muhammadan historians, Ma'bar, *i.e.* the Pāṇḍya country extended from Kulam (*i.e.* Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore) nearly 300 *pharasangs* along the sea coast and the king was called Dewar signifying 'the lord of the empire' (Elliot and Dowson : *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 32). Marco Polo who visited the coast of Tirunelveli in A.D. 1292 says that Ma'bar 'is the best of all the Indies and the finest and noblest province in the world' The Chinese annals contain a description of an embassy which the Pāṇḍyas sent to the Moghul emperor, Kublai-Khān in A.D. 1286 (*Tin. Dist. Gaz.*, p. 55).

[4] Malai-nāḍu roughly comprised the present Malabar district, Cochin and the northern portion of Travancore to the exclusion of Vēṇāḍ. Vēṇāḍ is taken to include the present Travancore State with its capital at Kollam (Quilon) and sometimes it is used as a comprehensive name to include the territories ruled by all the branches of the Vañchi dynasty. In the *Travancore State Manual*, Part II, p. 292 it is stated that the whole country between the Western Ghats and the sea stretching up to Kollam in the north formed the territory of the Vēṇāḍ kings who were also known by the name 'Kūpakas'.

[5] His latest regnal year is 13 (No. 539 of 1916 of the Madras Ep. Collection).

[6] *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 214. Pāṇḍya connection with the Chēra country is indicated even earlier during the reign of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (accn. A.D. 1216) in a record of his mentioning Chēra Pāṇḍyadēva "who took the eastern country" from Tiruveṅgavāśal in the Pudukkottai State (No. 235 of 1914 of the Madras Ep. Collection). A verse inscription from Chidambaram (No. 354 of 1913 of the Madras Ep. Collection) in which Sundara-Pāṇḍya is stated to have conquered Vēṇāḍu may be assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (accn. A.D. 1251). A record of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara with the introduction '*Pūtala-vanitai*' notices a Kēraḷa prince named Kōdai Ravivarman as the brother-in-law of the king (No. 665 of 1916 of the Madras Ep. Collection).

[7] No. 698 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated in the 11th year.

[8] No. 126 of 1907 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated in the 8th regnal year.

[9] *Ep. Rep.* for 1927, para. 42, page 91.

[10] No. 29 of 1927 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. This record is assigned to the king of accn. A.D. 1190 in the *Ep. Rep.* for 1927, para. 41, but it is too early for a Pāṇḍya claiming victory over the Hoysaḷas.

built the high *prākāra* wall of the local Nelliyappar temple from the booty obtained from the Kērala, Chōla and Hoysala kings. The titles Kulaśēkhara,[1] Māṛavarman, etc., adopted by the Vēṇāḍ king Ravivarman are taken as indicating his subordinate position to the Pāṇḍya king

Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was the younger brother[2] of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara and an inscription from Chidambaram refers to his exploits in Vēṇāḍ.[3] In his *praśasti* beginning with the words *Samastabhuvanaikavīra*, etc., he is called 'the sun to the dense darkness of the Kērala race'.[4] The Malayāḷam grammar *Līlātilakam* mentions the defeat evidently of this king at the hands of the Kērala ruler Kulaśēkhara Ravivarman who subsequently married the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king.[5] A verse quoted in the same work ascribes to this Pāṇḍya king victories over Muhammadans whose cavalry he defeated and pursued.[6]

Vīra-Pāṇḍya, according to Muhammadan historians, was the son of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I whose choice of succession to the Pāṇḍya throne fell on this prince in preference to his natural son Sundara-Pāṇḍya. The order of succession of Pāṇḍya kings in the region surrounding the present village Tiruvēndipuram[7] in the South Arcot District is given in an inscription as (1) Perumāḷ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, (2) Perumāḷ Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva, (3) Perumāḷ Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva and (4) Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva ;[8] while at Kāṭṭumannārkōyil in the same district, it is given as : (1) Perumāḷ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,

(2) Kulaśēkharadēva,

(3) Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva and

(4) Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva (accn. A.D. 1303).

All writers[9] on Pāṇḍya-Kērala relationship of this period suppose that the Vīra-Pāṇḍya who is mentioned in the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple inscription[10] as having been defeated and driven into Koṅkaṇa and thence into the forests by Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, is identical with the Pāṇḍya king of this name who ascended the throne in A.D. 1296. With this identification as the basis it has been postulated that this Pāṇḍya king was driven out of Kērala and Koṅkaṇ, that he reappeared and raised a standard of revolt[11] in Kērala against Ravivarman and in favour of his rival Udaya Mārttāṇḍavarman and that Ravivarman espoused the cause of Sundara-Pāṇḍya as against that of Vīra-Pāṇḍya.[12] But according to our interpretation of the present record, Ravivarman came to support Vīra-Pāṇḍya against Sundara-Pāṇḍya and as such Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Pāṇḍya king, could not have been an enemy of the Kērala king. Vīra-Pāṇḍya who sustained defeat at the hands of Ravivarman must therefore be not the Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya of the name, but must be taken as some other prince whose identity is not evident.[13] Further, we find Ravivarman

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[1] No. 350 of 1913 of the Madras Ep. Collection, belonging to Māṛavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vīra Kērala *alias* Kulaśēkhara must be ascribed to Ravivarman. See also *Ep. Rep.* for 1914, para. 24. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao drew my attention to several die-struck silver coins, round in shape, of a Vīra Kērala found at Vaigaikuḷam in the Tirunelveli District, which may be assigned to Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara. The legend on the obverse and reverse reads 'Śrī-Vīra Kēraḷasya' and 'Śrī Gaṇḍarāṁkuśasya' respectively. [Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao assigns them to Vīra Keraḷa of A. D. 1127. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. ii, p. 103.—Ed.]

[2] No. 462 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] No. 365 of 1913 do. do.

[4] *Ep. Rep.* for 1914, para. 20.

[5] *J. O. R.*, Vol. XII, p. 200.

[6] *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, p. 98.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 761. The date of this record would correspond to A.D. 1312, July 24.

[8] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, p. 173.

[9] *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 37 ; *Ep. Rep.* for 1914, para. 21 ; *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 89.

[10] Above, Vol. IV, p. 146.

[11] *J. O. R.*, Vol. XII, pp. 200 and 201.

[12] *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 37.

[13] The name Vīra-Pāṇḍya occurs in Koṅgu and Āḷupa genealogies in the second half of the 13th century and not about 1317 A.D., the date of our record.

assuming the Pāṇḍya title and names like Māṟavarman,[1] Kulaśēkhara[2] and Vīra-Pāṇḍya[3] which would indicate, either (1) that he wanted to consider himself a Pāṇḍya with rights to sovereignty in virtue of his having married a Pāṇḍya princess, or (2) his subordinate position, first under Kulaśēkhara and thereafter under Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the then supreme rulers of the Tamil land. The former alternative is perhaps emphasised by Ravivarman's coronation on the banks of the Vēgavatī in the Madura District and by the presence of the emblem of a fish surmounted by an *aṅkuśa* (the elephant goad) found engraved near his inscription in the Perumāḷ temple at Poonamalle.[4]

From our record we find that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was defeated by the Kākatīya general about A.D. 1317 but after the withdrawal of the Kākatīya forces, this Pāṇḍya king must have regained power, for his rule was acknowledged in the very next year, *i.e.*, A.D. 1318 at Viriñchipuram,[5] not very far from Conjeeveram.

Wassaf is the only authority who states that Sundara-Pāṇḍya took refuge under the protection of Ala-ud-din of Delhi when his half-brother Vīra-Pāṇḍya collected an army in the middle of the year 710 H. and marched against him.[6] This statement has rightly been questioned by scholars,[7] as nothing is known[8] about the effects of Muslim help, if any, given in this connection on the relative position of the two royal brothers of the Pāṇḍya country. What we definitely know from the present inscription is that Sundara-Pāṇḍya received help from the Kākatīya ruler who was instrumental in restoring the Pāṇḍya king to power through his general. In gratitude for this help Sundara-Pāṇḍya made an endowment at Vṛiddhāchalam for a service instituted in the local Śiva temple called after the general Muppiḍi-Nāyaka.[9] Sundara-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions are found from the Tirunelveli District[10] in the south right up to Viriñchipuram[11] (North Arcot Dist.) in the north.

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[1] *T. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 59.

[2] *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 90.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 330 ; No. 344 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. Like Ravivarman, his successor in Vēṇāḍ, *viz.* Udaya Mārttāṇḍavarman had the name Vīra-Pāṇḍya (*T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 90).

[4] *Ep. Rep.*, 1911, para. 40.

[5] No. 177 of 1939-40 of the Madras Ep. Collection, dated in Śaka 1239 and 21st year of Vīra-Pāṇḍya with the title Māṟavarman which is evidently a mistake for Jaṭāvarman. The details of date given in this record are correct for A.D. 1318, February 5 with the emendation śu. 3 for śu. 13. It may be noted in this connection that in the same village there is also an inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya (accn. 1303 A.D.) which combines Śaka 1227 with the 2nd regnal year (No. 189 of 1939-40).

[6] Elliot and Dowson ; *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 54.

[7] *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 207 ; *J. O. R.*, Vol. XII, p. 198.

[8] Wassaf who describes Sundara-Pāṇḍya's visit to Delhi does not refer to any help rendered by the Sultan. The other Muhammadan writers do not also refer to this incident or to any expedition which the Sultan sent to the Pāṇḍya country after Malik Kāfūr's return. [A record of Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 247 states that Rājarājan Sundara Paṇḍya invaded the country in alliance with the Muhammadans. Vide *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 89 and *n.* —Ed.]

[9] No. 72 of 1918. While reviewing this record in the *Ep. Rep.* for 1918, para. 50, it is stated that the elder brother of Sundara-Pāṇḍya made the endowment for the service instituted in the name of Muppiḍi-Nāyaka. This record dated in the 13+1st year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya would be assignable to 1316-17 A.D. I am inclined to interpret the words 'our elder brother' *nam-tamayanār* occurring in this inscription as referring to Muppiḍi-Nāyaka and not to any elder orother of the Pāṇḍya king. It is even suggested in *J. O. R.*, Vol. XII, p. 199, that this elder brother may be Vīra-Pāṇḍya himself. But Vīra-Pāṇḍya is known from the present record to be an enemy of the Kākatīya forces and he could not have made any endowment on behalf of his enemy. The text of this inscription runs :

'Yāṇḍu 13-vadin edirām-āṇḍu Chittirai-māda mudal Uḍaiyār Tirumudukunramuḍaiya-Nāyanārkku *nam-tamayanār* Pratāparudradēva-Mahārāja-Pradhānigaḷil Muppiḍi-Nāyakkar pērāl nām kaṭṭina śandikkum, etc.

[10] No. 608 of 1915 from Malayaḍikurichchi, dated in Śaka 1236 and 12th regnal year.

[11] No. 189 of 1939-40, dated in Śaka 1227 and 2nd regnal year.

The reason why the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra despatched an expedition to the south is easily guessed from the present inscription.[1] I have shown elsewhere[2] that about A.D. 1249 Kākatīya sway in the south extended as far as Conjeeveram during the time of Gaṇapati. The presence of the Kākatīya army near Conjeeveram was evidently resented by the Tamil people, as an inscription from Vēppaṅguḷam[3] near Conjeeveram mentions the wrongs done by this force. The Kākatīyas soon lost their foothold in the south, as the Pāṇḍyas under Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (accn. A.D. 1251) gained in power and extended their conquest in the north as far as Nellore, where the Pāṇḍya king claims to have anointed himself.[4] This Sundara-Pāṇḍya further signalised his victory over the Kākatīyas by issuing a new type of coin[5] depicting a boar on the obverse and the legend "Sundara-Pāṇḍiyan" in Tamil on the reverse. When sometime later, another Pāṇḍya king, *viz.*, Sundara-Pāṇḍya (accn. 1303) sought help, Pratāparudra[6] did not let slip the opportunity to re-establish Kākatīya power in the south. In the expedition sent by Pratāparudra, two generals Muppiḍi-Nāyaka[7] and Dēvari-Nāyaka took prominent part in the Tamil country, but it was left to the latter to reinstate Sundara-Pāṇḍya after defeating Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Malaiyāḷa Tiruvaḍi Kulaśēkhara.

This Malaiyāḷa Tiruvaḍi[8] Kulaśēkhara is identical with Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra *alias* Kulaśēkhara, the king of the country round the present town of Quilon known as Vēṇāḍ.[9] He ascended the throne in A.D. 1299 in his 33rd year and was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī at the age of 46, corresponding to A.D. 1312-1313, after subduing the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa countries.[10] His exploits are detailed in an inscription from the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple at Little Con-

[1] See also *J. O. R.*, Vol. XII, pp. 202 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 195. Gaṇapati's inscription is found at Conjeeveram (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 814) and his ministers Sāmanta Bhōja (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 197 ff.), Kōṉ Kāṭṭaiyaṉ (No. 608 of 1919), and Brahma Śetti (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 860) figure in the inscriptions at Conjeeveram.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 2.

[4] *Vide* his introduction beginning with the words "*Samasta Jagadādhāra*", etc., *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 483.

[5] See Sir T. Desikachariyar, *South Indian Coins*; Plate III, Nos. 58 and 59. On the obverse of this coin is found a boar facing the proper right on a pedestal with the sun and the crescent moon above, while the reverse depicts two carps separated by a sceptre with the legend "Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṉ" in Tamil; see also Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, 1938 (Allahabad), pp. 42-43.

[6] In this connection it may be mentioned that there is a stray verse in the *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Charitai* attributed to Kamban praising Rudra of Warangal. There is a persistent tradition in the Tamil country stating that Kamban the poet of the Chōḷa court, went over to the Kākatīya king who accorded him all the honours due to a great poet. The colophon appended by the redactor of this verse explains that this verse was sung by Kamban when he went over to the court of Pratāparudra and when he was following this king as valet (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 103).

[7] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 128 ff. Muppiḍi-Nāyaka's return from Kāñchī is recorded in a fragmentary inscription from Mallām in the Nellore District (No. 524 of 1908). This inscription registers a gift of land as *Yātrādāna* to the temple by Muppiḍi-Nāyaka, on his way back to Oraṅgal. He is said to have conquered the Pāṇḍya king, to have received elephants (from him) as tribute and to have entered Nellore on his way.

The *Velugōṭivāri-Vaṁśāvaḷi* gives a detailed account of the expedition sent to the south. Besides Muppiḍi-Nāyaka and Dēvari-Nāyaka, Pedda-Rudra (son of Muppiḍi), Erra-Dācha and Nalla-Dācha of the Rēcherla family, Prōlaya Vēma, founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu, Rudra of the Indulūri family and Bōlnēniṅgāru *alias* Gōpālavardhana who claims to have routed the Pāṇḍya king (No. 325 of 1915), also joined the expedition.

[8] *Tiruvaḍi* is a term applied to *saṁnyāsins*, gods and kings (*T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 31).

[9] Dr. Venkataramanayya is inclined to identify Malaiyāḷa Tiruvaḍi with Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman (*J. O. R.*, Vol. XII, p. 206), but this is not correct since the latter is not known with the name Kulaśēkhara explicity given in our inscription and also because he is not known for any exploit outside his country. A *sandēśa-kāvya* in Malayālam called 'Uṇṇunīḷa sandēśam' describes Ravi as Vēṇāḍār-kōn (*New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 36). The *Travancore State Manual*, part II, p. 294, states that "Vēṇāḍ extended at least as far as Quilon in the north, over the whole area between the mountains and the sea".

[10] Above, Vol. IV, p. 146.

jeeveram[1] and more can be gleaned from records found at Shermādēvi,[2] Kīḷ-Āmbūr,[3] Śuttamalli,[4] Śrīraṅgam,[5] Tiruppaṅgili,[6] Tiruvadi,[7] Chidambaram,[8] Vaḷuvūr[9] and Poonamalle[10] all lying outside his original territory. He is also known as the author of a drama called *Pradyumnābhyudaya* which is said to be enacted during the *Yātrōtsava* of Lord Padmanābha at Trivandrum.[11] His greatness as a scholar and as a liberal patron of learning is emphasised by the title 'Dakshiṇa-Bhōja,'[12] given to him in inscriptions.

Two points arising out of the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple inscription of Ravivarman mentioned above require clarification, *viz.* (*a*) his coronation on the banks of the Vēgavatī in A.D. 1312-13 and (*b*) his stay at Kāñchī in his 4th year. Dr. Kielhorn has identified Vēgavatī with the river of the name that flows into the Pālār river near Conjeeveram, and the 4th year as corresponding to A.D. 1315-16.[13] On the lead given by this scholar subsequent writers on the subject have taken that Ravivarman was at Kāñchī from A.D. 1312-13, the date of his coronation, till A.D. 1315-16, the supposed date of the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple inscription. The difficulty that confronts us here is that we find Vīra Champa at Kāñchī and Tiruvallam in A.D. 1314.[14] This Vīra Champa may be identified with the chief of the name with the surname Ediriliśōḷa-Śambuvarāya figuring as a subordinate of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (accn. A.D. 1303) who was restored to power according to our inscription, at Viriñchīpuram,[15] not far from Conjeeveram and Tiruvallam. If Ravivarman was the lord of the region round Conjeeveram about A.D. 1313, Vīra Champa could not have been there immediately thereafter without mentioning his overlord. The coronation in A.D. 1313 was not celebrated at Kāñchī, but on the banks of the river Vēgavatī in the Madura District.[16] The Sultanate at Madura had not by this time been established and between A.D. 1310 and 1326, the first and the second Muhammadan invasions[17] of the south, Ravivarman was free in the Tamil land. As suggested above, Ravivarman probably coveted the Pāṇḍya sovereignty which he evidently signalised by crowning himself in the heart of the Pāṇḍya country.[18] This coronation was celebrated in his 4th regnal year which must correspond to A.D. 1313, according to an inscription from Tiruvadi[19] which equates his 4th regnal year with Śaka 1235 and Kali 4414. When therefore Muppiḍi Nāyaka came to Kāñchī, his opponent in A.D. 1316 was not Ravivarman.

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1 Above, Vol. IV, p. 146.

2 No. 671 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

3 No. 518 of 1916 do. do.

4 No. 463 of 1909 do. do.

5 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 148 ff.

6 No. 172 of 1938-39.

7 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 8 ff.

8 No. 350 of 1913. In this and subsequent references like this the nos. relate to the Madras Epigraphical collection.

9 No. 54 of 1908.

10 No. 34 of 1911.

11 *Proceedings, Ninth All Ind. Orl. Con.*, p. 804.

12 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 9.

13 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 146.

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 70-71. The records are dated in Śaka 1236.

15 No. 189 of 1939-40. The date given here is Śaka 1227, 2nd year, Mīna . . . . . Friday, which corresponds to A.D. 1306, Feb. 25, Friday.

16 *Pandyan Kingdom* : p. 212 n.

17 *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 1401.

18 It has to be noted that Udaya Mārttāṇḍavarman, the successor of Ravivarman in Vēṇāḍ, counts his regnal year from A.D. 1313, the year in which Ravivarman was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī (*T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 89). Udayamārttāṇḍa probably never expected Ravivarman back in Vēṇāḍ.

19 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 8. The details of date given in this record are correct for A.D. 1313, Dec. 29, Saturday. The details given in another inscription of Ravivarman at Vaḷuvūr (No. 54 of 1908), *i.e.*, 5th year, Tulā, Su. 3, Saturday, Aniḷam, point to A.D. 1314, Oct. 12, Saturday as its date. From these two records, it may be inferred that Ravivarman calculated his regnal year from A.D. 1309, when probably he was crowned in Vēṇāḍ, *i.e.*, nine years after his accession to the Kēraḷa throne.

The latest regnal year of Ravivarman given in an inscription[1] from Tirunelvēli is 7, which according to our calculation would correspond to A.D. 1316-17. Ravivarman seems to have remained in the Tamil country[2] from A.D. 1312 to 1317 without returning to his native country, and by the latter date, we find his successor Udayamārttāṇḍa firmly established in Vēṇāḍ.[3] According to our inscription Ravivarman was defeated[4] at Tiruvadikuṉṟam. After this defeat which may be placed in A.D. 1317 he[5] disappears from history and is not heard of either in the Tamil country or in Kēraḷa.

Of the persons mentioned in the record, the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra is the most important. His seat of government was Warangal in the Nizam's Dominions where he ruled from Śaka 1215[6] to 1248.[7] The Kākatīya power reached the zenith of its glory during his reign. His dominion embraced the entire Āndhra country with the exception of Kaliṅga, and as shown above, he was able to extend his influence far into the Tamil country. During the Muhammadan invasion, he was taken captive, and according to one version is said to have died on the way by committing suicide, and according to another, to have returned to his country after escape and died thereafter about A.D. 1326.

Next in importance is Dēvari-Nāyaka, the donor. It is stated in the inscription itself that he was the son of Māchaya-Nāyaka who was an important officer in the Kākatīya court. This Māchaya was the king's *Gajasāhiṇi* and held the titles *Svāmidrōhara-gaṇḍa, Immaḍi-Niśśaṅkavīra. Samayachakravarti, Kaliyugavīrabhadra, Kīrtisamudra*, etc.[8] His son Dēvari-Nāyaka was equally famous and was governing the country round Mahādēvīcheṟla (modern Māchеrla) in Śaka 1237,[9] just two years prior to the date of our inscription. He had the reputation of being the rescuer of the kingdom of Kāketa (Kākatīya) family.[10] In the *praśasti* of an inscription from Darsi[11] in the Nellore District, he is given the titles *Chalamartigaṇḍa, Svāmidrōharagaṇḍa* and is praised for his generosity, piety, knowledge of politics and patronage of learned men. He is mentioned finally in Śaka 1241 in an inscription at Durgi[12] in the reign of Pratāparudra as making an endowment of land to the temples at Dāravēmula.

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[1] No. 77 of 1927.

[2] There is, however, no evidence for the statement that Ravivarman had gone as far north as Nellore (*Cambridge Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 487); *Trav. State Man.*, p. 104.

[3] *Trav. Archl., Ser.*, Vol. IV, pp. 89-90. Ravivarman's death did not take place in A.D. 1313, as suggested in the *Trav. State Man.*, pt. II, p. 117, and therefore the year of his death was not the same as that of the accession of his successor (*ibid.*, p. 118).

[4] The statement made in the *Trav. State Man.*, p. 108 about Saṅgrāmadhīra that 'no defeat has ever been recorded' must be revised.

[5] His name is associated with Kaṇṇanūr in the Kīḻ-Vembanāḍu and Poonamalle in the Chingleput district by surnaming them Raviveṉṟa-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Chēra-Pāṇḍya-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam respectively (No. 75 of 1927 and *Ep. Rep.* for 1911 para. 40).

[6] No. 545 of 1909.

[7] No. 308 of 1915.

[8] *Ep. Rep.* for 1910, para. 48.

[9] No. 586 of 1909.

[10] Above, Vol. IX, p. 330 and *Ep. Rep.* for 1910. page 109.

[11] Darsi 35, *Nellore Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 334.

[12] No. 574 of 1909.

[13] There is however one inscription from Tirukkaḍaiyūr in the Tanjore District mentioning an unsuccessful attempt made at partitioning the kingdom. This is dated in the 34th regnal year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara and the astronomical details given in it correspond to A.D. 1301, September 10, Sunday. This inscription notices a confusion (*kalagam*) brought about by the king making over a portion of his dominion to his younger brothers as *tirukkai-vaḷakkam*. As a consequence the people were in distress and realising the futility of this course they migrated to other lands. The king thereupon gave way and resumed supreme authority, evidently cancelling the divisions when his people returned to their homes (A. R. No. 46 of 1906). From No. 462 to 1921, it is known that Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was one of the younger brothers of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara. The confusion or rebellion in and around Tirukkaḍaiyūr about A.D. 1301 is not connected with the rivalry between Vīra-Pāṇḍya

"Pañcha-Pāṇḍya" referred to in our inscription must be taken to refer to the Pāṇḍya ruler in general and not to any co-regency of five equal rulers.[13] Neither the Pāṇḍya nor other records indicate the division of the kingdom into five separate units, though some later inscriptions by convention refer to the Pāṇḍyas as the 'Five Pāṇḍyas'.[1] This is evidently due to the fact that the Pāṇḍyas are generally known as *Pañchavar* and are traditionally connected with the five Pāṇḍava brothers of the *Mahābhārata*. The words *pañchavar aivar*, *i.e.*, Five Pāṇḍyas occur first in the *praśasti* of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I[2] where he is given the credit of destroying the jungle which the "Five Pañchavas" had entered as refuge. The late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai[3] advocated the theory of simultaneous rule of the 'Five Pāṇḍyas', but this has been refuted by Robert Sewell[4] who came to the conclusion that "we must hold the evidence to be overwhelmingly in favour of a single monarchy, and that the theory of co-regency of five kings may be altogether set aside". Considering the history of the Pāṇḍyas, the position taken up by Sewell is acceptable.

The identification of Vīradhāvaḷam[5] where Sundara-Pāṇḍya is said to have been re-instated is a disputed point. The Arab historian Abulfeda who lived about the time of our inscription tells us that the capital of the prince of Ma'bar who was a great importer of horses was called Biyyardāwal;[6] but this was known as Bīrdhūl to Muhammadan historians of whom Amir Khusru states that it was the capital of Bīr-Pāṇḍi while Madura was the residence of his brother Sundara-Pāṇḍi.[7] Scholars have indentified this place variously with Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷapuram[8] in the Trichinopoly Dist., Vṛiddhāchalam[9] and Marakāṇam[10] in the South Arcot District. That Vīradhāvaḷam was an important city is known from a number of inscriptions found in the Pāṇḍya country.[11] An inscription from Aḷagarkōyil definitely locates this city in Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Teṇkarai Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu.[12] This city has therefore to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Uṟaiyūr, a suburb of the present town of Trichinopoly. An inscription from Uyyakkoṇḍāṉ-Tirumalai[13] situated within four miles of Uṟaiyūr suggests the identification of this town with Vīradhāvaḷam, for it records an endowment of land included in the *dēvandāna* of god Viḷumiya-Nāyaṉār, to two images consecrated in the garden-land attached to the royal palace at Vīradhāvaḷam. The construction of the temple here on a small eminence is peculiar.[14] The central shrine is built within a fortified area over a spacious closed *maṇḍapa* surrounded by numerous shrines and halls.

The village **Tiruvadikuṇḍram** where the Chēra king was defeated may be identified with the village of the same name in the Gingee taluk of the South Arcot District.

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[1] Rudra of the Indulūri family is said to have defeated 'the five Pāṇḍyas' as also Annayadēva, the Brahman commander of Pratāparudra, belonging to the same family (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 51 and *Proceedings of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference*, Baroda, pp. 588-89).

[2] The *praśasti* beginning with the words *Pugaḻ śūḻnda puṇari* etc., *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 236 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 147 : *Vide* also above, Vol. V, p. 104.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 166.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 176.

[5] *Dāvaḷam* in Tamil is a town or place of residence. Vīradhāvaḷam may be explained as a military camp or a fortified town. An inscription from Pirānmalai (Ramnad Dist.) refers to 64 Ghaṭikai-dhavaḷam in connection with merchant guilds (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 442).

[6] *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 214.

[7] Elliot and Dowson : *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 90-91.

[8] *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 110.

[9] Yule ; *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 335.

[10] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1 ff.

[11] No. 319 of 1930 : 182 of 1939 : 381 of 1940 : 258 of 1941 : 242 of 1942. No. 348 of 1916 from Tiruvālīśvaram (Tirunelveli Dist.) mentions Vīrakā(dā)vaḷakkōṭṭai, as a hamlet of Rājarāja-Erivīrapaṭṭaṇam which was probably identical with Tiruvālīśvaram itself.

[12] No. 319 of 1930.

[13] No. 381 of 1940. This village was originally known in inscriptions as Nandivanma-mangalam, evidently after the Pallava king of the name and there flourished in this village in the 12th century A.D. a class of architects known as *Rathakāras* (*Ep. Rep.* for 1909, p. 95).

[14] This fortified temple played an important part in the Anglo-French wars in the 18th century A.D. (*Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District*, Vol. I, p. 341).

TEXT

1 Svasti[| *]Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśva-
2 ra **Kāka[tī]ya Pratāparudradēva-Mahārāja(ju)lu Oruṅ-**
3 **gallu** nijarājadhānigānu pṛithivīrājyam sēyuchu-
4 ṇḍagānu ā rāju nāyaṁkul-aina svasti [| *] śrīmatu Kākata-
5 rāyasthāpanāch[ā*]rya Svāmidrōharagaṇḍa **Māchaya-**
6 **Nāya[ni]gāri** koḍukku(ku) **Dēvari-Nāyanigāru** dakshi-
7 ṇadēśamu Pañcha-Pāṇḍila minda daṇḍu vachchi ēnugulu
8 [moha]riñchina poṭṭilāṭṭanu[1] **Tiruvadikuṇḍrā(ra)mu** vīra-
9 kshē[trā]nanu **Vīra-Pāṇḍininni** Malaiyāḷa Tiruvaḍi **Kul-**
10 **śē[kha]runinni** vṛigaṁdōli[2] ēnuku(gu)lānu sarvaśrījinigu[3]
11 [ni] **Sundara-Pāṇḍini Vīradhavaḷārāna** sthāpyamu-
12 sēsi ā jaya[muhūrta]muna svasti śrī-Śakavarsha-
13 ṁbulu vēyinni [iru]nū[ṭa] muppai[tom]mi-
14 di [a]ku nē[ṭi] Pi[ṁ]gaḷa-[saṁvatsara] Chaitra
15 [cha]turdaśini Sō[ma]vāramunu [Sōma]graha[ṇa]-
16 puṇyakāla[mu]nandu ā Rudradēva-[Mahārājula]
17 & 18 damaged.
19 . . . kalāya sahitamu sarvamānyamu-gānu āchandrārkka-
20 sthāyiganu yichchiri [| *] maṁgaḷa mahā-śrī śrī śrī ల
Svasti[||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail ! While the illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara **Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva-Mahārāja** was ruling the earth from his Capital (*at*) **Oruṅgallu**-that king's chief—Hail !—the glorious **Dēvari-Nāyanigāru,** son of **Māchaya-Nāyanigāru,** (*entitled*) *Kākatarāyasthāpanāchārya*(*and*) *Svāmidrōharagaṇḍa*, (*having*) undertaken an expedition to the southern territory against Pañcha-Pāṇḍya, faced the array of elephants in battle, routed **Vīra-Pāṇḍya** and Malaiyāḷa Tiruvaḍi **Kulaśēkhara** (*on the*) battlefield at **Tiruvadikuṇḍram,** seized the elephants (*and*) all the wealth (*and*) established **Sundara-Pāṇḍya** at **Vīradhavaḷaram.** (*On*) this victorious occasion—Hail !—the prosperous Śaka year one thousand two hundred and thirty-[nine], Piṅgaḷa . . . . Chaitra, Chaturdaśi, Monday, lunar-eclipse, (*for*) . . . . of that Rudradēva-Mahārāju, (*he*) gave as *sarvamānya* . . . . to last as long as the moon and the sun endure. May it be auspicious ! Great prosperity ; Hail !

No. 49.—KHANAPUR PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI, AND Y. R. GUPTE, POONA

(*1 Plate*)

These plates were discovered in 1927 in the possession of Mr. Dadasaheb Mane at **Khānā-pur,** the chief town of the Khānāpur *tālukā* of the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency. They were briefly noticed by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala*

[1] Read *pōṭlāṭanu*.
[2] Read *virugaṁdōli*.
[3] The letters *ji* and *ni* seem to have been transposed by mistake. The correct reading would be *sarvaśrini-*[*ṁ**] *jī*(*jē*)*gu*(*go*)*ni*.

Quarterly (in *Marāṭhī*), Vol. VIII (1927), pp. 163 f., and again in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series), Vol. IV (1928), p. 89. The plates are not forthcoming now. In view of their importance for the ancient history of Mahārāshṭra, they are edited here from photographs and impressions taken by Mr. Y. R. Gupte twenty-two years ago.

The grant appears to have originally consisted of **three plates** strung together by a ring, but the first plate and the ring together with the seal, if it had any, have long been lost. The second plate which is inscribed on both the sides, is irregularly broken at the top and the bottom with the result that two lines, one at the top and the other at the bottom, are almost completely lost. This plate was too brittle to yield an ink impression. Both the sides of it had, therefore, to be photographed. The third plate which is inscribed only on the inner side was in a good state of preservation. The photographs of the second plate and the ink impression of the third are reproduced here. Judging by the impression of the third plate, the plates appear to have been of the size 10·9″ by 5·5″. Their weight has not been recorded.

The **characters** belong to the southern alphabet. They have been boldly, but carelessly, incised, and resemble, in a general way, those of the grants of the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas discovered in Mahārāshṭra, with this difference that some letters like *ch, th, m* and *sh* show a notch at the base. The letter *b* has such notches all round, see, *e.g.*, *Kadaṁbatīrthaṁ*, lines 16-17. The writer may have been a resident of the Āndhra country where such characters are seen in the records of the period.[1] As regards individual letters, we may note the rare initial *ai* in *aiśvaryyēṇa*, lines 3-4, the medial *u* which is generally shown by a curve turned to the right, see *bahubhir=*, line 2, and *chāturvvarṇṇa*, line 4, (but see in *bahusuvarṇṇ*, lines 2-3), the cursive medial *ō* in *kōśa*, line 21, and the bipartite *au* in *sārvvabhaumasya*, line 3. *Kh* appears cursive in *Malakhēṭaka*, line 14, and *likhitam*, line 30; *chh* is written either horizontally as in *Chhandōga*, 1.8, or slantingly as in *āchhēttā*, lines 26-27, and *dānāchhē(ch=chrē)yō*, line 28; *t* appears generally unlooped, but its looped form occurs sporadically, as in *sētōr=*, line 4; *d* in many cases shows a notch, see *daśa*, line 3 and *dāna*, line 6, being then indistinguishable from *ḍ*[2], see *Puṇḍari(rī)ka*, line 2; *s* has a peculiar cursive form in some places, see *sya* in *sārvvabhaumasya*, line 3, and *tasya*, line 23.

The **language** is Sanskrit and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the extant portion is in prose. The record is very carelessly written and contains several mistakes of grammar and orthography.[3] As regards orthographical peculiarities, the only points that call for notice are the use of *ri* for *ṛi* as in *-vabhrithē*, line 2, the reduplication of the consonant after *r* as in *chāturvvarṇṇa*, and the use of *chh* for *chchh* as in *āchhēttā*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* **Mādhavavarman** who performed several *śrauta* sacrifices such as *Puṇḍarīka, Bahusuvarṇa* and eleven others which are not specified.[4] He is said to have assumed the title of *Sārvabhauma* (Emperor) and resembled the sun in splendour and Indra himself in prosperity. He is eulogised as the mainstay (*sētu*) of the religious duties of the four *varṇas* and the four *āśramas*.

The plates register the grant, by this Mādhavavarman, of the village **Rēṭṭuraka** together with three *tīrthas* or fording places, *viz.*, Vaṅkatīrtha, Tambatīrtha (or Stambhatīrtha) and Kadambatīrtha, and three *vāṭikās*, or hamlets, *viz.*, Bēlavāṭikā, Kōlikāvāṭikā and Vaṭṭarikā. Rēṭṭuraka, the

[1] See, *e.g.*, the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II, above, Vol. IV, pp. 193-8, and plates.

[2] [See below, p. 316, note 8—Ed.]

[3] See, for instance, the description of the donees and of the village granted. The formal part of the grant has been composed in a slipshod manner.

[4] [See below, p. 316, n 8 —Ed.]

donated village, was situated to the south-east of the river Kṛishṇavēṇā in a territorial division (*bhōga*) whose name is lost. It was bounded on the north-east by Machhadaryā, Dēvabhiryā and Sēṇavaryā, on the south-east by the village Kōlikā and on the west by Malakhēṭaka. The grant was made on the occasion of Mahāvaiśākhī or the full-moon day of Vaiśākha. No year of any era, not even a regnal year, is mentioned in connection with it. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas, *viz.*, Bōlasvāmin of the Śālaṅkāyana *gōtra* and Kēśavasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Bōlasvāmin is described as a very pious Brāhmaṇa engaged in the six duties laid down for the members of his caste and intent on the performance of religious rites of the *Sanātanadharma* enjoined in the *Śrutis* and *Smṛitis*. This is the earliest epigraphical mention of the term *Sanātanadharma* which is so commonly used in these days. The charter was written by Śrīpāla who is described as a devout Kāyastha. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the Kāyastha caste.[1]

Though the present plates were discovered twenty-two years ago, no satisfactory attempt has yet been made to identify this Mādhavavarman. The first plate which probably contained the name and description of the family and some of the immediate ancestors of the king has been lost. This makes the task of his identification very difficult. The description in the extant portion of the grant, however, affords a clue. It shows that this Mādhavavarman was a very pious king who performed, *inter alia*, Puṇḍarīka, Bahusuvarṇa and eleven other sacrifices whose names have, inadvertently been omitted.[2] He is also said to have attained the position of *Sārvabhauma*. The characters of the present grant show that this Mādhavavarman flourished in the sixth century A.D. The only king in this period to whom this description could be appropriately applied was Mādhavavarman I of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty who flourished from about A.D. 510 to A.D. 560.[3] From the description of this king in his own grants and in those of his descendants, we learn that he was a staunch supporter of the Vedic religion. He performed a thousand *Agnishṭōmas*, eleven *Aśvamēdhas* as well as several other *śrauta* sacrifices such as *Bahusuvarṇa*, *Puṇḍarīka*, *Purushamēdha*, *Vājapēya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Rājasūya*, *Prājāpatya*, *Prādhirājya* and others and attained *svārājya*.[4] A comparison of this description with that in the present plates would show that the sacrifices *Puṇḍarīka* and *Bahusuvarṇa* are common to both the lists. Again, the eleven sacrifices which are

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[1] According to D. R. Bhandarkar, the Sanjān grant of Amōghavarsha I (A.D. 871) and the Gurmha grant of Jayādityadēva (A.D. 870) are the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste. [There is no indication in the present record that the term *Kāyastha* here stands for the caste of that name. Dr. D. C. Sircar draws attention to the five Damodarpur copper charters, four of which mention, among other officials, a *Prathama-Kāyastha*: see above, Vol. XV, pp. 130, 133, 139 and 142. The earliest of these records refers itself to the reign of Kumāragupta and is dated in the Gupta year 127 (=A.D. 446-7). I may add that the writer of the Gunaighar plate, of the Gupta year 188 (=A.D. 507—8), is one *Kāyastha* Naradatta, attached to the office of the external affairs (*sandhivigrah-ādhikaraṇa*); *IHQ*, Vol. VI, p. 55. Here the term most probably denotes 'writer'. —Ed.]

[2] [See below p. 315, n 10—Ed.]

[3] Mirashi at first conjectured that he might have been of the Early Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānapura. *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, p. 46. He had then no access to the text of the record. Subsequent study of the text suggested to him the identification stated here.

[4] Both the Īpūr and Pulōmbūru plates of Mādhavavarman I mention his performance of a thousand *Agnishṭōmas* and eleven *Aśvamēdhas*; above, Vol. XVII, p. 336, and *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, p. 20. These sacrifices are also mentioned in the grants of his grandsons Mādhavavarman II and Indravarman, above, Vol. XVII, p. 338, and Vol. XII, p. 134. Finally, the Chikkulla plates of his great-grandson Vikramēndravarman II give a long list of the sacrifices performed by Mādhavavarman I, *viz.*, eleven *Aśvamēdhas*, a thousand *Agnishṭōmas*, *Bahusuvarṇa*, *Pauṇḍarīka*, *Purushamēdha*, *Vājapēya*, *Rājasūya* and others; *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 196.

not specified in the present grant, were in all probability *Aśvamēdhas*.[1] The conclusion is therefore irresistible that these two Mādhavavarmans were identical. The present grant was thus made by the Vishṇukuṇḍin Emperor Mādhavavarman I.

This Mādhavavarman was a very powerful king. He married a Vākāṭaka princess[2] who was probably a daughter or some near relative of the last known Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa (*circa* A.D. 475-500).[3] The eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracharita*, which probably contains a reflex of the events in the last period of the Vākāṭaka rule, shows that the Vākāṭaka Empire crumbled soon after the death of Harishēṇa owing to the imbecility of his successor and the treacherous defection of his feudatories.[4] Mādhavavarman I who rose to power about this time took advantage of the opportunity that had thus presented itself and extended his dominion far and wide. He performed no less than eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and thus attained a position of unquestioned supremacy in the Deccan. He is known to have overrun Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Chhattisgarh and occupied for a time the capital (Śrīpura) of Trivara or Tīvaradēva of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty.[5] That he had annexed Mahārāshṭra also can be conjectured from the description in the Īpūr plates of his grandson Mādhavavarman II as the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya.[6] Trikūṭa is the well known name of the hill which borders the Nasik District on the west.[7] Malaya is the equally well known name of the southern portion of the Western Ghats.[8] In the absence of corroborative evidence this description of Mādhavavarman II was believed to be an empty boast. Prof. Hultzsch, for instance, remarked while editing the Īpūr plates that both Trikūṭa and Malaya were at a safe distance from the dominions of Mādhavavarman II although he claims to have ruled over them.[9] The discovery of the present plates which, as shown below, record the grant of a village in the Sātārā District, proves that Mahārāshṭra was included in the empire of Mādhavavarman I.[10] It

[1] The number *ēkādaśa* (eleven) in line 3 of the present plates can not be connected with *Bahusuvarṇa*, for, firstly, *ēkādaśa* is an adjective, not a noun like *sahasra*, and must therefore precede, not follow, *Bahusuvarṇa*; secondly, *Bahusuvarṇa* which is identical with *Bahuhiraṇya* (also called *Dūnāśa*) is a minor *ēkāha* (one-day) sacrifice. See *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, XXII, 8, 26. There is no special point in mentioning that Mādhavavarman I performed eleven *Bahusuvarṇas*. On the other hand, we get several references to the performance of eleven *Aśvamēdhas* by the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I as shown above. [See below p. 316, n8—Ed.]

[2] See the expression *Vishṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭa-vaṁśa-dvay-ālaṁkṛita-janmanaḥ* in the description of Mādhavavarman I's son Vikramēndravarman in the Chikkulla plates, above, Vol. IV, p. 196, text line 10.

[3] Mirashi : *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭa* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series: No. 14), p. 9.

[4] Mirashi : Historical Data in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita*, *ABORI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

[5] Both his Īpūr and Pulōmbūru plates refer to his dalliance with young ladies in the city of Trivara. For the identification of Trivara, see Mirashi's article on the Thakurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19. For the location of the capital of Trivara or Tīvaradēva, see Mirashi's article on the three ancient dynasties of Mahākōsala in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, pp. 47 f.

[6] Cf. *Trikūṭa-Malay-ādhipatir* in the description of Mādhavavarman II.

[7] The recently discovered plates of Bhōgaśakti found at Anjanēri near Nasik mention *Pūrva-Trikūṭa-vishaya* (Eastern Trikūṭa District) in connection with certain taxes levied in favour of a temple situated in the Nasik District. This shows that Trikūṭa was the name of a hill which bordered the Nasik District on the west. See above, Vol. XXV, p. 232.

[8] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 315.

[9] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 338.

[10] One of the reasons for Madhavavarman's conquest of Kuntala or Southern Mahārāshṭra may have been the treacherous defection of the *Kuntalapati* when his liege-lord, the Vākāṭaka Emperor who was probably a brother-in-law of Mādhavavarman I was attacked by the king of Vanavāsī. See *ABORI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 21 f. Again, the Vākāṭakas were probably allied matrimonially with the king of Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Chhattisgarh, if the description in the *Daśakumāracharita* is historically true. Cf. *Kōsal-ēndrāt Kusumadhanvanō=sya mātā jātā*, said with reference to the boy prince of Vidarbha. (*Daśakumāracharita*, B. S. Series, p. 139). The ruling dynasty of Dakshiṇa Kōsala was about this time overthrown by an ancestor of Tīvaradēva. See *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, pp. 47 f. [The authors of this article, after having identified the Mādhavavarman of the present charter with the Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I, have obviously been driven to the necessity of assigning such a vast empire to the otherwise little known dynasty of the Vishṇukuṇḍins. The identification, to say the least is not very convincing.—Ed.] Mādhavavarman I performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas*, which shows that he had a large kingdom. Even if the reading *Shōḍaśi* is accepted, the identification of this Mādhavavarman with the Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I does not fall to the ground. (Y. R. G.).

probably continued to be under the rule of the Vishṇukuṇḍins during the reign of his grandson Mādhavavarman II. As suggested elsewhere[1], the extensive empire of Mādhavavarman I appears to have been divided after his death. The western portion including Mahārāshṭra and Karṇāṭaka was ruled by his grandson Mādhavavarman II, while the eastern portion comprising Kōsala, Kaliṅga and Āndhra was governed by his other grandson Indravarman.

Mādhavavarman II or his descendants do not seem to have held Mahārāshṭra for a long time; for we find that the Rāshṭrakūṭas[2] of Kuntala who had laid low for a time soon raised their heads and turned out the Vishṇukuṇḍins. No other record of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty has been found in Mahārāshṭra, nor are any references to their supremacy discovered in any records of the later members of that family. On the other hand, we know that in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Southern Mahārāshṭra was ruled by Gōvinda who subsequently became an ally of Pulakēśin. That he probably belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty has been shown elsewhere.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, Rēṭṭuraka is Reṭare in the Karhāḍ *taluka* in the Sātārā District. There are two villages of this name situated on the opposite banks of the Kṛishṇā. The village mentioned here is probably Reṭare Budrukh (Larger Reṭare), which lies to the south-east of the river Kṛishṇavēṇā or Kṛishṇā as stated in the present grant. Machhadaryā is now called Rajmāchī and lies 4 miles to the east of Reṭare Budrukh. Sēṇavaryā is probably Sheṇōlī, a station on the Miraj-Poona line of the M. S. M. Railway. Kōlikā which lay to the south-east is represented by modern Kolā, about 3 miles south-east of Reṭare Budrukh. Some of the hamlets situated in the vicinity of Rēṭṭuraka can also be identified. Bēlavāṭikā is Belvaḍe and Kōlikāvāṭikā Kōlavaḍe, both situated at a distance of 3 miles to the west. Vaṭṭarikā is Vāṭhār about 2 miles to the north-west, and Mallakhēṭaka is Malkheṭ about the same distance to the south-west. Of the *tīrthas* or fording-places, only Tambatīrtha can now be identified. It is probably Tambvē on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā about 3 miles south of Reṭare Budrukh. Kadambatīrtha may be Khubi on the left bank of the river, almost opposite Tambvā. Vaṅkatīrtha can not now be traced.[3]

TEXT[4]

Second Plate[5] ; First Side

1 ·········[प]··[स्थित]····प[6]·····

2 वा[स] ये(यो) बहुभिर्व्यंज्ज(ज्ञा)वभ्रि(भृ)थे स्नात्वा [भू]यश्चके(क्रे)[7] पुण्डरि(री)कबहुसु-

3 वर्णं(र्णं)कादश[8]याजिनः सार्व्वंभौमस्य भास(सा) भास्करस्य ऐश्व-

---

[1] Mirashi: Thākurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, above Vol. XXII, p. 20.

[2] Mirashi: The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura, *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 46 f.

[3] The identifications of Bēlavāṭikā, Vaṭṭarikā and Tambatīrtha were first suggested by Gupte. See *BISMQ*, Vol. VIII, p. 164 and *JBRBAS* (N.S.), Vol. IV, p. 89. For all these villages see Degree Map No. 47 K.

[4] From the photographs of the second plate and ink impressions of the third, taken by Gupte twenty-two years ago.

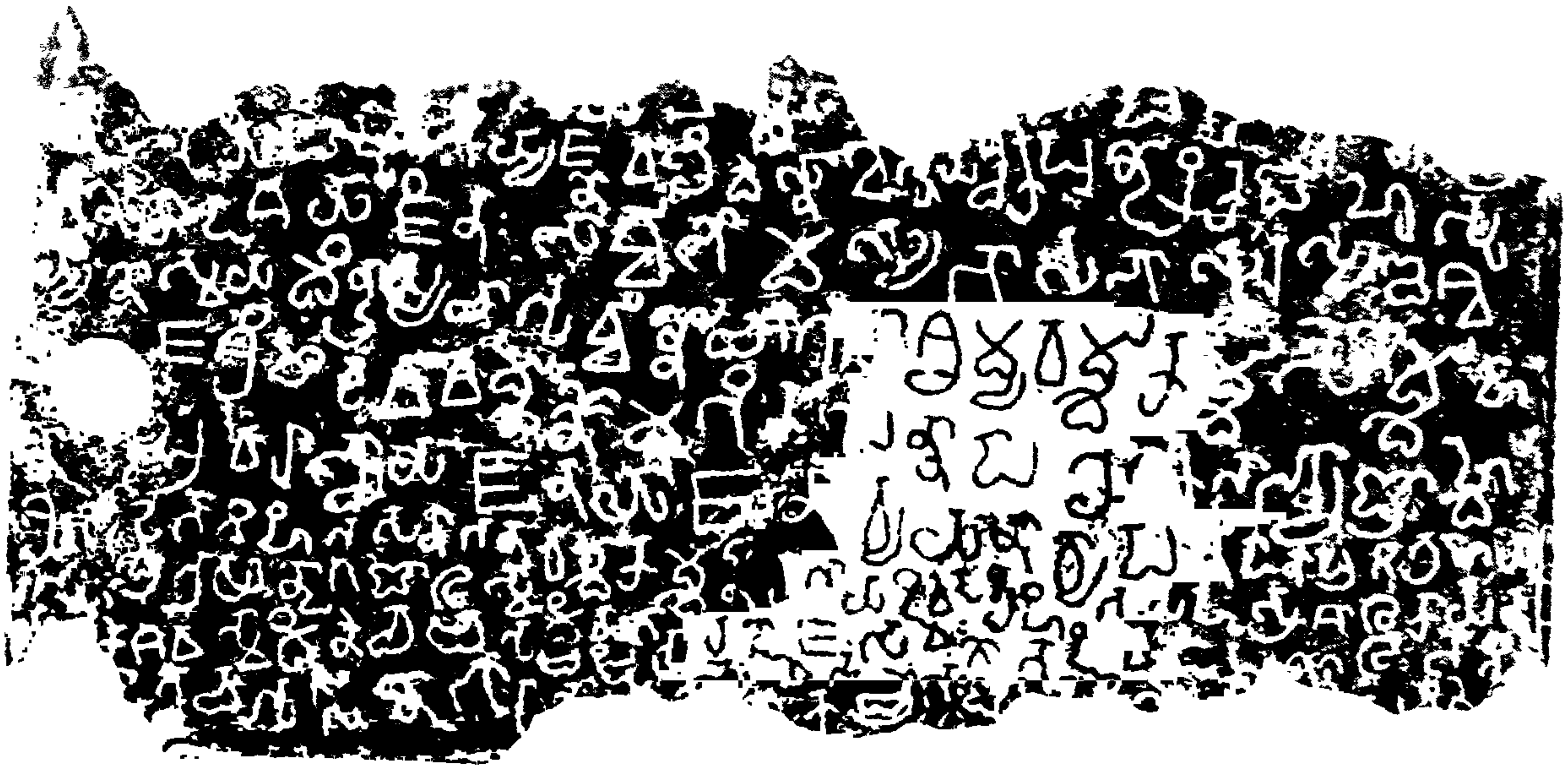
[5] The first plate is not forthcoming.

[6] Only a few traces of letters in the first line are now left.

[7] In the absence of the portion on the first plate, these expressions can not be properly construed.

[8] The writer has formed *d* like *ḍ*. See *dāna*, l. 6, and *Chhandōga* and *dvivēdō*, l. 8. [The reading appears to be बहुसुवर्णकडशयाजिनः ; the intended reading was perhaps बहुसुवर्णकषोडशियाजिनः—Ed.]

i,a.



ii,b.

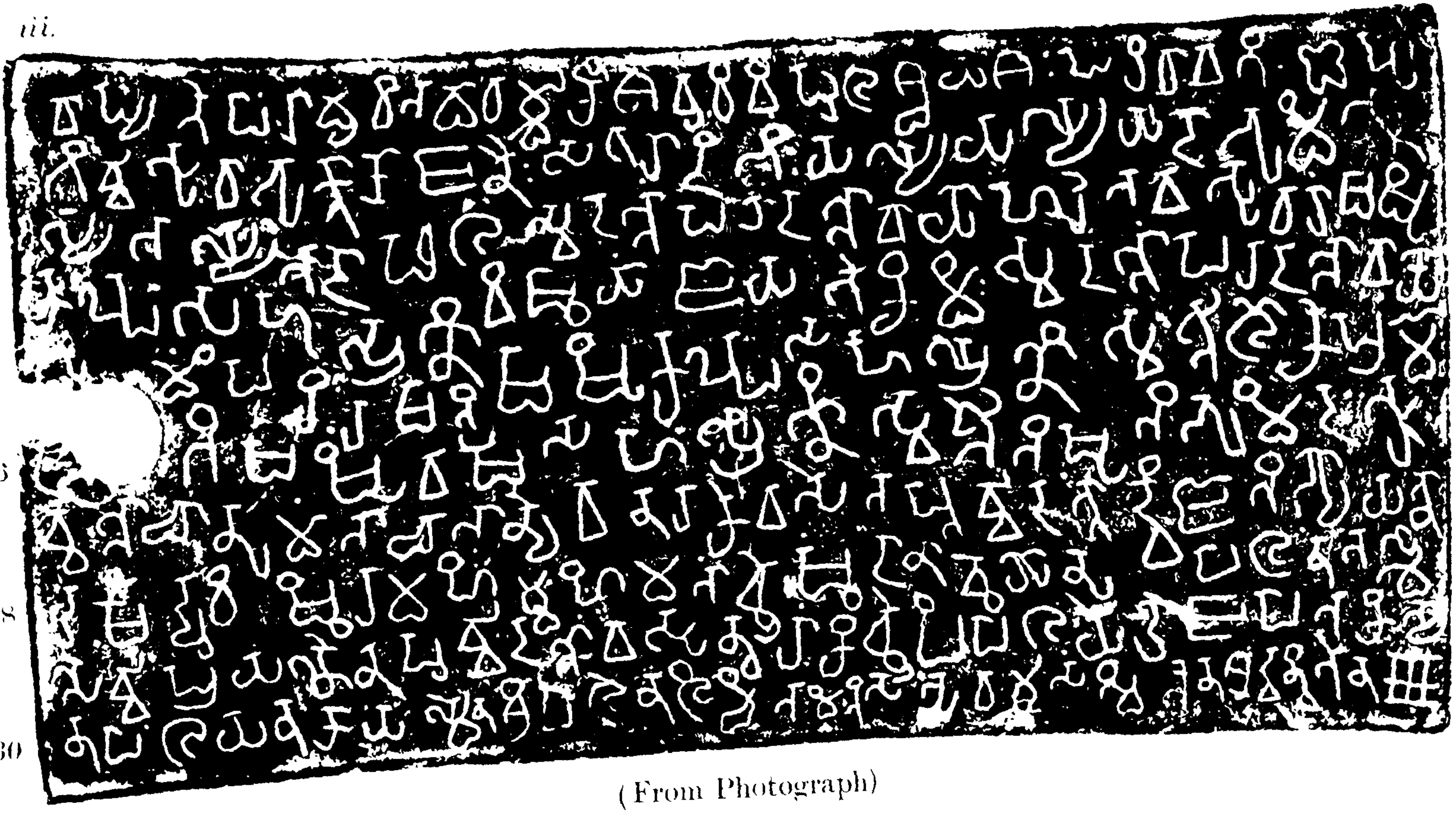


B. CH. CHHABRA
REG. No. 3977 E'36

(From Photographs)

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

iii.



(From Photograph)

4 र्य्येण स्वयमिन्द्रस्य चातुर्व्वर्ण्ण[1]चातुराश्रम्यधर्म्मकर्म्मसे[तो]र्म्महा-

5 राजश्रि(श्री)माधववर्म्मणो मतिरुत्पन्ना पात्रभूताभ्याँ ब्राह्म-

6 णप्रवराभ्यां य[ज][2]नयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनदानप्रतिग्रहाया[3]

7 श्रुतिस्मृ[4]तिविहितसनातनधर्म्मक[र्म्म]निरताय द्विवेदग्रि(गृ)हि(ही)त[5]सहस्रशालंकायन-

8 [सगो]त्रछ(च्छ)न्दोगबोलस्वामिन(ने) ता(भा)रद्वाजसगोत्रद्विवेदो(दा)हृ[र*]णल[ता]ति[6]

9 ··केशवस्वामिने च चतु(तुः)षष्टि

10 ··[दत्त] चतुर्ग्गुण भाग·····कसं[7]व्रतः बा·········

Second Plate ; Second Side

11 ···दानप्रभृति स[र्व्वं]···········

12 ··भोगे[8] योजनाद्दक्षिणतः पूर्व्वोत्तरेण मछ[द]र्य्या देव-

13 भिर्य्या सेणवर्य्या पूर्व्व[तः] दक्षि[ण]भागे कोलिकानामग्रामः पश्चिमे-

14 न मलखेटकनामग्रामः हेतेषु[9] मध्ये षट्कर्महेतुक[10]यज्णा(ज्ञा)द्यस्व-

15 [र्गा]पवर्गसिध्यर्थ[11] वाटिकाभिः सहितं निर्दिश्यते[।*] कृष्णबेणापूर्व्व-

16 दक्षिणतः रेट्टुरकं नाम ग्रामः । वंकति(ती)र्थं तथा तंबतीर्थ(र्थं) कुदं-

17 बतीर्थं बेलवाटिका कोलिकावाटिका वट्टरिका सर्व्वादानविशुद्धमताभिर्व्वाटि-

---

1 Read चातुर्व्वर्ण्य-· See *Vārttikā* on Pāṇini V, I, 124.

2 This ज has an extra prong.

3 Read प्रतिग्रह—[Better प्रतिग्रहाय—Ed.]

4 [This letter books like स्मि्र which may be corrected into स्मृ—Ed.]

5 द्विवेदगृहीत like द्विवेदाहरण in l. 8, seems to convey the donee's proficiency in two *Vēdas*.

6 This and three expressions further on in lines 9 and 10 are unintelligible to us.

7 This *akshara* is written above the line. [The reading is कसंख्यातः बा—Ed.]

8 The name of the *bhōga* or territorial division is lost.

9 Read एतेषां.

10 Read हेतुक—.

11 Read सि ddhya र्थं.

18 कैः (काभिः) संयुक्तं महावैशाखपौर्णमास्यामह्न (ह्नि) त्रिभ (भा) गशेषं विधिवदुदक-

19 पूर्व्वं रेट्टुरकं दत्तमिति ॥ कल्पसहस्रसंख्यातो भट्टग्रामः उदकी-

20 ·····[पिण्डद]····[द]त्त[:*]····तारं·····

Third Plate

21 वाप्यते पां (प) रा मृधि (वृद्धिः) तथा धर्म्मकोशवृधि (द्धिः) विपुलश्च (ञ्च) यशः परि-धावति । बहु-

22 भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजनैः[1] सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भु (भू) मिस्त-

23 स्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्)[2] [॥१॥*] स्वदत्तां परद[त्तां] वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां (राम्) [।*] षष्टि-

24 कल्पसहस्र (स्रा) णि विष्ठायां जायते कि(कृ)मिः [॥२॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो

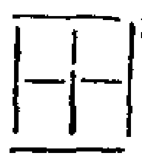
25 भु (भू) मिं परिरष (क्ष) त्ति[।*] षष्टिकल्पसहस्र (स्रा) णि स्वर्ग्गलोके प्रमो-

26 [द]ति[3] [॥३॥*) षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ट (ष्ठ) ति भु (भू) मिदः [।*] आ-

27 छे (च्छे) त्ता चानुमंता[4] च तान्येव नरके वसेत (त्) [॥४[।] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजतिभ्यो यत्ना-

28 द्रक्ष यु (यु) धिष्ठिर [।*] महिम्महिमतां छे्ष्ठं[5] दानाछ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्[6]) [॥५॥*] तस्मा-

29 त्सर्व्वप्रयत्नेन पु (पू) र्व्वदत्तां वसुन्धरां (राम्) [।*] किछ्रेपि[7] पालयेद्राजा पातकि (की) स्या-

30 न (न्न) पालयन (न्) [॥६॥*] कायस्थेन श्रि (श्री) पालेन लिखितमिति सत्यधर्म्मसंस्थितेन श्रद्ध(द्धा)न्वितेन [।*] [8]

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[1] Read राजभिः

[2] The metre of this and the next five verses : *Anushtubh.*

[3] Read प्रमोदते

[4] Read चानमन्ता

[5] Read महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ.

[6] Read च्छ्रेयो—.

[7] [The reading is किछ्रेपि .—Ed.] Read कृच्छ्रेऽपि

[8] This figure indicates the end of the record.

No. 50—LODHIA PLATES OF MAHA-SIVAGUPTA ; YEAR 57

(*1 Plate*)

L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH

Lodhiā is a small village in the Sariā Pargana of the Sarangarh State, now a sub-division in the newly formed Raigarh District of the Central Provinces, 15 miles east of the town of Sarangarh. The village of Thakurdiā in the same sub-division, where a copper charter of king Mahā-Pravararāja of the Śarabhapura[1] family was unearthed in 1932, is about 15 miles to the west from Lodhiā on the other side of the hills, dividing the Sariā Pargana from the Sarangarh Pargana. About six miles to the north-east lies the big village of Sariā with its adjoining little village named Pujārīpālī, where there stand a number of ruined brick-temples and sculptured stone door-jambs, the former resembling, in style and architecture, the famous Lakshman temple at Sirpur (old Śrīpura) on the Mahānadī in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces, which was erected by queen Vāsaṭā,[2] the mother of king Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna, the donor of the present charter. These ruined temples and carved pillars do suggest the existence of some famous town, now lost for ever, about 600 A.D. in the vicinity of Lodhiā. Within this village itself some *Śivaliṅgas* of polished stone, sculptured stone pillars, beautifully carved images and statues have been found and are preserved by the headman there. Two of the images represent Vishṇu reclining on the serpent, and Nṛisiṁha tearing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. There is a heap of ruins about a furlong from Lodhiā, which discloses the fact that in olden days some fine structure stood there. Old tanks, wells and remains of what is called ' fort ' with a moat within the village boundary all bear witness to its antiquity. The village of Bār or Bāyar, where a number of punch-marked silver coins were found about the year 1921, and which are deposited in the treasury at Sarangarh, is within three miles from Lodhiā.

The present plates were discovered at a depth of about two feet from the surface of the earth on July 11th, 1942, by one Dolo Ganda in the back-yard of his house in the course of digging earth while repairing the parapet wall of the yard (*kōlā*, to use the local term). They were produced before the headman of the village, Babu Vijaya Shankar, who is a member of the Mahā-Kōsala Historical Society of Bālpur, District Bilaspur, Central Provinces, and is interested in historical finds. The plates were then forwarded to the Police Station at Baremkela to which the village of Lodhiā is attached and were duly despatched to the office of the then Ruling Chief of Sarangarh State.

As soon as I came to know of this find, I addressed the enlightened Raja Bahadur Jawaher Singh Sahib, C.I.E., through whose kindness the set of plates complete with the seal, reached my hands on July 23rd, 1942.

I edit the charter from the original with the permission of the late Raja Bahadur in whose possession the plates then were[3] and to whom our Society is grateful for kindly sending them to us for decipherment.[4]

The charter consists of **three copper plates,** of which the first and the third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. The writing on them is in a fair state of preservation.

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XI, p. 185.

[3] They are now deposited in the National Museum of India, New Delhi.

[4] The contents of the record have since been noticed in the following publications : *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (July 1945), pp. 1-4 ; *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Twelfth Session, Vol. III, pp. 595-6 (1948) ; *Journal of Kaliṅga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II (September and December 1947), Nos. 2-3, pp. 121-24.

The weight of the three plates with the uncut ring is 255 *tolas*. They resemble the Mallār plates of Mahā-Śivagupta[1] in shape and size. The rims of the plates, like those of the Mallār plates, are not raised. The surface of the **seal** which is deeply counter-sunk, is divided into three parts. The upper part bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull with a *triśūla* in front. Close to the *triśūla* to the proper left side is seen one figure, which we may take for a horn (*śriṅga*) or a trumpet. To the right side is found the figure of a *kamaṇḍalu* or water-jar having some object on it which is not distinct. Below this comes the legend in two lines, which is separated from the device by two horizontal parallel lines. Below the legend is shown a large full-blown *lotus* flanked by two leaves.

The record consists of 32 lines, there being eight lines on each inscribed face. The letters are neatly and deeply engraved. Their average size is ·4" in height. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those on the Mallār[2] plates of the same king and on the Baloda[3] and Rājim plates[4] of Tīvaradēva, the grand-uncle of the donor of the present plates. The peculiarities worth noticing here are: (1) The frequent use of medial *ṛi* instead of subscript *r*; especially in the word *śrī* it is very conspicuous (lines 4, 13). (2) There is absolutely no difference between the signs of medial *ō* and *au*. Perhaps the same sign is used for both and we have to read it according to the context. See, *e.g.*, *śaurya* in line 3, *paurṇṇa-* in lines 10 and 32, *gauravāt* in line 28.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The first sentence is almost identical in wording with that found in the Mallār plates.

Like the Mallār plates, this charter also does not contain the name of the place of issue, but unlike them, it gives the **date** in the regnal year of the king in clear words and figures, which is 57.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Mahā-Śivaguptarājadēva,** son of the illustrious Harshadēva, who was born in the lunar dynasty and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). They record the donation of the village **Vaidyapadraka** in the *bhōga* or sub-division of Ōṇī.

The donation was made for the offerings to and worship, with music, dancing and feeding, of god Śiva Īśānēśvara enshrined in the temple at *Pattana Khadirapadra-tala*, and for the repairs and maintenance of that structure. It was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika.

This Mahā-Śivaguptarāja, son of king Harshagupta, also called Harshadēva as the texts of the present plates and the Mallār plates have, is described as *Bālārjuna* in the Lakshman temple inscription[5] belonging to his mother Vāsaṭā who was the daughter of king Sūryavarman of the Varman dynasty of Magadha. This Sūryavarman was the son of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman and had at least a son named Bhāskaravarman, at whose request, his nephew (sister's son) king Mahā-Śivaguptarājadēva, had donated a village called Kailāsapura to a Bhikshu-Saṅgha.[6] The Harāhā stone inscription[7] which gives the genealogy of the Maukhari kings, has the date 611

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff. Mallār is in the adjoining district of Bilaspur and is about 57 miles north-west of Lodhiā.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 102 ff. Baloda is in the Phuljhar *Zamindārī* within the district of Raipur and is about 30 miles south-east from Lodhiā.

[4] *CII*, Vol. III (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*), pp. 291 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[6] Mallār plates of Mahā-Śivagupta, above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. XIV, P. 115.

(Mālava Saṁvat) for king Sūryavarman. Apparently king Sūryavarman was living in the year 611 (Mālava Saṁvat) which is equal to A.D. 555. He is stated to have attained a position of pride by bestowing his daughter, Vāsaṭā, on Mahā-Śivaguptarājadēva's father Harshagupta whom the Lakshman temple inscription describes as *Prāk-paramēśvara*, 'the Lord of the eastern region'. Evidently Harshagupta ruled over the country known as Kōsala or Prāk-Kōsala,[1] which probably comprised Dakshiṇa Kōsala, East Kōsala with Tōsala, Utkala and Ōḍra, extending its limit up to the eastern sea-shore.[2] His uncle Mahā-Śiva-Tīvararāja had his capital at Śrīpura (now Sirpur) from which place his Baloda and Rājim plates were issued. He is described as *prāpta-sakala-Kōsal-ādhipatyaḥ* in the Baloda plates, the seal of which mentions him as *Kōsalādhipati*. Mahā-Śivaguptarājadēva must have succeeded his father or uncle and was, therefore, the supreme lord of Kōsala, apparently Mahā-Kōsala or Dakshiṇa-Kōsala.

In what part of India king Sūryavarman was reigning, and whether his son Bhāskaravarman succeeded him or not, cannot be definitely ascertained now for want of evidence. This much is, no doubt, clear that Sūryavarman's father was ruling over a kingdom within which was included the Bārābanki District in Oudh, where the Harāhā stone inscription of king Sūryavarman was found. The Aśīragarh[3] seal of the Maukhari king Śarvavarman might establish their connection with a part of the Central Provinces bordering on Mālava, *i.e.*, the Nimar District, where the seal was found.

The present plates disclose the fact that, although king Mahā-Śivaguptarāja was a devout worshipper of Śiva (*Parama-māhēśvara*), he did patronise Buddhism and was a symbol of religious toleration, being averse to no other sects. As we know from the Mallār plates, he donated a village to 'the community of venerable (Buddhist) monks', residing in the small monastery (Vihārikā) situated in Taraḍaṁśaka.

In his time, his mother Vāsaṭā constructed a superb temple of Hari (Vishṇu) at Śrīpura, the capital town, and donated a number of villages to Vedic Brahmans engaged in the worship of the deity. This temple still stands at Sirpur.

In the present plates, he makes a donation of a village to a temple of Śiva named Īśānēśvara, probably consecrated by one of his forefathers, to wit, Īśānadēva of the Kharod stone inscription.[4] The donation was made in response to the request of a certain Śaiva ascetic, a disciple of Pramathāchārya whose preceptor hailed from the Pañchayajña *tapōvana* in the Dvaitavana forest.

The box-headed script as well as the Kuṭila type of the Nāgarī characters were simultaneously in use during the reign of Mahā-Śivaguptarāja as both his Mallār plates and the Lodhiā plates, together with Lakshman temple inscription (in the Kuṭila script) belonging to his mother Vāsaṭā, show. It may be noted here that the Harāhā stone inscription of king Sūryavarman,[5] father of Vāsaṭā, is also in the Kuṭila variety of the Nāgarī script. Up till now not a single stone inscription

[1] Close to Vidarbha was Prāk-Kōsala as stated in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa*.

[2] *Vijitya Pūrvāmbudhi-kūla-pālih*
pālih samādāya sa Kōsalēndrāt |
nirantar -ōdvāsita-vairi-dhāmā
dhām-ādhipah khadgapatir=ya āsīt ||

Bilhari inscription. Hiralal: *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar.* 2nd ed. p. 24. In the present Balāsore District (Orissa), there is a place called Pāliā, about 8 miles from the sea-shore. It had an old temple with damaged inscriptions on the door-jambs, now deposited at Cuttack in the Ravenshaw College Museum. I have tried to identify this Pāliā with the Pālī of the Bilhari inscription, in a paper published in the Hindi journal *Sudhā* of Lucknow, for May 1928.

[3] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 219 ff. Aśīragarh is a hill-fort formerly belonging to Scindia in the north-east of Burhānpur in the Nimar District.

[4] Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, 2nd ed., p 125.

[5] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff.

in the box-headed characters has been discovered in Chhattisgarh (old Mahā Kōsala), although during my visit to Śrīpura (Sirpur) I noticed more than half a dozen stone inscriptions, on pillars, plinth and pavement of the Gandhēśvara temple there. Almost all of them mention Mahā Śivagupta and are decidedly of the same period. All are in the Kuṭila script, not one of them is incised in the box-headed characters.

In a damaged temple at Pujārīpālī near Sariā, probably of the time of Mahā-Śivagupta, there is a small inscription on a stone slab in the Kuṭila script of the 7th century A.D.

What I mean to say is that there is a total absence of the use of box-headed characters for records *incised on stone slabs* at Sirpur and Mallār, as also at Pujārīpālī about 5 miles from Lodhiā. As stated before, not a single stone inscription in Mahā-Kōsala is found to be incised in box-headed characters.

The Rājim and Balodā plates of Mahā-Śiva-Tīvararāja (with Śrīpura as his capital), the Mallār plates, and our present Lodhiā plates of Mahā-Śivaguptarāja, the Thakurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, which were issued from Śrīpura, and the other six sets of copper-plates issued from Śarabhapura by Mahā-Sudēvarāja and his paternal uncle Mahā-Jayarāja, are all incised in the box-headed characters and have been discovered from time to time in the Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur Districts, which are within the Mahā-Kōsala kingdom of old.

Our Mahākōsala Historical Society of Bālpur was able to discover two silver coins of king Prasannamātra, bearing his name in beautiful box-headed script on them, from somewhere in the Bilaspur District.

Was it that the box-headed script was exclusively meant for copper plates and silver coins or metals like these, during the reign of Mahā-Śiva-Tīvararāja and of his grand nephew Mahā-Śivaguptarāja Bālārjuna and of the Śarabhapura kings, Mahā-Pravararāja, Mahā-Sudēvarāja and their uncle Mahā-Jayarāja, whose capital town Śarabhapura is now untraceable and has not yet been identified ?

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present plates, Dvaitavana in the term *Dvaitavanīya-śrīmat-pañcha-yajña-tapōvana,*[1] attracts our attention most. It is a very familiar and favourite name in the *Mahābhārata.* During the exile of the Pāṇḍavas, when they dwelt in that forest, it is stated to have been flooded with Brāhmaṇas. This Dvaitavana was considered by all as a *Free Land* over which there was no sway of any monarch. It was an abode of ' penance-groves ' and the Pañchayajña *tapōvana* was one of them. The place was so called because there was a lake called Dvaita, within its boundary. Dvaitavana, says the *Mahābhārata,* was close to a desert (*Maru-bhūmi*) and the river Sarasvatī flowed through it. It was not far from the Himālayas, lying between Taṅgaṇa on the north-east and Kurukshētra and Hastināpura on the south-east. It was from Dvaitavana that the Pāṇḍavas started on a pilgrimage as described in the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata.*

The name of the *bhōga* or sub-division, wherein the donated village Vaidyapadraka was situated, is given as Ōṇī. To which particular place the *bhōga* refers, it is difficult to ascertain at present. Next comes Vaidyapadraka. This is indeed the present day Baidpāli village in the Borasambar *Zamindārī* under Gāisilāt Police Station in the Bargarh *tahsīl* of the Sambalpur District, Orissa. The place Pattana Khadirapadra-tala is no other than Khadiapadra which is mentioned in the Sonepur plates of Mahā-Bhavagupta (II) Janamējaya.[2] The present Khairpali village, about 2 miles from the Ang or Ong river in the Borasambar *Zamindārī,* formerly in the

[1] Such *tapōvanas* were attached to different *vanas* or forest regions, and we find mention of one Chandra-dvīpa-tapōvana referred to by Bhavabhūti in the *Uttararāmacharita* (Act IV).

[2] Above Vol. XXIII, pp. 249, 251 (text line 18). My attention to this was kindly drawn by Dr. B. Ch Chhabra, to whom my thanks are due.

Chhattisgarh Division and now in Orissa, is the old Khadirapadra. This Khairpali is about 10 miles from Baidpāli. About a mile from Baidpāli there is a village called Jogimath where there are remains of an old temple which has already collapsed.[1]

Unlike the Mallār plates of Mahā-Śivagupta, the Lodhiā plates are dated, the year being the 57th regnal year of the king. The grant was made on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika. The donor's reign must have been a long one extending over half a century and by the time of this grant he would have been over 70 years of age. We have no clue to find out the exact equivalent of the given date in the Christian era or in any of the Indian eras.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 ॐ[3][।*] स्वस्त्यशेषक्षितीशविद्याभ्यासविशेषासादि[4]त[5]महनीयन[6]यवि-

2 नयसम्पस(त्स)म्पादितसकलविजि[7]गीषुगुणो गुणवत्समाश्रय[8]: प्रकृष्ट-

3 तरशो(शौ)र्य[9]प्रज्ञाप्रभावसम्भावितमहाभ्युदय: कार्त्तिकेय इव कृत्ति(त्ति)-

4 वाससो राज्ञ[10]: श्री(श्री)हर्षदेवस्य सु(सू)नु: सोमवङ्श(वंश)सम्भव[:*] परम-

5 माहेश्वरो म(मा)तापितृपादानुध्यात: श्री(श्री)मा(म)हाशि[11]वगुप्तराजदेव[:*] कुशली

6 [श्रो]णिभोगि(गी)यग्रामवैद्यपद्रके । ब्राह्मणा[न्*] सम्पु(म्पू)ज्य तत्प्रतिनिवासिकुटुम्बि-

7 नो यथाकालाध्यासिन: समाहर्त्तृसन्निधातृप्रभृतीनस्मत्पादोपजीविन[:*]

8 सर्व्वं(र्व्वं)राजपुरुषा[न्*] समाज्ञापयति[12] विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्मा-

Second Plate : First side

9 भि स्स्वप्रतिसनिधान: सोपनिधान: सर्व्वं(र्व्वं)करदानसमेत: सर्व्वं(र्व्वं)[पी]डाविव-

10 र्जि(र्जि)त: सदशापराध: प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेश[13]: अस्यां कार्त्तिकपो(पौ)र्णमा-

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[1] Khadirapadraka and Vaidyapadraka have however been identified with the villages Khairpadar and Bejipadar respectively in the Kalahandi State by Mr. K. N. Mahāpātra. (*Jour. of Kal. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. II, Nos, 2-3, p. 171.)

[2] From the original plates and inked estampages.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] This letter looks like *dī* in the impression. The original shows it to be correctly *di*. The dot seen within the medial *i* sign in the impression, making it into *ī*, is due to a natural depression on the plate.

[5] After the letter *ta* there are two superfluous dots after the fashion of the *visarga* sign.

[6] After the letter *ya* also there is a superfluous *visarga* sign.

[7] The medial *i* signs in *vi* and *ji* of *vijigīshu*, each show faint traces of a dot within, which is superfluous.

[8] The lower dot of the *visarga* is mixed up with the extreme end of the subscript *r* of the following letter, *pra*.

[9] Again there is a superfluous *visarga* sign after the letter *rya*.

[10] The downward stroke to the right of *ñ* is missing here as in *yajña* of l. 13. It is clearly seen in *jñā* of *rajñā*, l. 3 and *sam-ājñāpayati*, l. 10.

[11] The *ś* of *Śiva* shows a superfluous cross-bar, due to a flaw in the plate.

[12] This *daṇḍa* is not necessary.

[13] Here *sandhi* has not been observed.

Second Plate : First Side.

11 स्यां पत्तनखदिरपद्रतलप्रतिष्ठितश्री (श्री) मदीशानेश्वरभट्टारकाय ।[1] ब-

12 ली(लि)चरुनिवेद्यसत्रनृत्तवादित्रखण्डस्फुटितस (सं) स्कारा[2]र्थं द्वैतवनी-

13 यश्री (श्री) मत्पञ्चयज्ञ[3]तपोवनविनिर्गतञ्च (च?)पलगोचरिण: भगवच्छि (च्छी-)

14 प्रमथाचार्यशिष्यश्री (श्री) शूलपाणिभगवत्पादप्रार्थनया मातापित्रो-

15 र (रा) त्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृ(वृ)द्धये समक (का) लोपभोगार्थमाचण्द्रतारकार्क्क[4] पय[:*]-

16 पु (पू) ब्बं (र्व्वं) कं ताम्ब्र (म्र) शासनेन प्रतिपादितो यतोवगत्य समुचितभोगभागादिक-

Second Plate : Second Side

17 मुपनयन्तो भवन्त: सुखं प्रतिवसन्तु ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपाला[5]नुदि (द्दि-)

18 श्येदमभिधी[6]यते भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हृत्वा महिं

19 नृपतयो नरके नृत्सा[7]:[।*] एतद्व (द्द्व) यं परिकलय्य चलाञ्चल्लक्ष्मि (लक्ष्मी) मायुस्त-

20 थाकुरुत यद्भवतामभि (भी) ष्ट[म्*] ।[।*] अपि च रक्षापालन[त्य]वत्फ[8]लं सुग-

21 तिदुर्ग्गति (ती) [।*] को न (ना) म स्वर्गमुत्सृज्य नरकं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ व्या (व्या) सगि(गी)-

22 ताञ्च (तांश्चा) त्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । अग्नेरपत्य (त्यं) प्रथ[मं] सुवर्णं भूब्बे (र्व्वै)-

23 ष्णवि (वी) सुय (सूर्य) सुताश्च गाव[:।*] दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका य: काञ्चनं गाञ्च म-

24 हिञ्च दद्यात् । षष्टिब्बं (ष्टिं व) र्षं सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भु (भू) मिद: [।*] अ (आ) च्छेत्ता चा-

Third Plate

25 नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । बहुभिर्ब्बं (र्व्वं) सुधा दत्ता रा[9]जभि[:*] सगरादि-

26 भि[10][:*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ।[।*] स्वदत्ता (त्तां) परदत्ताम्बा (त्तां वा) य-

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[1] This *danda* is not necessary.

[2] The *anusvāra* meant to be over *rtha* is slightly misplaced, being nearer to the next letter, *dvai*.

[3] The downward stroke to the right of *ñ* is missing here as in *rājñaḥ* of l. 4.

[4] Better read *chandra-tārak-ārkka-samakāl-ōpabhōg ārtham*.

[5] The *ā* sign of *lā* has not come out in the impression.

[6] The impression does not show the dot of the *ī* sign in *dhī*. The original does have it, though very shallow.

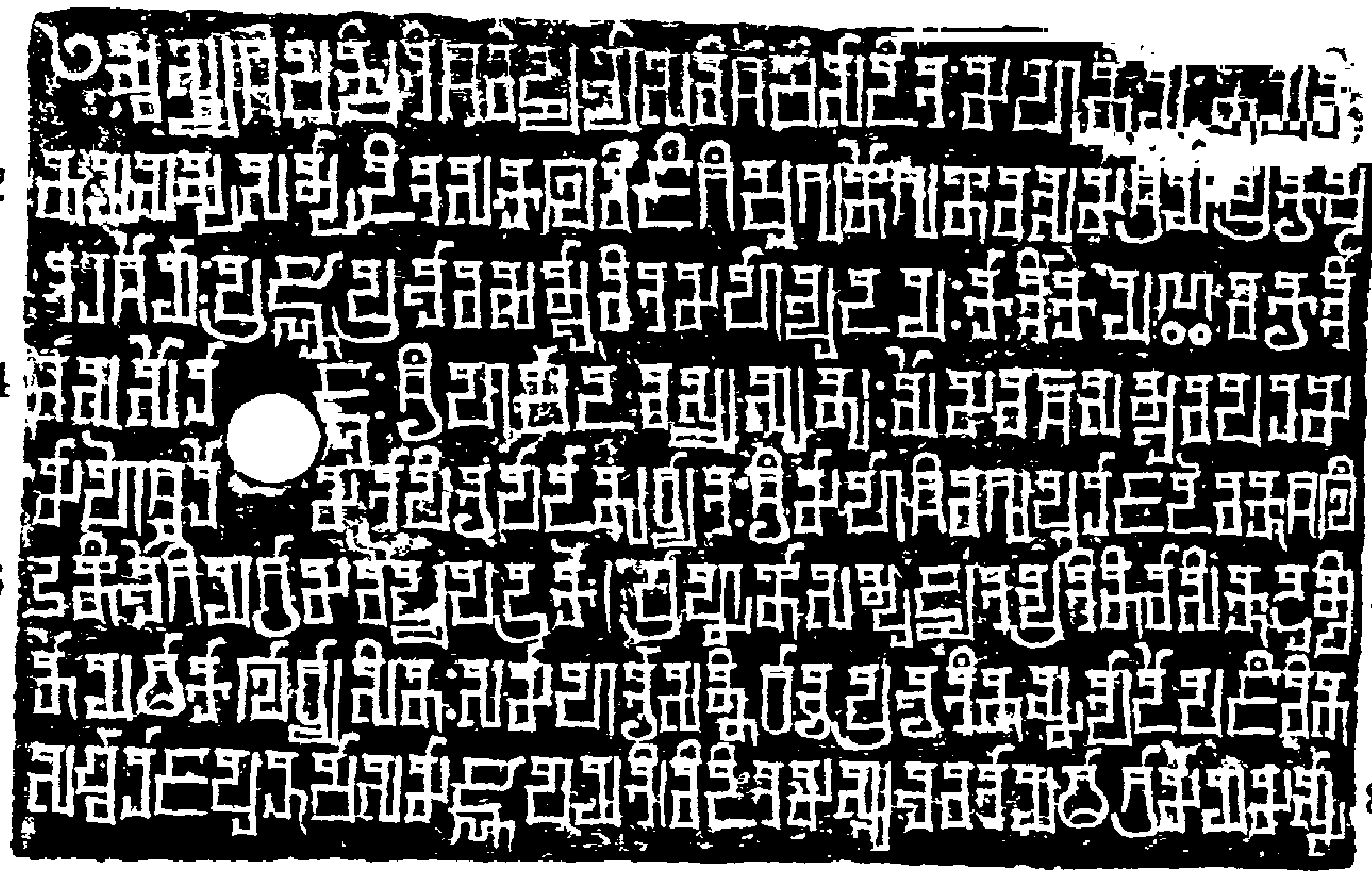
[7] Instead of *nritsāh* read *nriśamsāh*.

[8] Instead of °*yavat=pha*° read °*yōs=tāvat=pha*°

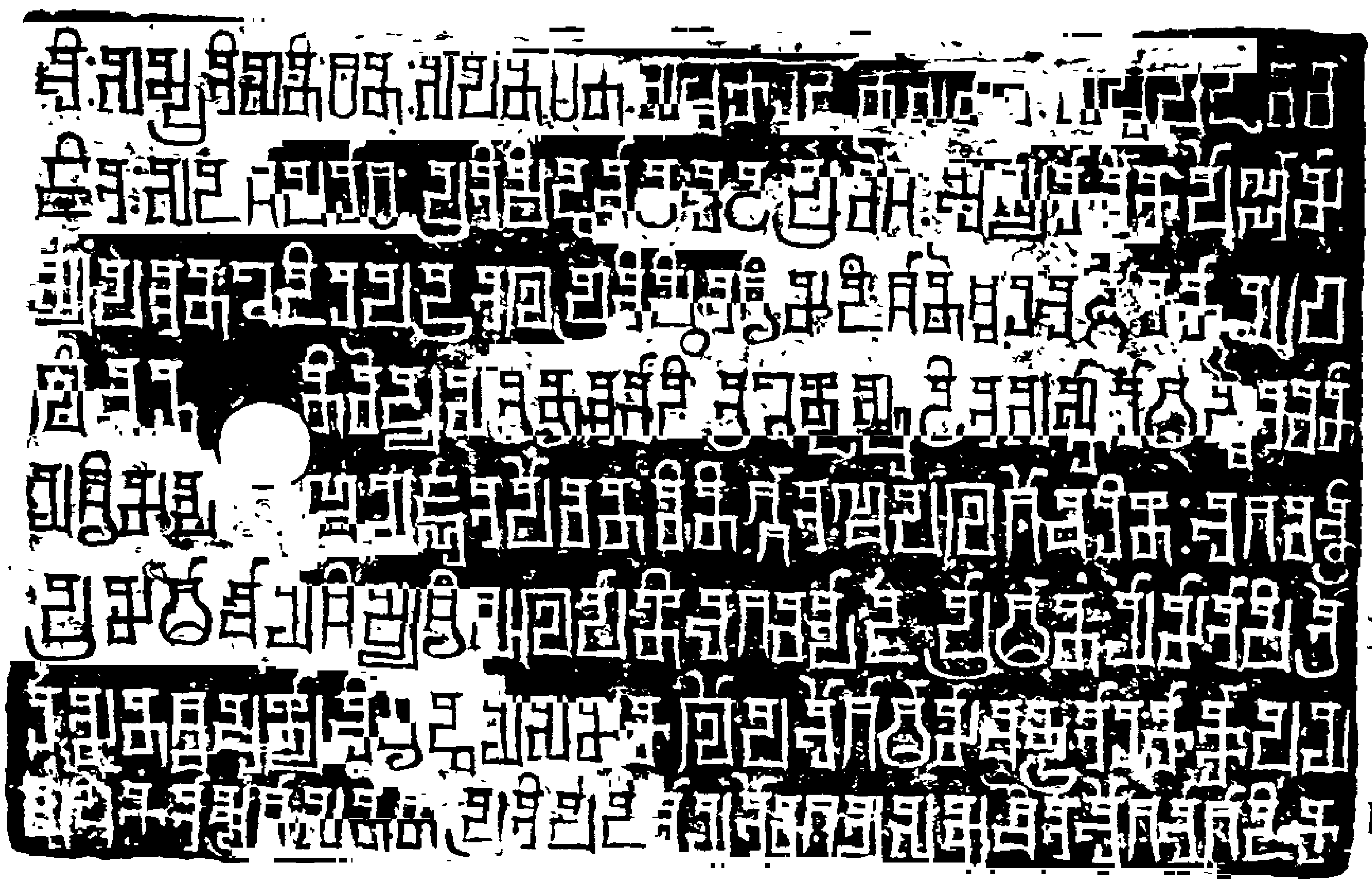
[9] The *ā* sign of *ttā* as well as of *rā* has not come out in the impression.

[10] The impression shows it to be *bhī*. The dot is not to be seen in the original.

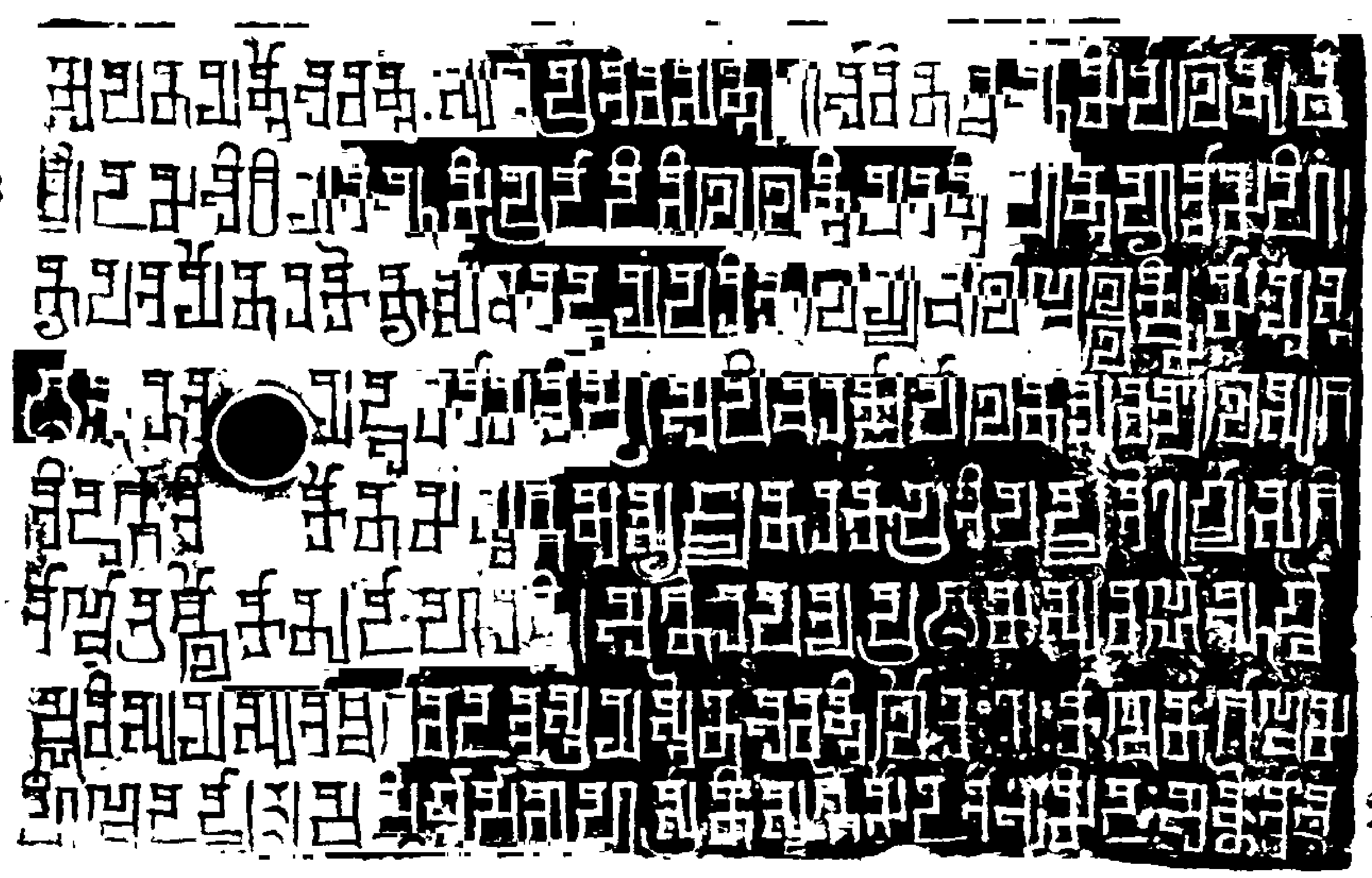
i.



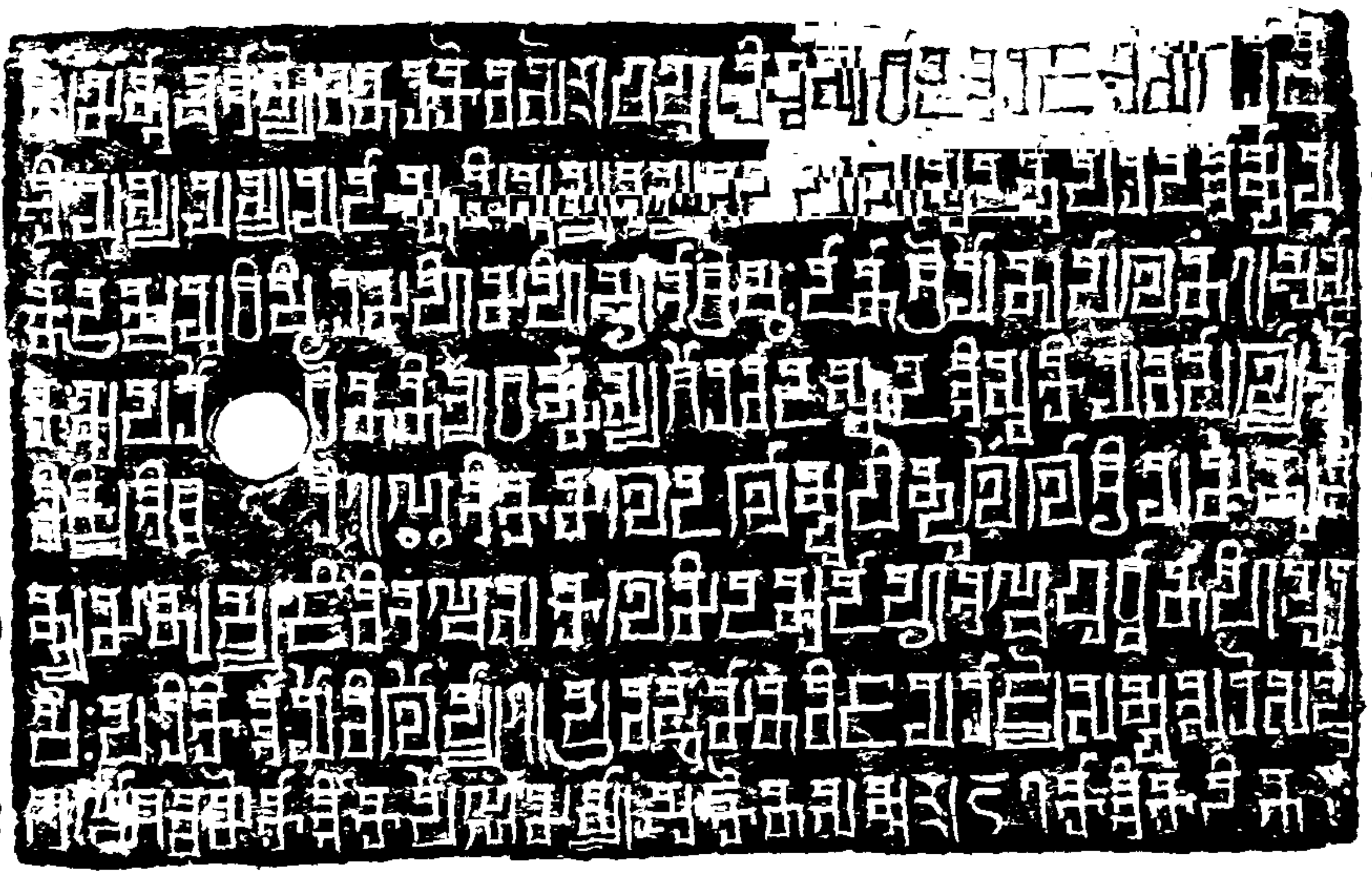
ii,a.



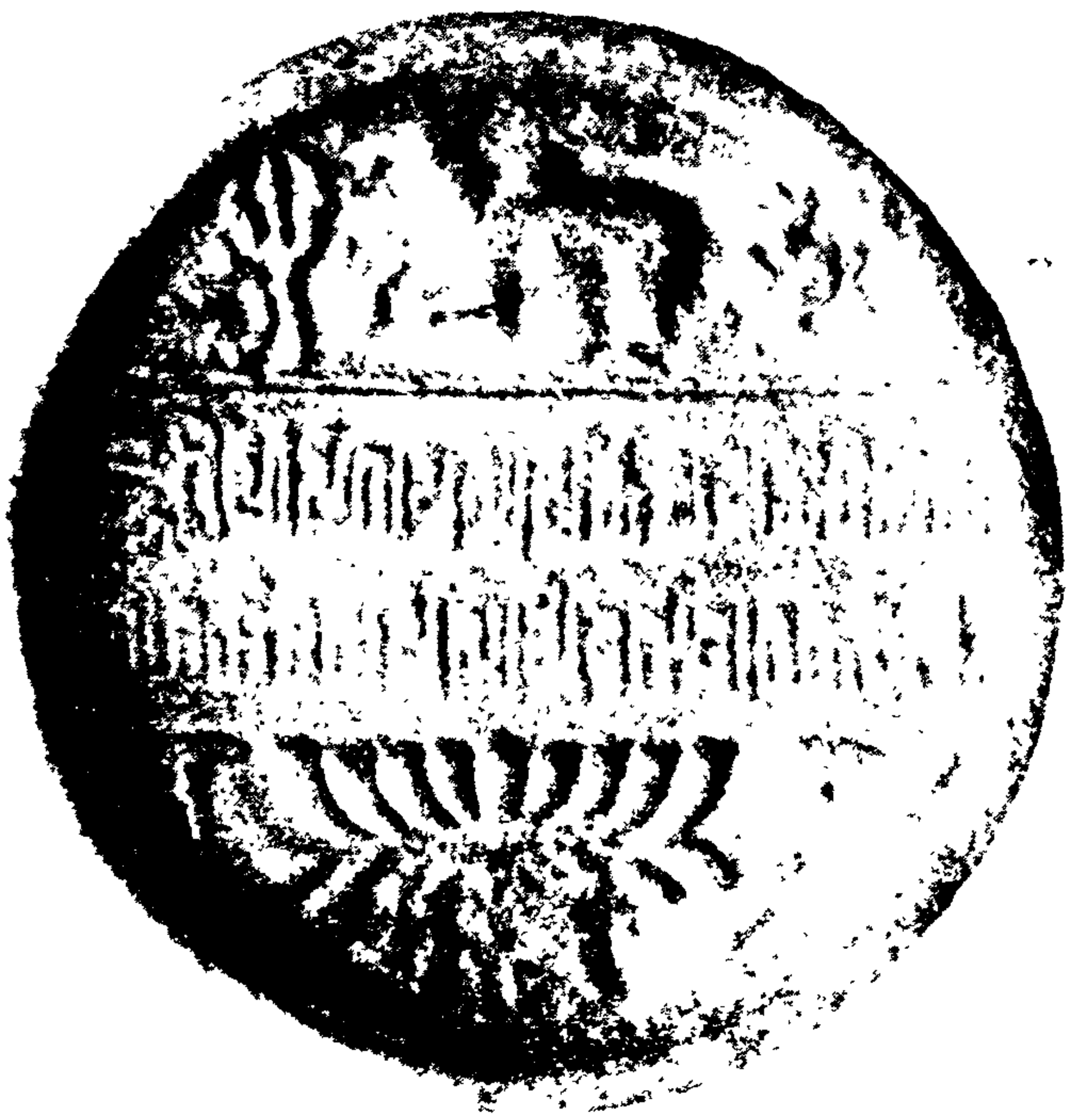
ii,b.



iii.



Seal - From a Photograph



27 स्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठि(ष्ठि)र [।*] महि(हिं) महिभृतां श्रष्ठ[1][।*] दानाश्रे(च्छ्रे)योनु-
पालनं(नम्) ॥ अस्मा-

28 कमुपरोधेन नित्यं धर्म्मस्य गो(गौ)रवादस्मद(द्)त्ति[:*] स्वकि(की)येव पाल्या भा-

29 [कि] क्षिति(ती)श्वरै[:*] ॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोला(लां) श्रि(श्रि)यमनुची(चि)-

30 न्त्य मनुष्यजि(जी)वितं(त)ञ्च[।*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा(द्ध्वा) न हि पुरु-

31 षैः परि(र)कि(की)र्त्तयो विलोप्या[:*] ॥ प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये सम्ब(संव)त्सरे सप्त-

32 पञ्चाशत्तमे कार्त्तिकपो(पौ)र्ण्णम(मा)स्यां अङ्केन सम्ब(संव)त् ५७ कार्त्तिक दिन ३०

The Seal

1 राज्ञः श्रीहर्षगुप्तस्य सूनोः सद्गुणशालिनः[।*]

2 शासनं शिवगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभुवनस्थितेः[॥*]

No. 51.—TWO PLATES OF DEVANANDADEVA

(*1 Plate*)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

There are impressions of two copper-plate grants of king Dēvānandadēva in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. The original plates were secured on loan a few years back by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, for examination. I edit the records from impressions for the *Epigraphia Indica* with the permission kindly accorded to me by Dr. Chhabra.

I.—JURERPUR PLATE OF DĒVĀNANDADĒVA

The copper plate under discussion belonged to one Pathani Mahāpātra, an inhabitant of the village of **Jurerpur** within the jurisdiction of the Bantla Police Station in the Angul sub-division of the Cuttack District, Orissa. The plate seems to have been secured from the owner by Mr. Radhamohan Garnaik of Angul who showed it to Mr. G. S. Das, Secretary of the Orissa Provincial Museum at Cuttack (recently transferred to Bhubaneswar). On receiving information about the inscription from Mr. Das, Dr. Chhabra secured the plate on loan for examination about the end of the year 1945 with the help of the Revenue Commissioner and Collector of Cuttack.[2]

This is a single copper plate measuring about 9½″ long by 7″ broad. There is a circular projection, 2″ in diameter, at the centre of the left end, forming the **seal** which resembles that attached to other records of the family discussed below. On the seal, which has its rim slightly raised all

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[1] There is a superfluous *visarga* sign after *shṭha*.

[2] The original plate is now in the Orissa Provincial Museum. Later I received it on loan for examination from Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of that Museum. I thank Mr. Panigrahi for his kindness.

round, are found in relief the figures of the sun (or star) at the top with a crescent below on the left and a conch on the right; below these is a couchant bull, facing proper right, under which there is the legend *śrī-Dēvānandadēvasya*. The legend is found underlined by two parallel straight lines. At the bottom of the seal there is an expanded lotus. The plate weighs 109¼ *tolas*. It contains writing on both sides. The letters are deep-cut and the inscription is in a good state of preservation. There are 18 lines of writing on the obverse and 17 lines on the reverse.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets and closely resemble those employed in the Baripada Museum plate[1] of Dēvānandadēva and also the Talmul plate[2] of Dhruvānandadēva which is now usually believed to be dated in year 293 of the Harsha era corresponding to A. D. 899. The confusion between subscript *u* and *ū* is present also in the present record.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. There are eight verses about the beginning and the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses about the end; the rest of the record is written in prose. The eight introductory verses are all found also in the Baripada Museum and Talmul inscriptions, in both of which, however, we have an additional verse. The carelessness exhibited by the engraver of the inscription under discussion suggests that the verse in question has been inadvertently omitted in the present record. In **orthographical peculiarities** also this inscription resembles closely the above two records, the only difference being that there are more mistakes and omissions of *aksharas* and passages in the present inscription.

The inscription is not dated; but as already indicated above, it may be assigned to a **date** about the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.

The charter was issued from the city of **Jayapura** by king **Dēvānandadēva** of the **Nanda** or **Nandōdbhava** family of Orissa. In the introductory portion in verse the king seems to be called Vilāsatuṅga who is described as the son of Dēvānanda (I), grandson of Śivānanda, great-grandson of Parānanda and great-great-grandson of Jayānanda after whom apparently the capital city of this line of rulers was named Jayapura. In the formal part of the record king Dēvānandadēva (II)-Vilāsatuṅga is described as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati*. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* is known to have been the title of feudatories of the foremost rank under an imperial ruler of the post-Gupta period.[3] The king further claims to have acquired the five great sounds[4] from his *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, i.e.*, overlord, whose name is, however, specified neither in this record nor in the Baripada Museum plate. It is wellknown that when a feudatory became very powerful, then only he issued a charter without specific reference to his overlord. In passages like the one under notice, the ambiguity (as it may also suggest that the ruler in question was himself a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*) may be intentional. But it is difficult to determine the overlord of the Nanda kings. The discovery of the records of this family in the Dhenkanal and Narsingpur States as well as in Angul in the Cuttack District shows that their territories must have partially covered the above regions. Their capital Jayapura has been identified by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal State.[5] It may possibly be suggested that it was the later Bhauma-Karas of Tosali who were the nominal suzerains of the Nandas of Orissa. Although

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74-82.

[2] *JBORS*, Vol. XV, pp. 87-100.

[3] *Mahāsāmantādhipati* is included in the customary list of officials in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plates of king Padmaṭadēva and of king Subhiksharājadēva. See E. T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, N.W.P.), p. 479. It was also used by influential feudatories like Ḍommaṇapāla of the Sundarban plate (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 679-82; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 122, text l. 2).

[4] *Cf. Corpus. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 296, note 9.

[5] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 77.

little is known about the latter's rule at the close of the ninth century, there is no doubt that the era used in the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva is the same as that employed in the records of the Bhauma-Karas.[1] The use of single plates for their charters and the design of their seal also appear to connect the Nanda kings with the family of the Bhauma-Karas. The family seems to have originally owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and begun to rule more or less independently after the latter's decline.

Whether the Nanda or Nandōdbhava chiefs of Orissa actually claimed descent from the mighty Nandas of ancient Pāṭaliputra cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There may have been a confusion, as Mr. Panigrahi suggests, between *nanda* and *ānanda* (the name-ending of the rulers of this family) just as in the case of the Bhaumas of Orissa, who had the name-ending *kara* and *ākara* and later styled their family as Kara. But this theory can hardly explain the name Nandōdbhava also applied to the Nanda family. Unless it is believed that Nandōdbhava was a name coined arbitrarily after Śailōdbhava, it is probably to be suggested that the Nandōdbhavas claimed descent from a certain person or family called Nanda. Considering the facts that the rule of the ancient Nandas in Orissa is actually suggested by the Hāthīgumphā inscription[2] and that the claim of descent from the ancient Nanda family is not unknown in Indian epigraphy,[3] I do not consider it impossible that the Nandōdbhavas of Orissa claimed descent from the Nandas of Pāṭaliputra. Whether their claim was genuine or fabricated is of course a different matter. It is also difficult to determine what relation these Nandas may have had with king Nanda-Prabhañjavarman of the Chicacole grant.[4]

An interesting passage in the description of king Vilāsatuṅga-Dēvānandadēva II found in this record as well as in the Baripada Museum plate is *sitadhātumaya-gōdhā-śikharīkṛita-lōhitalōchan-āmbara-dhvaja*. This is also applied to king Dhruvānanda in the Talmul plate. It shows that the banner of the Nanda kings was a piece of cloth with the emblem of *lōhita-lōchana* having an alligator (*gōdhā*) above, which was made of *sitadhātu*. The expression *lōhita-lōchana* may indicate a species of snakes; but it is possible to interpret it as "two eyes made of copper". The expression *sitadhātu* usually means 'chalk'; but it can be so interpreted as to suggest that the alligator on the banner of the Nanda kings was made of silver.

The inscription records the grant of a village made by king Vilāsatuṅga-Dēvānanda II in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. The name of the village is given as **Palāmūnā**. It was situated in the *vishaya* of Kahāśṛiṅga within the *maṇḍala* of Airāvaṭṭa. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Kuladēvapāla Bhaṭṭa** son of Dēvapāla and grandson of Samarapāla Bhaṭṭa. He is said to have belonged to the Uluka *gōtra* and the Paryāriśi *pravara*. The word *paryāriśi* seems to be a mistake for *pañch-ārshēya*, referring to the five *pravaras* attached to the *gōtra*. It should, however, be pointed out that the *Gōtra-pravara-nibandhakadamba*[5] recognises only three *pravaras* for the Uluka *gōtra* (*viz.*, Udala, Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra). The donee or rather his family is further said to have originally hailed from Rāḍhā and was living at a place whose name ended with the word *pura*. This place may have been situated in the dominions of the Nandas; but Rāḍhā was the name both of a country and of its capital about the present Burdwan District of West Bengal. So the donee was a Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇa settled in Orissa.

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[1] The *lū* symbol in the date of the Talmul plate may actually indicate 100 instead of 200 as in the Orissa Museum Plate of Daṇḍimahādēvī to be edited by me in this journal.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 208-13, 489-90.

[3] *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 216, 226.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77 and n.

[5] Bombay ed., p. 114.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the record, the location of Jayapura and Rāḍhā has already been discussed. Jayapura is said to have resembled Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State), the capital of king Vikramāditya of Indian tradition and folklore. The Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* is also known from the other records of the family as well as from the Balijhari inscription of Mahābhavagupta Uddyōtakēsarin.[1] Airāvaṭṭa, after which the *maṇḍala* was named, has been identified with modern Raṭāgarh in the Banki Police Station of the Cuttack District. In the description of Jayānanda, founder of the Nanda dynasty of Orissa, that king is said to have been *sva-vikram-ākrānta-samasta-Gōndrama.* Jayānanda thus claimed to have subdued or overrun " the whole of Gōndrama ". Gōndrama is also known from several other records from Orissa in all of which it is either found in conjunction with the word *sakala* or with the word *ashṭādaśa.* Mr. Panigrahi suggests that *ashṭādaśa-Gōndrama* is the same as Oriya *aṭhara gaḍhjāt,* a name applied by people collectively to all the feudatory states of Orissa. The *vishaya* of Kahāśṛiṅga and the village of Palāmūnā cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT[2]

Obverse

1 [Siddham][3] svasty=akalita-kalikāla-kalmaśa(sha)-pravēś-āvakāśātā(t) vijit-āśēsh-Ōjjaya-puniṣ ṇaniṇani-[4].

2 rāj=**Jayapurāt**[5] Vabhu(Babhū)va **Nandōdbhava**-va[ṁ]śa-sambhava[ḥ*] sva-vikram-ākrānta-samasta-**Gōndramō**[6] dhar-ādhipō dharmmadha śrī-

3 mā[7] **Ja(ñ=Ja)yā[na*]nda** iti pravīra[ḥ||1||*][8] Yasmina(n) rājani di(dī)nam=akshara-yuga[ṁ*] dēh=īti [n=aiva] śrutaṁ n=ātaṅkā[ḥ*] kusṛiti[ḥ*] kū(ku)tō

4 na cha mṛishā dvanda(ndvaṁ) na ch=āsi(sī)n=n[ṛi]ṇām | śarvvaryām=ava(ba)lā sahāya-vikalāl[9]=ālaṅkāra-jhaṅkāriṇī kshi(kshī)vā

5 yāpajanē[10] yadi punavā(r=vā)rttā Dilīpē nṛipē [||2||*][11] Kanaka-ruchirakāntiḥ prōna(nna)ta[ḥ*] pu(pū)rita(t-ā)śaḥ sphurita-

6 vimala-ratnaḥ|[12] śūra-durllangha(ṅghya)-mu(mū)rtti[ḥ*] | vu(bu)dha-janō(na)-nuta-pādō Mēra(ru)vat=tasya sākshātō(t) piyata-

7 namatayōbhuch-chhē-**Pārānda**-nāmā[13][||13||*][14] Tasy=āpi ch=āsīt=su-viśuddha-pakshō vasaj-janā[15] khalu mānasē cha [|*)ha-

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[1] *JBORS,* Vol. XVII, p. 17, text 1.33. The record is sometimes also styled the Narsingpur inscription after the name of the State in which the village of Balijhari, its actual findspot, is situated.

[2] From the impressions and photographs preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. The text has also been checked with the help of the original plate kindly supplied by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum, sometime after the paper was completed

[3] Expressed by a symbol usually interpreted as *Ōṁ.*

[4] Read-*Ōjjayinīpura-guṇa-nika°.*

[5] It is better to have a *daṇḍa* here.

[6] Read *Gōndramaḥ .*

[7] Read *dharmadharaḥ sudhīmān.*

[8] Metre *Upajāti.*

[9] Read *vikal=ā°.*

[10] Read *yāty=ajanē vanē.*

[11] Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[12] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

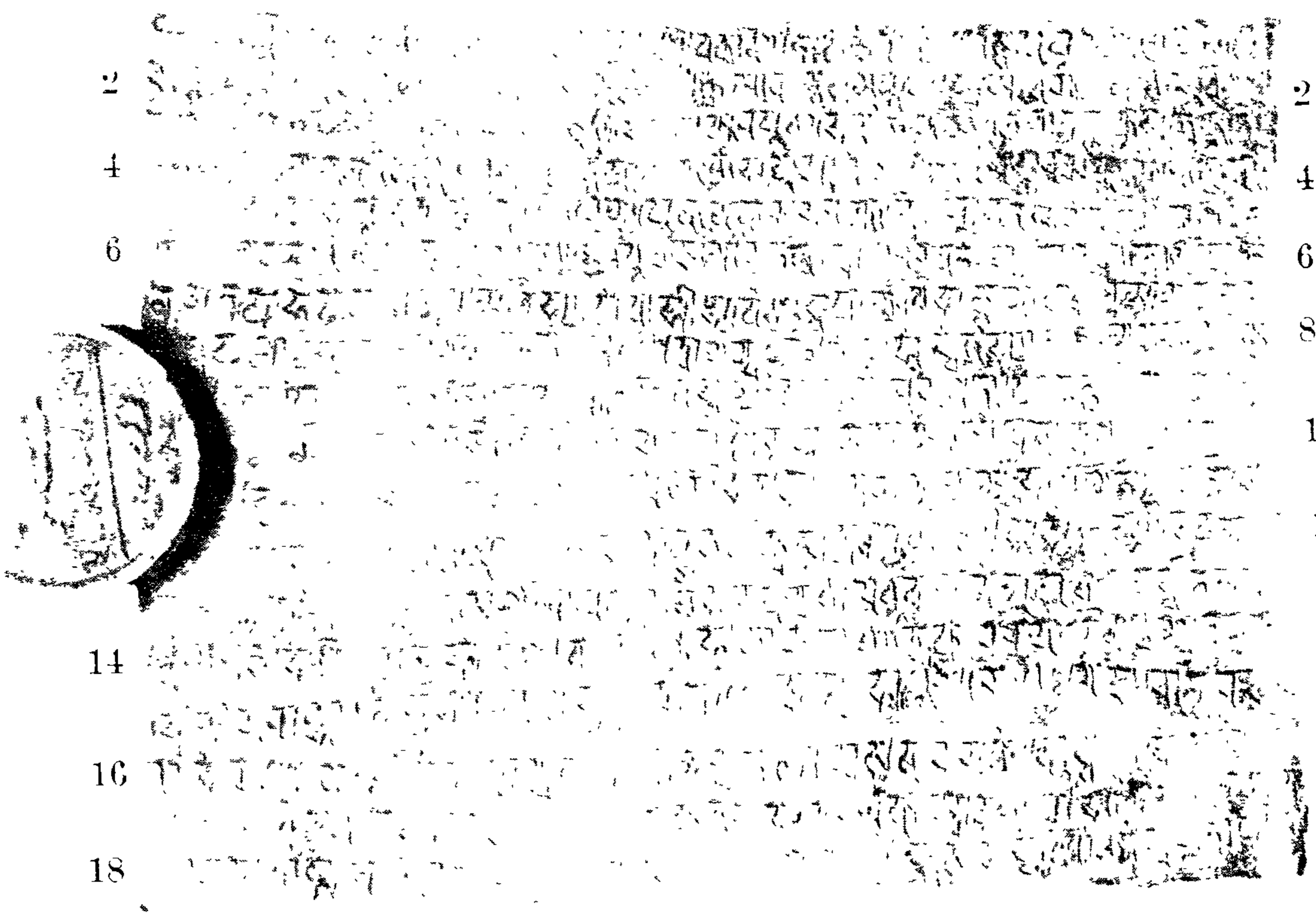
[13] Read *priyatama-tanayō=bhūch=chhrī-Parānanda nāmā.*

[14] Metre *Mālinī.*

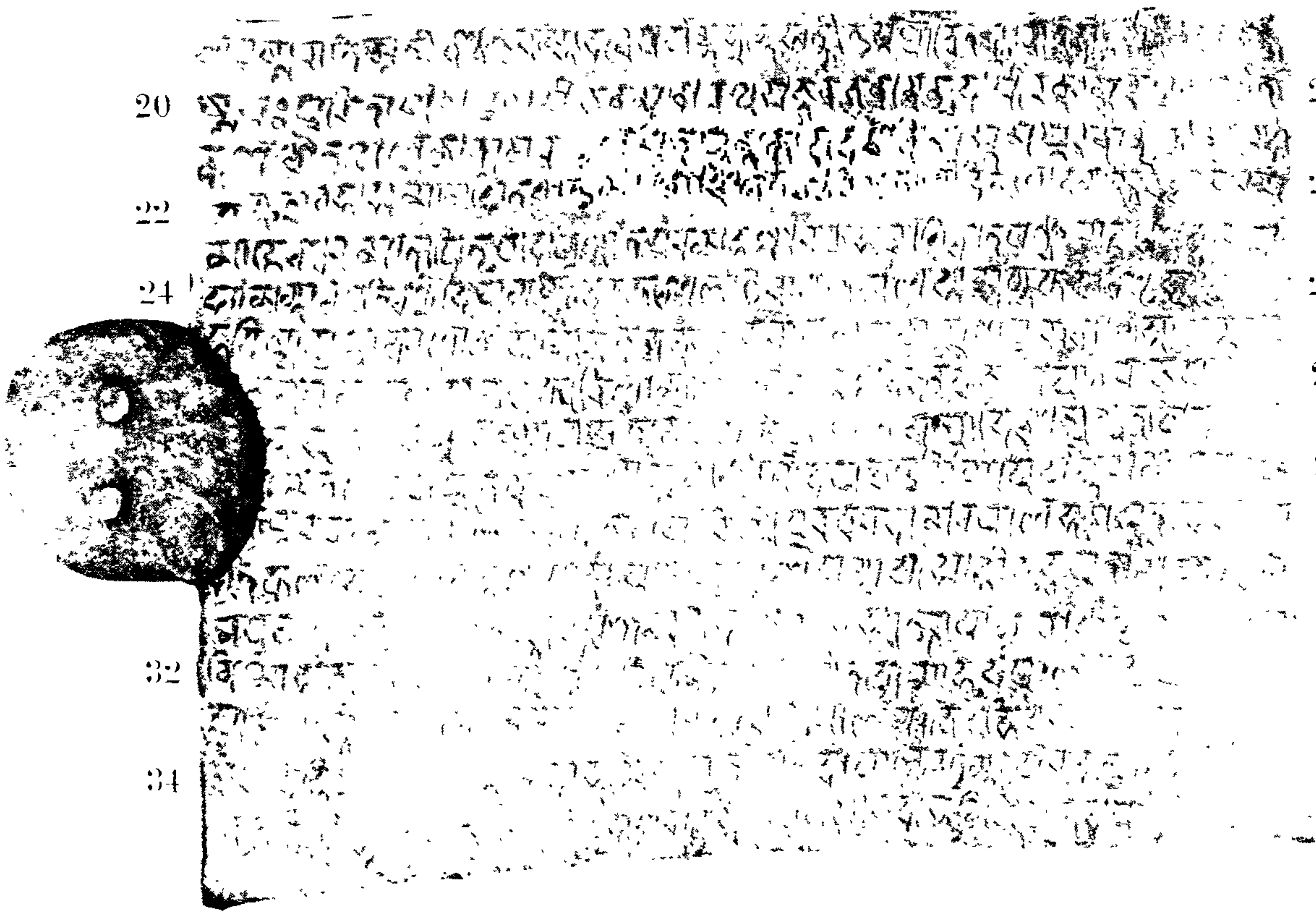
[15] Read *vasañ=janānāṁ.*

Two Plates of Devanandadeva: 1. Jurerpur Plate

Obverse

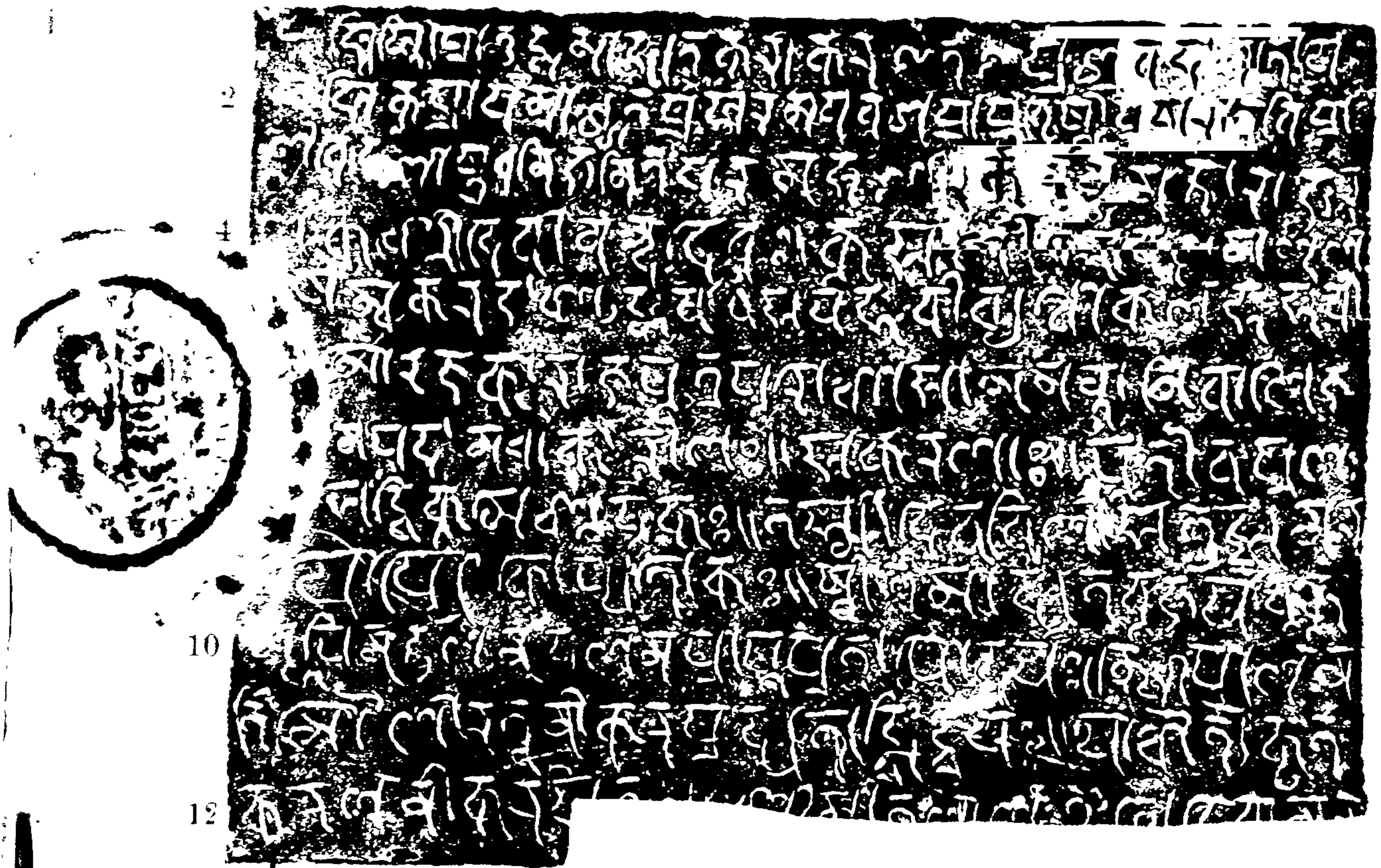


Reverse

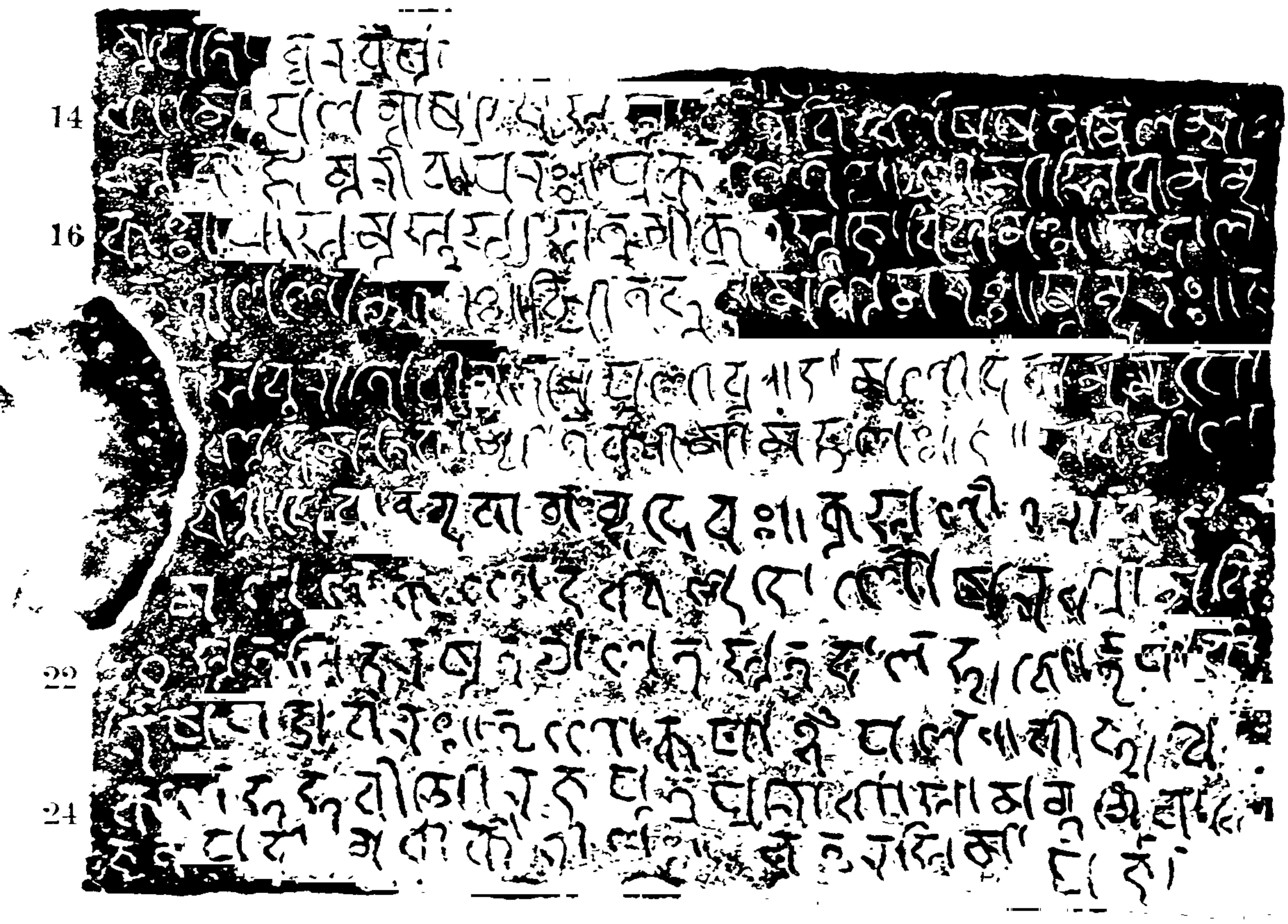


(From Photographs)

Obverse



Reverse



SCALE: FOUR-FIFTHS

8 [nsō] yathā hansa-yamāna-kīrttan-nāmā[1] **Śivānanda** iti prasiddhi(ddhaḥ) [||14||*][2] Tasy=ābhu(bhū)t=tanayas=triṇīkṛi-

9 ta-ripu-vrāta-jvalat-pāvakō vālēṇāṅka[3]iv=ānvay-a(y-ā)mva(mba)ra-gatō yō=bhūtta(t) priyaḥ prāṇi-

10 nām | tāruṇē(ṇyē) taruṇī-vī(vi)lōchana-pū(pu)ṭair=āpī[ta*]-ru(rū)p-āmṛitō **Dēvānanda** iti prasi-

11 ddhim=agamad=yaḥ svair=gguṇaini(r=ni)rmmalai[ḥ*] | [15||*][4] Durvvār-āri-karīnda(ndra)-kumbha-dalanē spha(sphū)rjat-kara[ḥ*]

12 kēsarī śva(śa)śvan=mānavati(tī)-mukhāvja(bja)-jayakṛit-tīvrā[ṁ*]śu-mālī sadā | tasmād=ēva **Vī(Vi)lā-**

13 **satuṅga**--nṛi[pa*]tibhū(r=bhū)tas=satām=argra(gra)ṇīya(r=ya)sy=ōchai(chchaiḥ) sa(śa)rad-inda(ndu)-dhāma-dhavala[ṁ*] nitya[ṁ*] yaśō varddhatē[||16||*][4]tama[5]

14 ndirā=dhva(d=dhva)ja-diśi prōtta(attu)ṅga-haṭṭāvalī śubhrā chāru-sudhā-vikāra-rachanaiś=chandr-ātapa-spa-

15 rddhinī [|*] dūrād=bhāti driśaḥ pathaṅ[6]=gatavati(tī) lōkasya sañchāriṇaḥ(=nō) ni(nī)hār-ōtkara-bhūdha-

16 rād=iva śanair=mma[ndā*]kinī syandatī(tē) [||17||*][4] Sa śrī-**Nandakul**-āmvu(mbu)j-ākara-raviḥ sad-va[ṁ*]śa-di(dī)pō nṛipa-

17 ś=chaṇḍ-ārāti-vadhu(dhū)-mukhāvja(bja)-saśi(śa)bhṛid-rakta(kt-ā)[nta]-dīghē(rgh-ē)kshaṇa-[ḥ | *] kamvōhannaprōdupōḍha[7] pulakīku-

18 rvvana=ja(ñ=ja)na[ṁ*] chēshṭitai[ḥ*] satya-tyāga-kulābhimāna-vinayā yasy=āṅgajā[ḥ*] sad-guṇāḥ | [||18||*][8] Dīpya-pra(t-pra)tāp-āna-

Reverse

19 la-plushṭ-ārāti-mūttīs[9]=chaturambhōdadhi-paryanta-bhrānta-sat-kitta[10] yath-ōchita-sthān-āvasthāpita-varṇa-chatu-

20 shṭayaḥ pūrit-āśēsha-praṇavī(yi)-jana-manōratha[ḥ*] sajjana-jan-ānanda-dāyī rakt-āmva-(mba)ra-pramaṇḍī(ṇḍi)ta-

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[1] Read *haṁsō yathā haṁsa-samāna-kīrttir-nnāmnā.*

[2] Metre *Upajāti.*

[3] Read *bāl-aiṇāṅka.*

[4] Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[5] Read *yasy=ōchchaiḥ sita-ma°.* Before this the Baripada Museum and Talmul plates have another verse reading : *Nakshatr-āvali-hāra-dāmakavatī nityaṁ nabhō-mandirē jyōtsnā-chandana-lēpan-ātidhavalā sāndr-āndhakār-āmbarā yasy=ōttunga-sudhā-grihē tidhavalē dig-yōshitān=darpanē svaṁ rūpaṁ vara-kāmin= īva rajanī chandr-ānanā paśyati*||

[6] The Baripada Museum and Talmul plates have *padaṅ°* which is preferable.

[7] The meaning of the passage cannot be determined. There are no doubt some errors here. The Talmul plate has *karmmōhanna nayēd=upōḍha.* [The correct reading must be *kaṁ mōhaṁ na nayēd upōḍha-pulakī-kurvañ=janaṁ chēshṭitaiḥ,* meaning ' by his deeds sending people into thrills of joy, whom may he not fascinate' ?—Ed.]

[8] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

[9] Read *mūrttiś=chatur-ambhōdhi°.*

[10] Read *kīrttiḥ.*

21 kaladhauta-ḍōllikā-chāmara-pralamvi(mbi)ta-pra(prā)nta-krōḍa-dēśa-vin yasta-mayūra-chandi-(ndri)kā-nikara-si-

22 ta-chchhatr-āvabhāsamāna[ḥ*] sitadhātumaya-gōdhā-śikhari(rī)kṛita-lōhita-lōchan-āmva(mba)-ra-dhvaja[ḥ*] parama-

23 māhēśvara-mātāpitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-samadhigatapañchmahāśavda(bda)-mahā-

24 sāmantādhipati-śrī-**Dēvānandadēva**[ḥ*] kuśalī **Airāvaṭṭa**-ma[ṇḍa*]la-samvanda[1]-**Kahā-śriṅgha**-vi[sha]ya(yē)

25 bhavishyad-yathākāl-ādhya(dhyā)sinō rājanakān jarā-putrāna[2] Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-purōgān sāmanta-nivā-

26 [si*]-janapadānapadān[3]=adhikāriṇā(ṇō)=nyāṁś=cha chāṭṭā(ṭa)-bhaṭṭa(ṭa)-vallava[4]-jāti(tī)-yān rāja-pād-ōpa-

27 [jīvi*]na[ḥ*] sarvvān yathārham=mānayati vō(bō)dhyati kuśalayaty=ādiśaty=anyata(t) viditam=astu

28 [bhavatā*]m=ētad-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddha-**Palāmūnāgrām**-ōdaya[5] chatu-simā[6]-paryanta[ḥ*] **Rāḍhā**-vinirggata-

29 ....**pura**[7]-vāstavya Uluka-gōtra-paryārisi-praravara[8]-Samarapāla-bhaṭṭa-sū(su)ta-Dēvapāla-

30 [sū(su)]ta-Kuladēvapālabhaṭṭa(ṭṭāya) mātā-pitrōr=ātma[na*]ś=cha- punya(ṇya)-yaśō(śō)-bhī(bhi)vṛiddhaya(yē) tāmvra(mra)-sā(śā)sanē-

31 na pradattō=smābhir=yatas=tāmvra(mra)śāsana-darśanād=asmat-kāry-ānurōdhād=yathākāla-pha[9]

32 nimōbhujyamānaḥ kēn āpi paripanthinā na bhavitavya[m | *] Mā-bhu(bhū)d=aphala-sa(śa)ṅkā va[ḥ*] para-da[tt=ē*]ti

33 pārthivā[ḥ*] | sva-dānāt phalam=ānantya[ṁ*] para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nē)|| Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhi[ḥ] Sa-

34 gar-ādibhiḥ||[10]yasya yasya ta(ya)dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam[11]=āntyā[12] para-datt-ānupālana(nē) |

35 va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā datvā(ttā) rājabhiḥ Sagar-āda(di)bhi[ḥ | *] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya [tasya*] tadā phala[m*||]

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[1] Read *sambaddha-Kahāśriṅga*

[2] Read *rāja-putrān*. *Rājanaka* is found in some records in place of the usual *rājānaka*.

[3] Read *janapadān=*

[4] Better read *vallabha* as in the Baripada Museum and Talmul plates.

[5] Read *grāmō=yam*.

[6] Read *chatuḥsīmā°*.

[7] Two or three letters forming the first part of the name of the locality are lost as a result of the soldering of the seal. Read *vāstavy=ōluka°*.

[8] The intended reading seems to be *pañchārshēya-pravara*. Read *tryārshēya-°*. *Sa* in the name Samarapāla looks like *dā* ;but *cf. sa* in *sadguṇāḥ* in l.18.

[9] Read *phala-niyam-ōpabhujyamānasya* ; *cf.* the Baripada Museum plate.

[10] Only one *daṇḍa* is necessary for proper punctuation.

[11] Read *phalam*|| The remaining letters in reduplication of the verses were engraved due to carelessness.

[12] The intended reading is *°ānantyaṁ*,

II.—NARSINGPUR PLATE OF DĒVĀNANDADĒVA

In July 1943, a person named Arta Sahu got the copper plate under discussion from a streamlet called Chitra flowing by **Narsingpur,** the headquarters of the Narsingpur State in Orissa. Without disclosing the fact of this discovery, he stealthily sold the plate to a goldsmith. There being dissension regarding the payment of its price, the matter was brought to the notice of the Narsingpur Darbar which then secured the plate. It was found that the goldsmith had cut off a small portion of it apparently for the examination of the metal. With the help of the Political Agent of Orissa States at Sambalpur, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra arranged to get the plate for examination and registration in November, 1944.

This is a single plate, having writing on both the sides. There are 12 lines of writing on the obverse and 13 lines on the reverse. The plate measures about $7\frac{1}{2}''$ by $5\frac{9}{16}''$ and has a circular projection from the middle of its left end, forming the **seal** about $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. On this seal, which resembles the seal of the Jurerpur plate described above, are found the emblems of the crescent and sun (or star), a couchant bull facing proper right and another symbol looking like an elephant goad but apparently representing a conch. Below these emblems is engraved in early Nāgarī characters the legend *Śrī-Dēvānandadēva*. Below the legend are two parallel straight lines. At the bottom of the seal is an expanded lotus. The plate weighs 66 *tolas*. The lost portion at the bottom right cut off by the goldsmith measures about $\frac{3}{8}''$ by $5\frac{1}{4}''$. This has resulted in the loss of more than half of the last line of the inscription on the obverse and that of the first line on the reverse.

The **characters** resemble those of the Baripada Museum and Jurerpur inscriptions of Dēvānandadēva and the Talmul inscription of Dhruvānanda, although there are many cases of careless engraving. The **language** of the record is incorrect Sanskrit: but in this respect, as will be shown below, the present inscription cannot be compared with any other record of the family. It has certain **orthographical features** in common with the other inscriptions, although in a number of cases letters have been engraved without any idea of forming by them any word bearing sense. This is because the record under discussion is not a regular and complete charter. It appears to be a hopelessly defective copy of some portions of two regular charters.

Before analysing the contents of the present inscription, I may offer a tentative suggestion regarding the circumstances leading to the preparation of such a peculiar document. It seems that two genuine charters of king Dēvānandadēva in the possession of a family became very much damaged possibly as a result of having been burnt in fire. The seal of one of the plates appears to have been totally lost and the writing on both the plates became in most places unreadable. Owing to difficulties in getting a reissue of the charters, the family enjoying the lands granted probably managed to forge the present document. The seal of one of the original charters being saved was attached to a new copper plate prepared for the purpose of engraving the records afresh. The engraver, however, meant to incise only the letters that could be read by him on the damaged originals, but he did it in a consecutive manner without thinking whether the letters engraved would form correct words and offer any sense at all. The most interesting thing in the present record is that it contains portions of several verses in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and that these stanzas appear to be different from those found in the known charters of the family. The beginning of the record also differs from that of the other records.

The record begins with the symbol for *siddham* followed by the word *svasti* just as other records of the Nanda family of Orissa. Then comes a passage (ll.1-2) which, although defective, seems to be an adjective, qualifying the place wherefrom the original charter was issued. From other records of the family, it is known to have been Jayapura, the capital of the Nanda kings. Next

follows the passage *viprāṇāṁ vēda-śāstra-dhvani-janita* (ll.2-3) which appears to be an incomplete adjectival phrase, qualifying the same city, the concluding part of it having been omitted. Then the reigning monarch willing to make a grant of land is abruptly introduced as *paramabhaṭṭāraka*[1]-*Nanda-mahārāja-rāṇaka-Śrī-Dēvānandadēvaḥ kuśalī,* although the usual epithets of this king and the metrical description of himself and his ancestors found in other records are absent. It seems that a big section of the original charter, possibly containing a number of verses, has been omitted here. Reference is next made to the officers and others relating to the Karaḍāśṛiṅgaya *vishaya* attached to the Ērāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala* which is no other than the Airāvaṭṭa known from other records of the family. But without even completing the list of officials and furnishing a verb to the sentence, the engraver then offers us, strangely enough, portions of some verses. It is not improbable that these verses belong to the introduction of a second charter of the same king. In lines 7-8 there appears to be the concluding part of the first verse in which a king has been described as *sad-vikramē Śūdrakaḥ.* It is possible to suggest that this ruler was no other than Jayānanda, founder of the Nanda dynasty of Orissa. The second verse begins in line 8 with the passage *tasmād=ēva Vilāsatuṅga-nara°* and shows that this stanza dealt with king Vilāsatuṅga, who was the son of the king described in the first verse. From the inscriptions of the family we know that Jayānanda was succeeded by his son Parānanda who was followed by his son Śivānanda. As this Śivānanda is actually mentioned in a following verse, it is possible to suggest that it is his father Parānanda who has been called Vilāsatuṅga in the record under discussion, although other inscriptions of the family apply the *biruda* Vilāsatuṅga only to the grandsons of Śivānanda. The verse describing Vilāsatuṅga (possibly the same as Parānanda), which could not be engraved in its entirety and bears many mistakes in the engraved portions, seems to end with the *charaṇa* : *kshmāpāl-ānata-mauli-ratna-nikara-pradyōtit-āṅghri-dvayaḥ* in lines 10-11. In line 15 the last *charaṇa* of verse 4 of the original record, marked as such, which describes Śivānanda, runs : *śūrō bhānur=iv=āparaḥ prakaṭitaḥ Śrīmān Śivānandakaḥ.* The next verse, which is marked as verse 5 of the original record (line 18), begins with the words *sūnus=tasya* and apparently dealt with Śivānanda's son Dēvānanda. Lines 18-19 bear only a small part of a verse, marked as the sixth. In it the name of Dēvānanda is actually mentioned. The following verse is represented only by the first four syllables of the first *charaṇa* at the end of line 19. In line 20 the reigning monarch is again introduced, without any of the royal titles, simply as *śrī-Dēvānandadēvaḥ kuśalī.* There is little doubt that a large number of words of the original document has been omitted between line 19 and line 20 of the present record. Reference is next made (lines 20-21) to the village called Ḍōlōshara-grāma situated in the Kalēḍa *khaṇḍa* which formed a part of the Ērāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala.* This seems to have been the village granted by the king. Lines 21-23 refer to a person who belonged to the Dālbhya *gōtra* and was the grandson of Śihara and the great grandson of Viṭhu. This may have been the donee of the grant. His own name and that of his father cannot be satisfactorily determined ; but the word *triṇōka* in line 23 may actually stand for Trilōka which may be suggested to have been the original donee's name. Next follow portions of the customary list of officers. It has to be pointed out that the list of officers should have come earlier. Possibly two lines of the original have been transposed here. This list is followed abruptly by the expression *chatura-simā-parja* no doubt standing for *chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ* usually qualifying the word *grāmaḥ* in indicating the gift village. The charter ends here.

Considering the nature of the document, it is not possible to say definitely whether the king named Dēvānanda mentioned in line 4 as well as in line 20, apparently as the issuer of a charter, was Śivānanda's son Dēvānanda (I) or Śivānanda's grandson Vilāsatuṅga Dēvānanda (II). The

[1] *Cf. paramabhaṭṭāraka-samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati* found in other records of the family.

facts, however, that we have two other charters of Vilāsatuṅga Dēvānanda (II) and that no record of any of his ancestors has yet come to light make the case of this king more likely.

TEXT[1]

Obverse

1 [Siddham ||][2]svi(sva)sti [||*] Prōtta(ttu)ṅga-mādyata(t)-karī(ri)-karaṭa-taṭa-praśra(sra)va-dāna-tōya-

2 susiku(kta)-prārya-mārjja(rjji)ta-prasaramaya-vasa-prāpta-tushṭī(shṭi)-prachārāta(t)[3] viprā-

3 [ṇā(ṇāṁ)] vēda-śāshtra(stra)-dhvani-janita[4] paramabhaṭṭārarka(rka)-**Nanda**-mahārāja-ra(rā)-

4 ṇaka-śrī-**Dēvānandadēvaḥ** | [5] kusya(śa)lī **Ērāvaṭṭa**-maṇḍala-

5 shamva[6]-**Karaḍāśṛingaya**[7]-visa(sha)ya-bhavīvyathākala[8] bhabhavī-[9]

6 nō ṛajakā[10] -rājaputra-pū(pu)rōgā[n*] sāmamantā[11] nivāṇi(si)-ja-

7 napadān=adhī(dhi)kārī(ri)ṇaḥ||[12] sa-karaṇāḥ(ṇān)||[13] pūtī vapraṇa

8 [14]sad-vikramē Śūdrakaḥ||[15] Tasmād=ēva Vilāsatuṅga-nara-

9 yōyyē kōpyatōkaḥ ||[16] Shṭhīta-mādyata[17] vūjayavūkū-

10 mripi nahalana [18]dalana-prāpta-pratāp-ōdayaḥ|| [19]kshā(kshmā)pāla(l-ā)na-

11 ti(ta)-maulī(li)-ratna-nī(ni)kara-pradyat-ā(dyōtit-ā)ṅgi(ṅghri)-dvayaḥ||[20] yā thōtō krita

12 karala-nī(ni)kara[yi][21]

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[1] From the impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[2] Expressed by the symbol usually interpreted as *Ōm*.

[3] Although defective, the whole passage seems to have been originally used as an epithet of *Jayapurāt*, Jayapura being the capital of the king.

[4] This likewise seems to be an incomplete epithet of *Jayapurāt* although the remaining *aksharas* of the epithet as well as the name of the city have been omitted.

[5] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[6] Read *sambaddha*.

[7] The *ya* at the end of the name may be superfluous.

[8] Read *bhavishyad-yathākāla°*.

[9] Read *bhāvinō*.

[10] Read *rājānaka*.

[11] Read *sāmantān*.

[12] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[13] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous. From this place the engraver abruptly begins a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre ; but he has omitted some syllables, while some have been carelessly substituted by other *aksharas*. It should be noticed that the description of the king and his ancestors should properly have preceded that of the grant partially quoted in lines 3-7.

[14] The following seven syllables appear to have been the ending part of the first verse of the original.

[15] The *daṇḍas* probably indicate the end of the first verse. Only the first eleven syllables of the following verse appear to be true to the original.

[16] The *daṇḍas* marking probably the end of a *charaṇa* of the verse are superfluous.

[17] It is tempting to suggest the emendation *sphīta-mādyat*; but that does not suit the beginning of a *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* foot.

[18] The following ten syllables appear to be true to the original.

[19] The *daṇḍas* are probably unnecessary.

[20] Here the verse seems to end.

[21] Owing to a portion of the plate being cut off, only the upper part of about fourteen *aksharas* are noticed after this.

Reverse

13 nṛityaṁti pūrvvaravapu[1]

14 gāmbhīrya lamvāshyāpi sasudutva viśēsha-sha(sa)tva-nilaksha

15 śūvā(rō) jjā(bhā)nū(nu)r=ī(r=i)v=āparaḥ||[2] prakaṭitaḥ||[3] śrīmā=**Si(māñ=Chhi)vānanda-**

16 kaḥ ||4||[4] Su(sū)nuss=tra(=ta)sya sa(śa)tru-nī(ni)kra(ka)ras=tējō[5] viyaniḥ||sha (sa)dāla-

17 kshā(ksha)ṇa-lakshitaḥ ||[6]kshita(ti)bhujām-agrēna(sa)raḥ ||[7] shu(su)ndaraḥ ||[8] ja-

18 tasaptaritō vī(vi)nīta-nēpuṇīdra ||5||[9] Mṛiśī **Dēvā[na*]nda**-nṛipō

19 śuddhamati vānyāta-vanīmāmaṇha(ga)laḥ ||6||[10] sarva-prāṇa-

20 śrī-**Dēvānandavānandadēvaḥ**[11] ||[12]kusa(śa)lī **Ērāvaṭṭa-**

21 maṇḍala-Kalēḍa-khaṇḍa-Ḍōlōsharagrāma-Vi

22 ṭhu-suta-Sihara-shu(su)ta-ṇata-suta-Dālabhya-[13] gōṭri-[14]pāṁryā

23 rishaya-[pra]varaḥ || triṇōka[15]-pāñchapala vībhyathā-[16]

24 kalē-bhabhavī[nō] ra(rā)japutra-purogāṁ(gān) sāmanta-nivāsi-

25 janapadān=adhī(dhi)kārī(ri)ṇaḥ | [17]chatura-simā-parja[18]

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[1] About 14 or 15 letters are lost after this.

[2] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[3] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[4] Here ends the fourth verse of the original charter. It is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, but only the last foot can be satisfactorily made out. Although these verses appear to be different from those found in the other grants of the family, it has to be noticed that even in those records Śivānanda's description occupies verse 4, while verses 1-3 describe his grandfather Jayānanda and father Parānanda.

[5] The *ē* sign is not found in its proper place and is attached to the subscript *t*.

[6] The *dandas* are superfluous. Here ends the first foot of a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre; but this foot cannot be satisfactorily made out.

[7] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[8] Possibly only one *daṇḍa* is necessary.

[9] This marks the end of the fifth verse of the original charter; but a large number of the syllables of its second half have been omitted.

[10] This marks the end of the 6th verse of the original charter; but a large number of syllables has been omitted

[11] Read *Dēvānandadēvaḥ*.

[12] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[13] Read *Dālbhya-gōtrīya*.

[14] Probably we have to suggest *tryārshēya-pravarāya* as the Dālbhya *gōtra* has three *pravaras, viz.*, Aṅgiras (or Māndhātṛi), Ambarīsha and Yuvanāśva (*Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, Bombay, p. 114).

[15] If the name of the donee is expected here we may probably suggest *Trilōkāya* in place of *triṇōkapā*.

[16] Read *bhavishyad-yathākāla-bhāvinō*.

[17] The *daṇḍas* are superflous. Many words have been left out here.

[18] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read *chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ*; but the rest of the charter has been left out.

No. 52.—NOTE ON THE SALEM PLATES OF GANGA SRIPURUSHA

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

AFTER my article on this inscription was sent to the press,[1] I noticed the Rāshṭrakūṭa names Śivarāja and his son Gōvindarāja mentioned in the Narwan plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya II,[2] a study of which would throw welcome light on the pedigree of Kañchiyabbā given in the Salem plates of Gaṅga Śrīpurusha. In the Narwan grant which bears the date Śaka 661, *i.e.*, A.D. 742, the king is stated to have made, while his victorious camp was at Ādityavāḍa, a gift of the village Naravaṇa at the request of Gōvindarāja son of Rāshṭrakūṭa Śivarāja. Ādityavāḍa is identified with modern Aitavaḍe in the Satara District and Naravaṇa with the village of the same name in the Guhāgar Petha of the Ratnagiri District. So the Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvindarāja seems to have held a feudatory position under Vikramāditya II in portions of Satara and Ratnagiri Districts of the Bombay Presidency. Possibly Gōvindarāja's father Śivarāja also held the same position in the same area under the same king or his father and predecessor Vijayāditya.

Now the following genealogy is supplied by the Salem plates:—

Nannappa
|
Śivarāja
|
Gōvindarāja
md. Vinayavatī, dau. of king Vikramāditya
|
Kañchiyabbā (A.D. 771) *md.* Duggamāra, son of Śrīpurusha. — Indarāja

We find that in both the Salem and Narwan records the names of Śivarāja and Gōvindarāja occur in identical forms and bear the same relationship, *viz.*, father and son. The date of Gōvindarāja in the Narwan plates, corresponding to A.D. 742, would place his father Śivarāja in c. A.D. 725. These dates would very well agree with the period of Gōvindarāja and his father Śivarāja of the Salem plates as Gōvindarāja's daughter Kañchiyabbā was alive in A.D. 771, when the Salem plates were issued. And Śivarāja's father Naṇṇappa has been assigned to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D.[3] Further, as noted above, the Narwan grant indicates that Gōvindarāja was holding a subordinate position under Vikramāditya II. The Salem plates inform us that Gōvindarāja's queen Vinayavatī was the daughter of a well-known king Vikramāditya who in all probability is identical with this very Chālukya king Vikramāditya II. A consideration of these facts lead us to identify Śivarāja and his son Gōvindarāja mentioned in the Salem plates with their namesakes of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family referred to in the Narwan plates. Thus we

[1] Above, p. 145.

[2] Above, p. 130, text line 57.

[3] Above, p. 147 and note.

get four generations of these Rāshṭrakūṭa princes from Nannappa to Indarāja who seem to have ruled in Northern Karnatak in a feudatory capacity under the imperial Chālukyas.

The Salem record states that Gōvindarāja's daughter Kañchiyabbā was the wife of Duggamāra, son of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. It is quite possible that this matrimonial relationship between the Western Gaṅgas and this Rāshṭrakūṭa family was brought about through the influence of the Chālukyas; for, according to our identification, Kañchiyabbā was the granddaughter of Vikramāditya II through his daughter Vinayavatī, married to Gōvindarāja.

Dr. Altekar has shown that it is not possible to connect Gōvindarāja and his father Śivarāja of the Narwan plates either with the ancestors of Dantidurga of the main Rāshṭrakūṭa line or with the predecessors of Karka II of the Antroli-Chharoli record.[1] I have pointed out the difficulties in identifying Śivarāja's father Nannappa of the Salem plates with his namesake mentioned in the Tiwarkhed, Multai and Daulatabad plates.[2] Prof. Mirashi has tried to show the existence of a ruling family called Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. in the area known as Southern Maratha country, with Satara District as headquarters.[3] He has also suggested that following the defeat of Gōvinda, supposed to be a prince of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, at the hands of Pulakēśin II on the north of the Bhīmarathī, as stated in the Aihoḷe *praśasti*,[4] the Rāshṭrakūṭas appear to have moved to Berar where they founded a principality with Achalapura as their capital.[5] Yet we are not in a position to establish any connection between any of these rulers and the family of Nannappa of the Salem record. It may, however, be possible to assume that this Nannappa might have been a grandson of Nannarāja of the Tiwarkhed plates,[6] though they would be separated from each other by about 70 years. But there is one difficulty in the supposition. Nannarāja of the Tiwarkhed plates belonged to Achalapura in Berar whereas the Nannappa and his descendants were supposed to be ruling in Northern Karnataka, in portions of Satara and Ratnagiri Districts. In such case, we will have to assume that one of these Rāshṭrakūṭas migrated again to their earlier home in Northern Karnataka. Another possibility is that Nannappa and his line of the Salem plates belonged to an altogether different branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. And Gōvindarāja and his son Indarāja of this family, instead of joining hands with Dantidurga and his uncle Kṛishṇa I in overthrowing the Chālukyas, perhaps actually opposed them on behalf of the Chālukyas with whom they were matrimonially connected. In this encounter, the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha might have also lent his support on the side of the Chālukyas and their Rāshṭrakūṭa allies, since he was interested in them. Probably to avenge this act of Śrīpurusha the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa I invaded Gaṅgavāḍi and encamped at Maṇṇe in the Mysore State, from where he issued his Talegaon plates in A.D. 768.[7] In this connection we may note that the Salem plates of A.D. 771 announce the death of Indarāja, son of Gōvindarāja, which seems to have taken place only a few years prior to the date of that record. We must, however, say that these are only suggestions about the probable course of events and, of course, they are to be confirmed or modified in the light of future discoveries.

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[1] *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 15.

[2] Above, p. 147 and note.

[3] *Annals, Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 39-46; Dr. Altekar, however, does not subscribe to this view; *ibid*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 149-55.

[4] Above, Vol. VI. p. 5.

[5] *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, p. 47.

[6] Prof. Mirashi's latest view is that the Tiwarkhed plates are spurious while the Multai record is genuine; (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 138-43). I have already shown that Nannappa and Nannarāja of the Salem and Multai records respectively would be contemporaries (above, p. 147 note).

[7] Above, Vol. XIII, p. 280.

MGIPC--S1--XVI-1-25--12-9-51--450.

No. 53—PETTASARA GRANT OF NETTABHANJA

(1 Plate)

C. C. DAS GUPTA, CALCUTTA

This set of copper plates was recently acquired for the Orissa Museum at Bhubanesvar by its Curator. I edit it with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India who supplied me with an excellent set of impressions.[1]

The set consists of **three** copper-plates, each measuring 7·7″×4·5″. The plates are strung together on a ring with a seal which is worn out. Together with the ring, they weigh 138 *tolas*, the ring alone weighing 22 *tolas*. The first and third plates are engraved on one side only, the second on both sides. The inscription consists of 35 lines, the first plate containing 8 lines and the other three inscribed sides of the plates 9 lines each.

The **characters** used in this inscription belong to the East Indian Nāgarī type and may be assigned to the 9th or 10th century A.C. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse and prose. As regards **palaeography,** language and **orthography,** the inscription closely resembles other Orissan records of the period in question.

Nēṭṭabhañja mentioned in this inscription is the same as Nētṛibhañja noted in three Ganjam grants[2] on account of the following reasons. First, the script used in all these four inscriptions is exactly the same. Secondly, the drafts of all these records are of the same nature. Thirdly, all were issued from Vañjulvaka. Fourthly, the officers named in this inscription as serving Nēṭṭabhañja are found mentioned only in the inscriptions of Nētṛibhañja as serving that ruler. For example, the officers Kakkāka, Durgadēva and Vāchchika mentioned in this inscription are also known from other inscriptions of Nētṛibhañja[3]. Lastly, the ruler Nēṭṭabhañja of this record and Nētṛibhañja of the other inscriptions have the common secondary name *Kalyāṇakalaśa.*[4] These inscriptions together offer the following genealogical table :

Śilābhañja
|
Śatrubhañja
|
Raṇabhañja
|
Nētṛibhañja

There is another ruler with almost the same name, *i.e.*, Nēṭṭabhañja[5] ; but there is no doubt that he is an altogether different monarch though belonging to the same dynasty.[6] There are also two other rulers named Nēṭṭabhañja I and Nēṭṭabhañja II who belonged to an altogether different dynasty as their genealogy is entirely different.[7]

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[1] [This inscription was published with plates by Pandit Satyanarayan Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 4 (March 1947), pp. 285 ff., under the title " The Kshatrivarapur Copper-plate Grant of Nettabhañjadeva *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa (Samvat 59)." According to him, the plates were discovered by the villagers of Kshatrivarapur in the Ghumsar Subdivision of the Ganjam District, Orissa, while digging the earth for the construction of a school building and he received them for examination in October 1946 through Mr. Banchhanidhi Patnaik of Gobara and Mr. Nabakisor Das of Cuttack.—D.C.S.]

[2] Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1497-99. [The correct reading of the name in all the three cases is *Nēṭṭabhañja*—D.C.S.]

[3] Ibid., Nos. 1497-98.

[4] Ibid., Nos. 1497-99.

[5] Ibid., No. 1502.

[6] This point was discussed by me in *ABORI*, Vol. XII, p. 240.

[7] Bhandarkar, List, No. 2057.

There are three letters in line 35 on the third plate between the words *chaturdaśi* and *śu-di* which are not very easy to explain. But, as there is mention of the month (*Mārgaśiras*) and the year, there is no doubt that these three letters indicate numerical figures, although the position of the numerals is rather unusual as it should have been placed after the word *saṁvatsara*. In support of this suggestion we may say that two Bhañja inscriptions of king Raṇabhañja contain dates in an era, viz., Saṁvat 288[1] and Saṁvat 293[2]. The present grant seems to be the third Bhañja record which contains a similar date. The first of the three letter-symbols may represent 200. The symbol used here is very similar to the sign given in Bühler's Tafel IX, 200, IX. The numeral 200 expressed in the two other inscriptions mentioned above is the letter *lū* which is different from the sign used in this inscription to indicate the same number. This sign for 200 is derived from another symbol noticed in Bühler's Tafel IX, 200, IX. The second of the three signs resembles the numeral 70 as given in Bühler's Tafel IX, 70, VI. If we consider the cursive stroke before *śu* as a mark of punctuation, the third sign may be read as 9 as it closely resembles the form of that numeral noticed in Bühler's Tafel, IX, 9, XVII. The year of the date may thus be read as 279. If we refer the year 279 of the inscription under study to the Harsha era, we get 279+606, i.e., 885 A.C. as the date of the grant.[3]

The object of this inscription is to record the gift, by Nēṭṭabhañja, of the village of **Pēṭṭasara** in **Māṇḍiḍḍā-vishaya** on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīrsha for the benefit of his parents and himself to *Bhaṭṭa* Kēśavarudra, son of Kshēmarudra and grandson of Dāmōdararudra.

The **places** mentioned in this inscription are Māṇḍiḍḍā-vishaya and Pēṭṭasara-grāma. These two place-names are not mentioned in any other inscription of the Bhañja rulers of Orissa. It is not possible to identify them. However, for the first time, we find here the name of another *vishaya* within the territories of the Bhañja rulers of Khiñjali-maṇḍala.[4]

TEXT

[Metres: V. 1 *Mālinī*; v. 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 3 *Āryā*; v. 4 *Vasantatilaka*; vv. 5-8 *Anushṭubh*; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[5] svasti [|*] Jayatu kusuma-vā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshē(kshō)bha-daksharṁ sva-kiraṇa

2 parivēshē(sh-au)rjitya-jīrṇṇ-ēndu-lēkha[m |*] tri(tri)-bhuvana-bhavan-āntar-dyōta-bhāsva[t*]-pradī-

3 paṁ kanaka-nikasha-gai(gau)raṁ chāru-nēttra[ṁ*] Harasya|| [1*] Śēsh-āhēr=iva yē phaṇāḥ pra-

4 viralasaṁntudbhāsvar-ēndu[6]-tvishaḥ prālēy-āchala-śṛiṅga-kōṭaya iva tvaṅga-

5 nti yē=ty=unnatāḥ [|*] nṛitt-āṭōpa-vighaṭi(ṭṭi)tā iva bhujā rājanti yē Śāmbha-

6 vās=tē sarvv-āgha-vighātina[ḥ*] sura-ssa(sa)rit-tōy-ōrmmayaḥ pāntu vaḥ ||[| 2*] Vijaya-Va-

[1] Bhandarkar, List, No. 1487.

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 157.

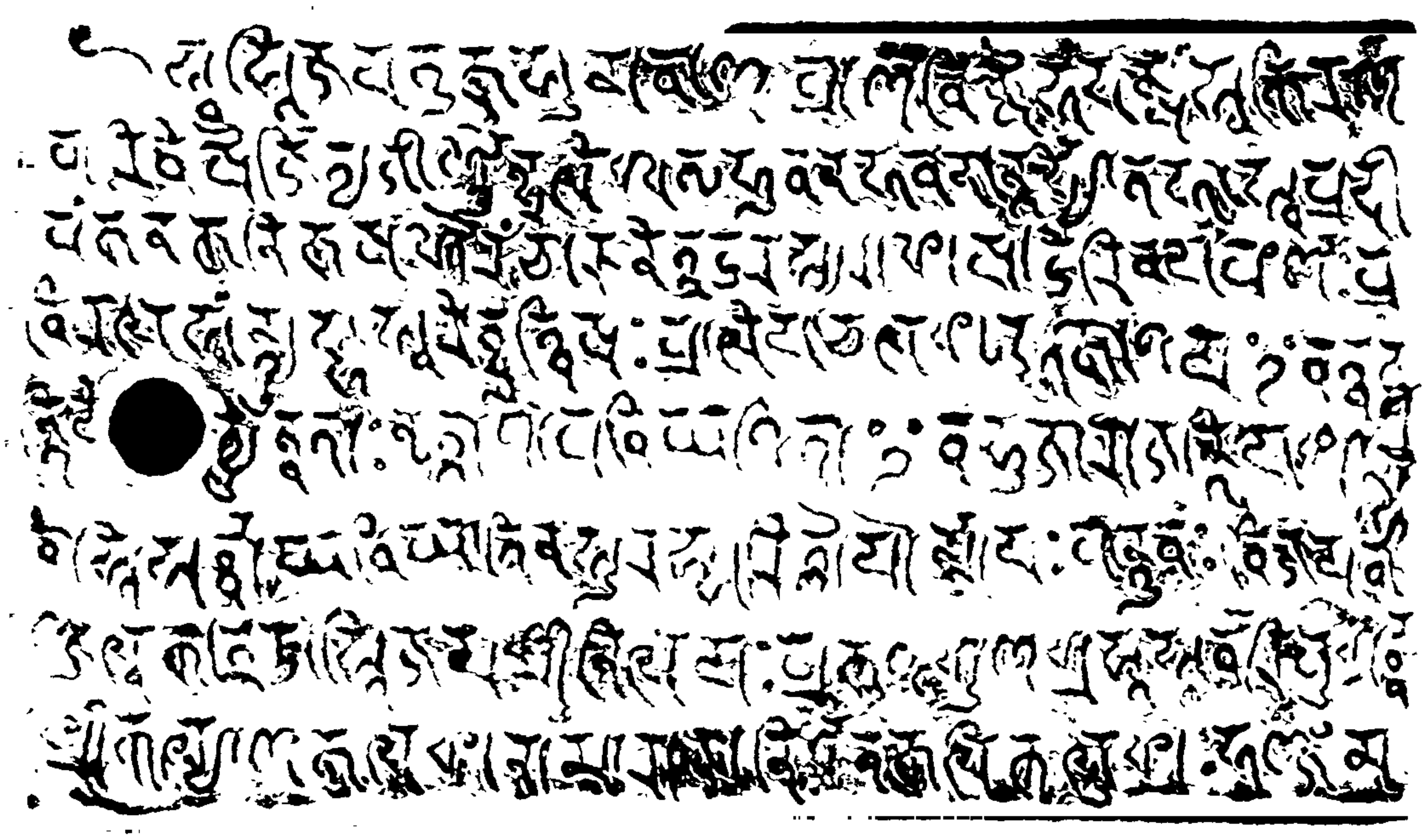
[3] [The existence of a date in an era in the present record is extremely doubtful. See below, p. 340, notes, 3—Ed.]

[4] The point has been discussed by me in *ABORI*, Vol. XII, pp. 231-45.

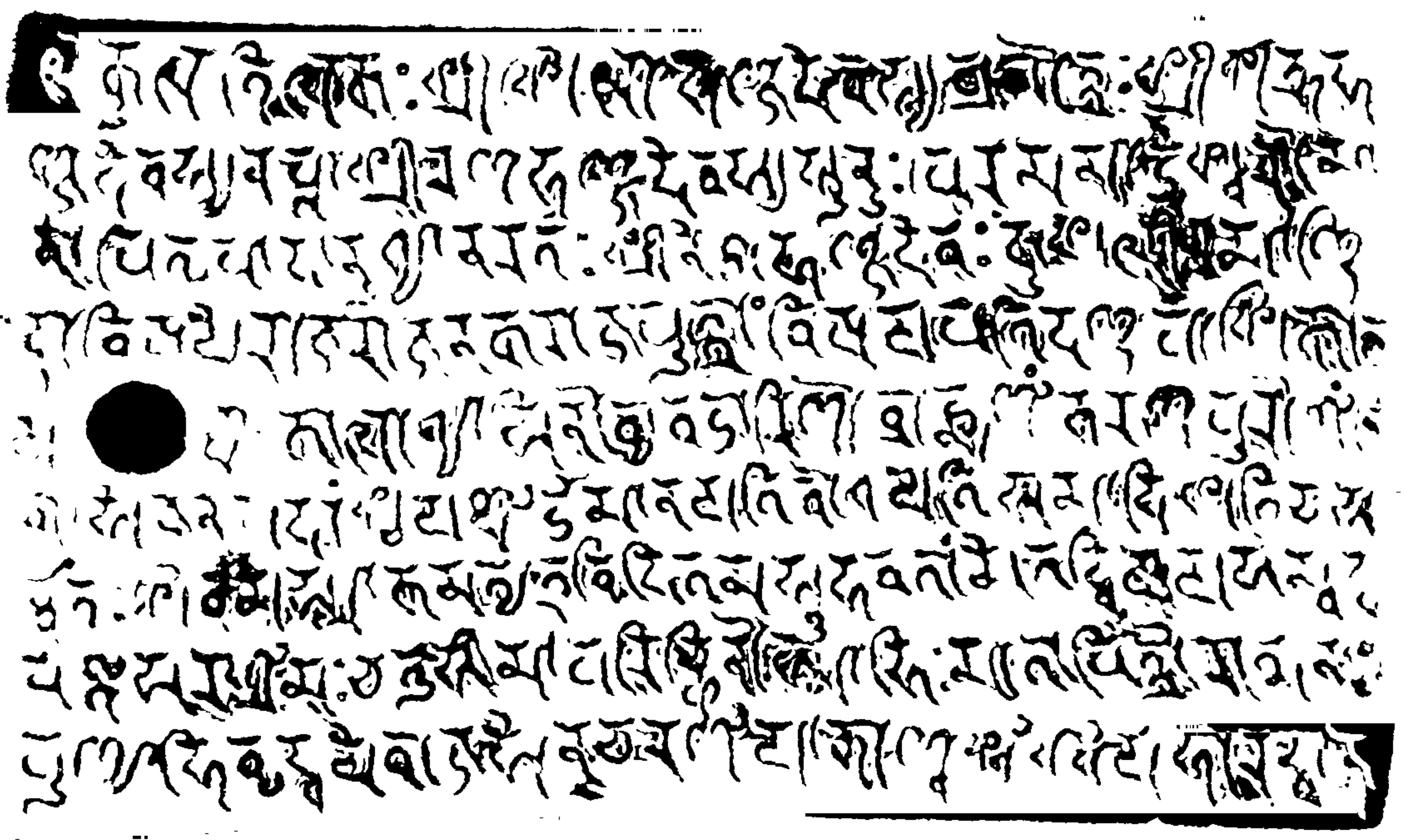
[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read *pravilasanty=udbhāsvar-ēndu°*.

i.



ii,a.

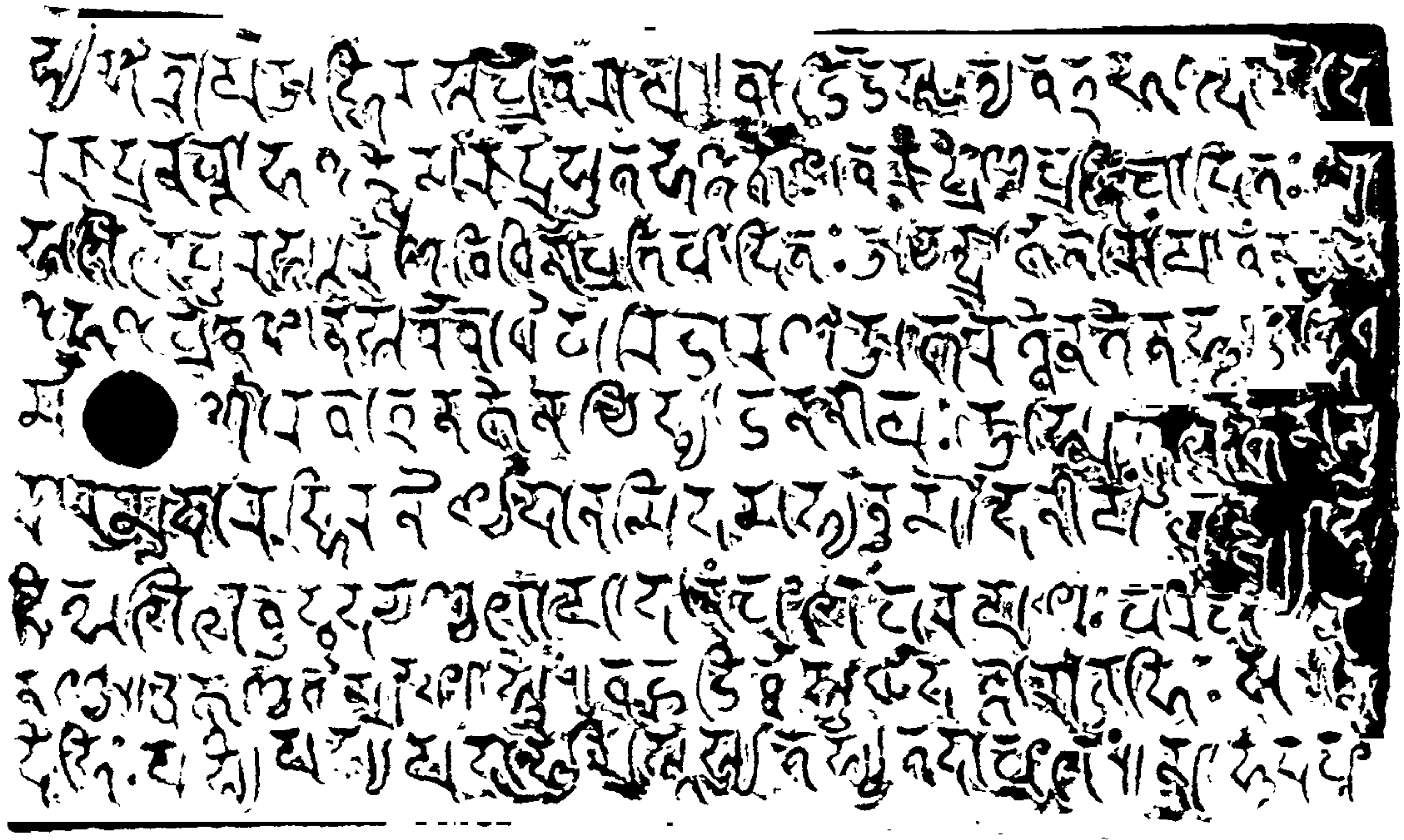


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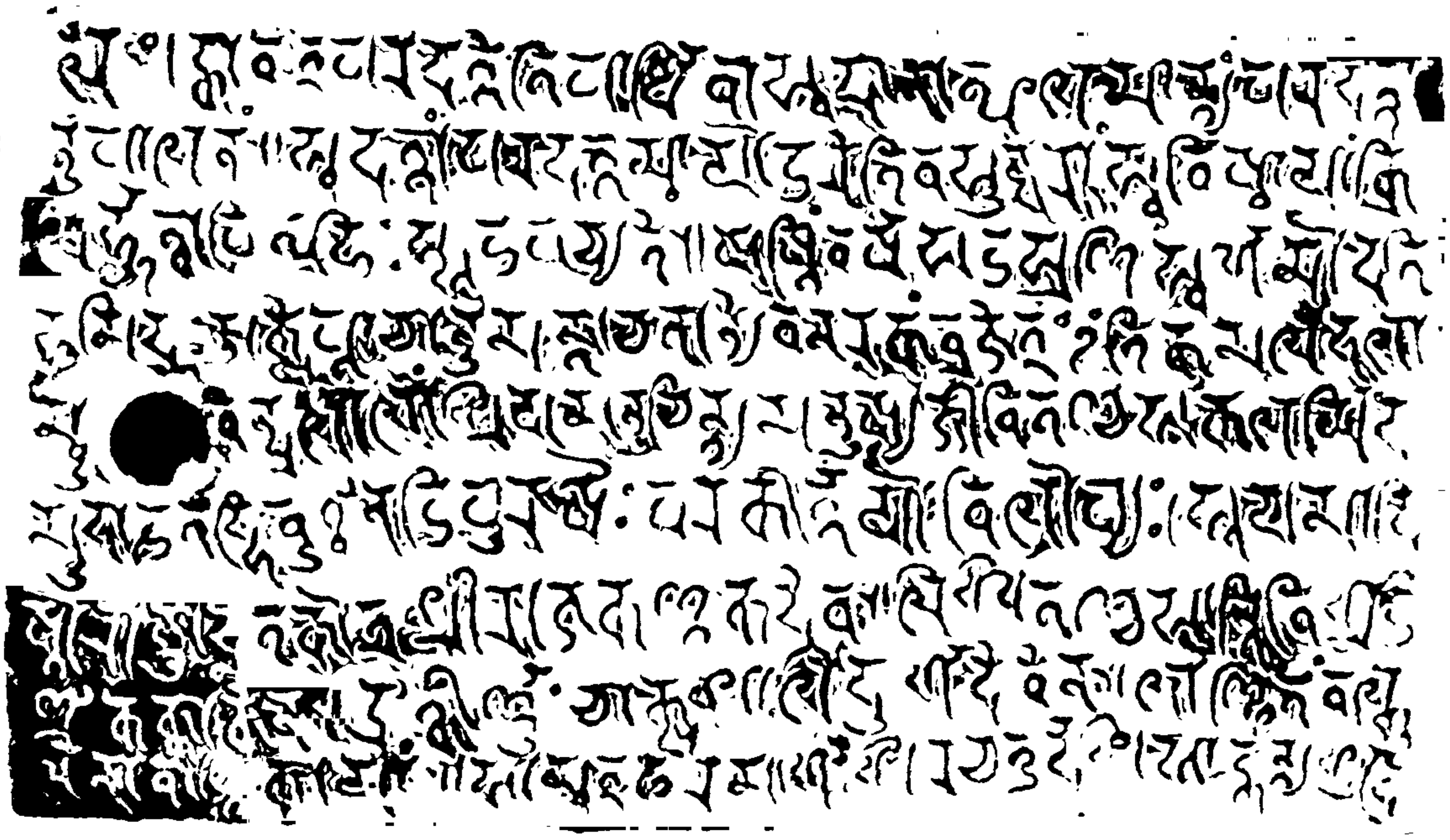
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SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS

ii,b.



iii.



7 ñjulvakāt [|*] Asti jaya-śrī-nilayaḥ prakaṭa-guṇa-grasta-sarva-ripu-garvva[ḥ |*]

8 śrī-**Kalyāṇakalaśa**-nāmā rājā nirdh[ū]ta-kali-kaluśa(sha)ḥ [|| 3*] Bhañj-āma-

Second Plate ; First Side

9 la-kula-tilakaḥ śrī-**Śilābhañjadēvasya** prapauttraḥ śrī-**Śatrubhañjadēvasya** naptā śrī-**Raṇabhañjadēvasya** su(sū)nuḥ paramamāhēśvarō mā-

11 tā-pitṛi-pādānudhyāna-rataḥ śrī-**Nēṭṭabhañjadēvaḥ** kuśalī [|*] Māṇḍi[ḍḍā]-vishayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputtraṁ(ttrān) vishayapati-daṇḍapāśikān

13 yathākāl-ādhyāsinō vyavahāriṇō Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāṁ(ṇān) Karaṇa-purōgāṁ(gān) ni-

14 vāsi-janapadāṁś=cha yathārha[ṁ*] mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samādiśati cha sa-

15 rvvataḥ śivam=asmākam=atya(nya)t viditam=astu bhavatāṁ(tām) ētad-vishaya-samva(mba)-ddha-

16 Pēṭṭasara-grāmaḥ chatu[ḥ*]-sīmā-parichchhinō(nnō)=smābhiḥ mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaḥ

17 puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Vājasēna-charaṇāyā[1] Kāṇva-śākhāya Bhāradvāja-

Second Plate ; Second Side

18 sya(sa)gōtrāya A(Ā)ṅgirasa-pravarāya ||[2] vārhihaspatyavat[3] Bhaṭṭa-Dāmōda-

19 rarudra-naptā(ptṛi)-Bhaṭṭa-Kshēmarudra-suta-Bhaṭṭa-Kēśavarudrēṇa(drāya) pratipāditaḥ dhārā-

20 salila-purassarēṇa vidhinā pratipāditaḥ ā-chandr-ārka-tārā(ra)ṁ yāvaṁnta[4] a-chā-

21 ṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśēna sarva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārēṇā(ṇa) akaratvēna [|*] tēna bhuñjadbhi[ḥ*] dha-

22 rma-gauravāt na kēnachid=vyāhananīyaḥ [|*] Asmat-kula-kramam=u-

23 dāram=udā[ha*]rabdhir=anē(nyai)ś=cha dānam=idam=abhyanumōdanīyaṁ(yam |) Lakshmy-ās=ta-

24 dit-salila-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)da-chañchalāyā dānaṁ phalaṁ parayaśaḥ-paripāla-

25 nañ=cha || [4*] Uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē || Va(Ba)hubi(bhi)r=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ā-

26 dibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [5*] Mā bhūd=apha-

Third Plate

27 la-śaṅkā vat(vaḥ) para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ [|*] sva-dānāt phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ā-

28 nupālanaṁ(nē) || [6*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattam=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēti(ta) vasundharāṁ(rām |) sva-vishṭhāyāṁ kri-

29 mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ ssa(sa)ha pachyatē || [7*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasra(srā)ṇi svargē mōdati

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[1] Read *Vājasanēya-charaṇāya.*

[2] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[3] Read *Bārhaspatya.* [Better read *Bārhaspaty-ānupravarāya* : cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 277, note 9.—D.C.S.]

[4] Read *yāvat* which is, however, redundant. The word *pratipāditaḥ* has been unnecessarily duplicated.

30 bhu(bhū)midaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakaṁ vrajēt [|| 8*] Iti kamala-dal-ā-

31 mvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya=jīvitañ=cha sakalam=ida-

32 m=udāhṛitadbhi(ñ=cha) vu(bu)dhvā na hi purushaiḥ parakīrttayō vilōpyaḥ(pyāḥ || 9) svayam-ādi-

33 shṭō rājñā dūtakō=tra śrī-Rājakaṇṭakadēva[ḥ*] likhitañ=cha sāndhivigrahi-

34 ṇā Kakkākēna || Utkīrṇṇaṁ ch=ākshaśāli-Durgadēvēna || Lāñchhitaṁ valgu-

35 linā Vāchchhikāyāṁ[1] **sāṁvatchhara[2] Mārgaśira-chaturdaśi(śyāṁ) 200 70 9[3] śu-di** [||*]

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[1] Read *Vāchchhikēna*.

[2] Read *saṁvatsara*. [What has been read as *tchhara* was deciphered by Pandit Rajaguru as 59. The correct reading of the two signs may be *10 2*, i.e., year 12 of Nēttabhañja's reign.—D.C.S.]

[3] [The three *aksharas* were read as *saṅgatya* by Pandit Rajaguru; but they look like *saṅkatya*. The reading intended seems to be *saṅkrāntyāṁ*.—D.C.S.]

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By M. Venkataramayya

[The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure refers to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are used : *au.*=author ; *ca.*=capital ; *ch.*=chief ; *Chron.*=Chronicle ; *ci.*=city ; *co.*=country ; *com.*= composer ; *dt.*=district ; *dn.*=division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *engr.*=engraver ; *ep.*=epithet ; *f.*=female ; *feud.*=feudatory ; *gen.*=general ; *hist.*=historical ; *k.*=king ; *l.*=locality ; *lit.*=literary ; *l.m.*=linear measure or land measure ; *m.*=male ; *min.*=minister ; *mo.*=mountain ; *myth.*=mythological ; *n.*=name ; *N* = Northern ; *off.*=office or officer ; *pr.*=prince ; *pro.*=province ; *q.*=queen ; *rel.*=religious ; *ri.*=river ; *S.*=Southern ; *s.a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *Tam.*=Tamil ; *te.*=temple ; *Tel.*=Telugu ; *t.d.*=territorial division ; *tit.*=title ; *tn.*=town ; *tq.*=taluq ; *vi.*=village ; *W.*=Western ; *wk.*=work.]

K

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both sides = 24
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